

T H E
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
O F
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,
Translated into ENGLISH;
WITH
NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

B Y
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V O L. I.

L O N D O N,
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M D C C L V I I I.

P R E F A C E.

I HAVE often wondered that the history, which I now take the liberty of offering to the public, and which is perpetually quoted by every author, who has written upon the constitution of the Romans, as the source of all their learning, and an authority, to which all men have agreed to submit, should never have appeared in our language. Whether the length of the work, or the difficulty of explaining the original constitution of the Romans, and particularly of ascertaining the differences between the three sorts of comitia, upon which the exercise of that constitution, in a great measure, depended; whether these, or any other motives discouraged our men of learning from attempting a translation of this history, I cannot say: But this I will venture to affirm, that the analogy between the regal constitution of the Romans, and our own, and a more surprising analogy, I mean That between the Greek, and English languages,

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languages, might very well have encouraged them to translate it, and to recommend it to their countrymen, as a possession they were, in a particular manner, intitled to. Whether my translation of this history will answer the design of such a recommendation, must be left to the voice of the public, upon whose decision, the fate of all productions of this kind must necessarily depend: And the only hope I can entertain that their determination may not be in my disfavor, is derived from the pains I have bestowed upon this translation, rather than from the effect of those pains.

Every reader has a natural curiosity to be informed of the birth, the private life, and character, and of all other particulars relating to the author of any work he peruses: I am sorry it is not in my power to satisfy this reasonable curiosity any otherwise, than by referring my readers to what our author says of himself in the preface to this history: There they will find, among other things, that Dionysius lived at Rome in the Augustan age, an age celebrated above all others in the Roman history both for the great writers it produced, and for the distinguishing encouragement given by Augustus to those writers. He was cotemporary, and, probably, acquainted with Livy, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and many other learned, and polite authors, with whom that remarkable age was adorned, and was himself a conspicuous star in that bright constellation.

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*I need not acquaint the learned reader that our author, besides his history, composed many other works, all tending to the improvement of oratorical, and historical writing, some of which are lost ; but much the greatest part is preserved, and contains the best precepts to form an orator, and an historian, and to enable others to judge of both. It has been a doubt among the men of learning, whether he published these critical works before, or after his Roman history : † Dodwell has embraced the former opinion ; for which he gives this very good reason, that, in his critical works, he never makes any mention of his history, though he often takes notice of the other writings he had before published. Dodwell also thinks that the Cn. Pompeius, to whom he dedicates his criticism upon the Greek historians, was the same person, who was substituted consul (consul suffectus) in the month of October in the Varronian year 723. By this, and many other arguments, it appears that this Cn. Pompeius could not have been the great Pompey, who was slain in Ægypt in 706, though M. * * *, in his preface, has thought fit to establish a friendship between that great man, and our author ; and to make the former desire his judgement concerning the Greek historians : This I conclude from his mentioning Pompey without any distinction ; which manner of speaking is, both in his, and in all other languages, applicable only to the per-*

† Dissert. de Ætat. Dionys. c. vii. & viii.

son, who has rendered his name so famous both by his successes, and his misfortunes.

We know by Photius, who lived in the middle of the ninth century, and by many other authors, that this history contained twenty books, and that Dionysius himself made, what Photius calls, a synopsis of it in five books. So that, the nine last books must have been lost since the middle of the ninth century; but how long since we know not. Henry Glarean, professor at Freiburg, says, at the end of his chronological tables dedicated in 1532 to Ferdinand, then king of the Romans, that these nine books were at that time in being, and concealed by some men of learning: The reason he gives for this assertion is, that Constantine Lascaris, a modern author, cites him in Greek. This, indeed, leaves us some room to hope that they may one day see the light.

I come now to my brother labourers, the translators of Dionysius. The first was Lopus Biragus, a Florentine, who translated the eleven books now remaining into Latin from two old manuscripts, and dedicated his translation to pope Paul the second. It was first printed at Treviso, a town in the territories of the Venetians, in 1480. ² Vossius very justly censures both his fidelity, and his style. The next was That of Gelenius, printed at Basil in 1549. He writes better Latin than Lopus; but the liberties he has taken in mangling the periods

² De Hist. Lat. B. iii. c. 10.

of the Greek text, and of altering many places, which he did not understand, have condemned his translation to be never read: Particularly, after That of Sylburgius appeared in 1586, printed at Frankfort, with the Greek text, which had not been printed with the former Latin translations: Sylburgius had also the assistance of the Venetian, and Roman manuscripts, which his predecessors wanted. Not long after, appeared another Latin translation, viz. in 1590, by Æmilius Portus, which Hudson has printed with the Greek text in 1704: The latter says indeed, in his preface, that he has corrected the translation of Portus, where he thought it necessary: I wish he had oftener thought it necessary; because he has suffered many errors of Portus to stand unmolested. However, this edition of Hudson is by much the best; as the Greek text is throughout illustrated with the notes of Sylburgius, Casaubon, Portus, and some others; all which I have occasionally made use of, and always acknowledged. But the greatest advantage, which this edition has over all the others, is derived from two Vatican manuscripts, one 700 years old for the first ten books, and the other not quite so old for the eleventh book; the readings of both which are set down at the foot of every page; and, in every page, these manuscripts, particularly the first, illustrate the Greek text where it is obscure, explain it where doubtful, and supply it where it is defective. The
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great advantages, arising from these two manuscripts, ought, most certainly, to have induced Hudson to print his Greek text from them, rather than from the edition of Sylburgius, the defects of which these manuscripts sufficiently shew.

I have now brought down the history of the translations of Dionysius to the year 1722, when a comet appeared in the literary world, portending no less than the extinction of all former translations, and the downfall of their authors : I mean the French translation of the reverend father le Jay, a Jesuit, who had prepared himself for this undertaking by teaching rhetoric in Clermont college at Paris, as he says, for above twenty years ; and exhausted the whole stock of his learning, which he had been so long collecting, in polishing, adorning, and rendering his translation more correct and elegant, than any that had ever before appeared in any age, in any country, or in any language. But his brother Jesuits, in their journal of Trevoux for the month of January 1723, usher this translation into the world with so much pomp, that I think myself obliged to give their character of it in English, in order to shew, not what his translation is, but what all translations ought to be. Denys d'Halicarnasse, disent les journalistes, s'affure par lui-même, une constante superiorité de réputation parmi les doctes de profonde littérature ; et cette préminence ne tombera qu'avec eux : la chute s'avance : pour ressource, il est un monde entier d'autres personnes, dont l'estime n'hono-

n'honoreroit pas moins la memoire de Denys d'Halicarnasse, et l'auroit lui-même flatté d'avantage : Ce sont une infinité d'honnêtes gens sans Grec, connoisseurs neanmoins par genie, lecteurs par goût, studieux sans besoin, et sçavans sans le sçavoir : ils ne connoissent que de nom Denys d'Halicarnasse ; son Grec le leur rend inaccessible : aujourd'hui l'on produit Denys d' Halicarnasse dans ce nouveau monde. Un interprete également bienfacteur et du public et de l'auteur, acquiert tout à coup à celui-ci un nombre innombrable d'honorables admirateurs, qui l'estimeront par tout son merite personnel d'historien et d'écrivain, tandis que les sçavans de metier s'acharneront à son Grec . . . C'est à regret que nous nommons version, ou traduction cet ouvrage : ce n'est point un langage Grec rendu en langage François ; c'est l'expression immediate des pensées de Denys d'Halicarnasse ; *la conformité du François avec le Grec, n'est point celle d'une copie à l'original, mais celle d'une copie avec l'autre copie.* On prend plus aisément un auteur, quand on tient de son genie et de son caractère ; et d'imitateur fidelle, on devient avec moins d'effort un fidelle interprete. Sur ce pied, Denys d'Halicarnasse, homme solide et vrai, sage et judicieux, laborieux et infatigable, exact et appliqué, vif et éloquent, amateur des lettres, a trouvé son veritable traducteur ; et il n'est pas étonnant qu'il l'ait si long-tems attendu,

tendu. . . On peut juger de la religion du traducteur à peser scrupuleusement les termes de son auteur, par la reflexion subtile qu'il fait faire sur le mot *ισοψηφια* ; sçavoir que l'égalité des suffrages signifie par ce nom, se trouve quelquefois dans un nombre de voix inégal ; puisque Denys avance que Coriolan, qui de vint et une voix en avoit douze contre lui, eût été absous par le benefice de la loi touchant l'égalité des suffrages, si deux voix se fussent jointes aux neuf qui lui étoient favorables ; c'est-à-dire, s'il eût eu pour lui onze voix contre douze ; c'est qu'en matiere criminelle, une voix de plus ne suffisoit pas pour condamner ; c'étoit le même effet que si le nombre des voix eût été égal de part et d'autre. . . .

“ *Dionysius of Halicarnassus, say these journalists, has as-*
 “ *sured to himself a constant superiority of reputation among*
 “ *the men of profound learning ; and this preeminence cannot*
 “ *fall but with them : The fall approaches : To prevent which,*
 “ *there is a whole world of other people, whose esteem would not*
 “ *do less honor to the memory of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and*
 “ *would have flattered him more : These are an infinite number*
 “ *of men of distinction without Greek, but connoisseurs by their*
 “ *genius, readers through taste, studious without necessity, and*
 “ *learned without knowing it : These are acquainted with Dio-*
 “ *nysius of Halicarnassus only by name : His Greek renders him*
 “ *inaccessib*le

“ inaccessible to them : Into this new world is Dionysius now
 “ produced : An interpreter, equally a benefactor both to the
 “ public, and to the author, acquires, at once, to the latter a
 “ numberless number of honourable admirers, who will esteem
 “ him for his whole merit of an historian, and a writer, while
 “ the learned by profession will exercise their keenness upon his
 “ Greek . . . We are sorry to call this work a version, or a trans-
 “ lation : It is not the Greek language rendered in French ; it is
 “ the immediate expression of the thoughts of Dionysius ; the con-
 “ formity of the French with the Greek is not That of a copy
 “ with the original, but That of one copy with another copy.
 “ Every one takes an author with ease, when he resembles him
 “ in his genius and character ; and, from being a faithful
 “ imitator, he becomes, with the less effort, a faithful interpre-
 “ ter. Upon this foot, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a man solid
 “ and true, wise and judicious, laborious and indefatigable, ex-
 “ act and intent, lively and eloquent, a lover of letters, has
 “ found his true translator ; and we are not to wonder that he
 “ has so long waited for him . . . We may judge of the religion of
 “ the translator in weighing scrupulously the terms of his author,
 “ by the subtil reflexion he makes upon the word ¹ισοψηφία ; which
 “ is, that the equality of suffrages, signified by this word, is
 “ sometimes found in an unequal number of voices ; since Dio-

¹ See the twenty-sixth annotation on the viith book.

*“ nysius asserts that Coriolanus, who, out of 21 voices, had
 “ 12 against him, would have been acquitted by the benefit of
 “ the law concerning the equality of suffrages, if two voices
 “ had joined the nine that were for him ; that is to say, if he
 “ had had 11 voices against 12 ; because, in criminal cases,
 “ a majority of one voice was not sufficient for a condemnation ;
 “ the effect of it being the same, as if the number of voices had
 “ been equal on both sides.” This will suffice (for I omit several
 other panegyric flights) to shew what opinion these journalists
 entertained, or had a mind the world should entertain, of this
 famous translation: And yet, methinks, amidst all the praises
 they have lavished upon it, they seem, by one expression, to have
 left to themselves an opening for an escape, une échappatoire,
 if they should ever be heartily pushed upon this subject: The
 expression I mean, is this, that the conformity of the French
 with the Greek, is not That of a copy with the original,
 but That of one copy with another copy. I may venture
 to pronounce, since I have shewn it sufficiently in my notes,
 that this translation of le Jay is neither more nor less, than a
 literal, and not always an exact, translation of the Latin
 translation of Portus. It cannot, therefore, be thought too great
 a refinement, particularly to those, who are acquainted with
 the disingenuous subtilty of this order of men, and what they
 are capable of, when the interest, or reputation of their body
 is*

is concerned, to suspect they designed to conceal their real opinion of this translation under a cloud of praises; and, at the same time, to let some sparks of that opinion break out: But, if those praises were sincere, and they really thought this translation had all that transcendent merit they have ascribed to it, I may safely affirm that, had they not among them greater politicians, than translators, or critics, they would never have acquired both in Europe, and America, the great power, and wealth they are now possessed of; neither would they have had the direction of what they call the consciences, but mean the government, of all the princes of their own communion. If any of his fraternity have a mind to doubt whether the translation of their brother Jesuit is a translation of the Greek, or the Latin, let them open his book where they will, and confront it with the Greek text; and, if they find in it the least pretence to a translation of the latter, I desire that my own translation may be also thought a translation of Portus, or, what is worse, of le Jay himself. But there is another disingenuousness, that he has been guilty of, which shews his heart to have been as bad as his head: His notes throughout are scarce any thing else but literal translations of the notes of Sylburgius, Casaubon, and others, all contained in Hudson's edition under their respective names: These names he has concealed, and imposed their notes upon the world for his own.

I am tired with the invidious task of censuring ; and wish I could say that the other French translation, which appeared the year after, under the name of M. * *, is a translation of Dionysius : But the love of truth compels me to declare what, I think, I have shewn too in my notes, that, as le Jay translated from Portus, this gentleman has translated from Sylburgius. He has, indeed, avoided many absurdities, which the other was led into by too servile an adherence to his original, even to the faults of the impression ; his style, by being more diffuse, is more perspicuous ; and, if he paraphrases, as he often does, he seldom fails to give the sense of his own original at least, which comes nearer to the Greek, than That of le Jay : His notes are often his own ; and, when he borrows Those of others, he often pays them a proper acknowledgement : I wish he had informed his readers that his chronological table was copied literally from That of Dodwell.*

So much has been said both by the ancients, and the moderns in praise of the advantages resulting from the study of history, particularly by Diodorus Siculus, among the former, in the noble preface to his historical collections ; and by the late Lord Bolingbroke, among the moderns, in his admirable letter upon that subject, that I am astonished no treatise has ever yet appeared in any age, or any language professedly written to prescribe rules for writing history ; a work
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allowed to be of the greatest advantage of all others to mankind, the repository of truth fraught with lessons both of public, and private virtue, and enforced by stronger motives, than precepts, by examples. Rules for poetry, and rhetoric have been written by many authors both ancient, and modern, as if delight, and eloquence were of greater consequence than instruction: However, rhetoric was a part of history, as treated by the ancients; not the principal part indeed, but subservient to the principal; and calculated to apply the facts exhibited by the narration. I know it may be said that many ancient histories are still preserved, and that these models are sufficient guides for modern historians without particular rules: So had the Greeks poets of all denominations in their hands, and yet Aristotle thought it necessary to prescribe particular rules to his countrymen for applying those examples to every branch of poetry: I wish he had done the same in history; if he had, it is very probable that his precepts would have rendered the best of our modern histories more perfect, and the worst, less abominable. Since the resurrection of letters, the want of such a guide has been complained of by many authors, and particularly by Rapin in the preface to his history of England. This want I think it not impossible to supply in some degree, not by any thing of my own growth, but by extracting, and

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connecting what has been written upon this subject by Dionysius himself, the author of this history; who, in his criticisms upon the Greek historians, and particularly in his parallel between Herodotus and Thucydides, has indirectly laid down rules for attaining all the perfections, and avoiding all the faults, of writing history. I know that Lucian has written a treatise upon this subject, great part of which he has employed in rallying the historians of his own time, in a manner peculiar to himself, with great spirit and elegance of expression; but, at the end of this treatise, he assumes another character, and treats the subject with great gravity and judgement. I also know that Cicero has laid down some directions for the conduct of an historian; the first of which Lord Clarendon has made choice of for the Latin motto of his history: These directions, though conceived with all the power of thought, and expressed with all the power of language, shew what disposition of mind is required in an historian, rather than what rules he ought to pursue; and besides, they are so general, and so short, that I chuse rather to refer the reader to that part of Cicero's works, or to a very good translation of them by Dr. Middleton in the preface to his life, than to insert them here.

Before I present the reader with the comparison between Herodotus, and Thucydides, it will be necessary to premise that Dionysius divides history into two parts, that is, into the prag-
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*matic part, as he calls it, and the language : The former comprehends, 1st, the choice of the subject; 2dly, the knowledge whence to begin, and where to end; 3dly, the discernment between such events, as are to be related, and such as are to be omitted; 4thly, the placing every event in its proper order; and 5thly, the heart of the historian : * The language he divides into simple elementary words, or atoms of speech, and the composition of those words; both which are susceptible either of a proper, or a figurative, sense : Concerning the last of these, I mean the composition of words, our author has written a treatise, still extant, ⁵ in which he promises another concerning the choice of words; but this, if ever published, is lost. In the first treatise, which has always been deservedly admired, ⁶ he gives the preference, with great reason, to the composition of words, and lays down such rules for this composition, supported throughout by examples drawn from the best Greek writers, both poets, and historians, that any man, by observing them, may acquire a smooth, and harmonious style : And, notwithstanding these rules seem calculated for the Greek language only, their influence will, upon a close examination, appear to be universal, and to govern every other language, both ancient and modern.*

⁴ περὶ τῆς ὁμοιοῦ. χρονοῦ. c. xxii.

⁵ περὶ συνθ. ὀνομαῶν. c. i.

⁶ Ib. c. ii.

Dionysius,

Dionysius, therefore, ⁷ in his comparison of Herodotus with Thucydides, says that the first duty, and possibly the most necessary of all, in an historian, is to make choice of a grand subject, and such a one, as will be agreeable to the reader: In this, he says, Herodotus has the advantage of Thucydides; because his history comprehends the actions both of the Greeks, and Barbarians; and the design of it is to prevent those actions from being buried in oblivion. On the other side, Thucydides writes the history of a single war, and that neither justifiable, nor fortunate; a war, which ought never to have been undertaken; or, if that could not be, to have been delivered up to silence, and shade, and unknown to posterity: And, that he had chosen a bad subject, he himself makes manifest in the preface to his history: For he there says that
“ many Greek cities had been desolated through this war,
“ some by the Barbarians, and others by the Greeks them-
“ selves; that more banishments, and slaughters had hap-
“ pened by that means, than had ever been known before;
“ together with earthquakes, droughts, distempers, and many
“ other calamities.” So that, the readers, by his preface, are alienated from a subject fraught with the misfortunes of Greece. By as much, therefore, as a history, which relates the wonderful actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, is preferable to one, that displays the miserable, and dreadful

⁷ πρὸς Γραμ. Πομπη. Επιστ.

calamities of the Greeks, by so much is Herodotus more judicious in the choice of his subject, than Thucydides. Neither can it be said, that the latter was compelled to this choice, and knew the other to be more beautiful, but resolved not to treat the same subject with other writers: On the contrary, Thucydides, in his preface, traduces the earlier actions of the Greeks, and says Those of his own time were the greatest, and the most wonderful: Which shews that he voluntarily made choice of these. The conduct of Herodotus was different; and, though Hellanicus, and Charon had treated the same subject before him, he was not discouraged, but thought he could write something more perfect; in which he succeeded.

The second duty relating to the pragmatic part of history, is to know whence to begin, and where to end. In this also, Herodotus seems much more judicious than Thucydides: For he begins by relating the motives, that first induced the Barbarians to injure the Greeks; and, going on, ends in the punishment of the former, and in the revenge taken on them for those injuries. On the other side, Thucydides begins from the time, when the fortune of Greece began to^s de-

^s The reader will observe, that I read κακως here, instead of καλως, as it stands in all the editions; but the context shews that it must be κακως.

cline; which, as a Greek, and an Athenian, he ought not to have done; particularly, since he was not a man of small repute, but a person distinguished by the Athenians, who had conferred on him the command of their armies, and other honors: Neither ought he openly to have laid the blame of the war upon his country, when he might have charged it on many other causes: Nor to have begun his narration with the affairs of Corcyra; but with the most renowned actions of his country, which she performed immediately after the Persian war; and which he afterwards mentions, indeed, ⁹ but not in their proper place, and that slightly, and cursorily: And, after he had related these actions with great complacency, like a lover of his country, he ought to have added that the Lacedæmonians, from their envy, and dread of these, but from other pretences, entered upon the war: And then to have mentioned the affairs of Corcyra, the vote against the megarenses, and whatever else he thought fit. As for the end of his history, it is still more defective: For, though he says he lived during the whole course of the war; and promises to relate all the events of it, he concludes with the naval engagement between the Athenians, and Peloponnesians off Cynossema, which happened in the twenty second year of that war. But he would have

⁹ Here, again, I read *καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ*, instead of *καὶ ἐν*, etc. which is the reading of all the editions, and renders this sentence inconsistent with That, which immediately precedes it.

done better, if, after he had related all the transactions of it, he had concluded his history in a manner, of all others, the most wonderful, and the most agreeable to his readers; I mean, with the return of the banished men from Phyle, from which time his country began to recover her liberty.

The third duty of an historian is to distinguish between those things, that are to be related, and Those, that are to be omitted. In this also, Thucydides seems inferior to Herodotus: For the latter, being sensible that all narrations, consisting of long discourses, when they have certain resting places, affect the minds of the readers with pleasure; but, if they dwell always upon the same things, however they may succeed in the description of them, they offend the ear with satiety, he resolved, in imitation of Homer, to vary his subject: For which reason, if we take up his book, we admire it even to the last syllable, and always wish for more: Whereas Thucydides describes one war; and, without breathing, accumulates battles upon battles, preparations upon preparations, and speeches upon speeches; which tire the minds of his readers: For, as Pindar says, we may be sated both with honey, and women. I am also of opinion that a change, and a variety in writing are delightful things in history; which Thucydides has made use of in two, or three places, I mean, where he accounts for the encrease of the power of the Odrysæ, and describes the cities of Sicily.

After this, it is the duty of an historian to distribute, and place every event in its proper order. How, therefore, does each of these historians distribute, and order his narration? Thucydides pursues the periods of time; and Herodotus the succession of events: By this means, Thucydides is obscure, and hard to be followed: For, as many transactions must have happened in different places during the same summer, and winter, he is obliged to leave the first half finished, and touch upon others, that were in agitation during the same summer, or winter: We wander, therefore, as may well be supposed; and, our minds being confused, we follow his narration with difficulty. Whereas Herodotus, beginning with the kingdom of the Lydians, comes down to That of Cræsus; from whence he presently makes a transition to Cyrus, who put an end to the kingdom of Cræsus; after which, he enters upon the relation of the affairs of the Ægyptians, Scythians, and Libyans: Some of which he introduces as consequential to the former, and others, with a design to render his narration more agreeable: And, in describing the actions of the Greeks, and Barbarians, which happened during the course of two hundred and twenty years, in the three continents, and adding the fight of Xerxes, he has not mangled his history: But it has happened to Thucydides, who chose a single subject, to divide one body into many parts; and to Herodotus, who made choice

choice of many subjects, in no degree resembling one another, to make one concordant body.

I shall mention one branch more of the pragmatic part, which we require in all histories, no less than any of those already mentioned, I mean the heart of the historian, and the disposition of it with regard to the facts he relates. That of Herodotus, which is humane in all things, congratulates the happy, and condoles with the unfortunate : Whereas the disposition of Thucydides is severe, and harsh, and full of resentment against his country for his banishment : For he enumerates all her defeats with the greatest exactness, but takes no notice of her successes ; or, when he does, he seems to be forced to it. For these reasons, Thucydides is inferior to Herodotus in the pragmatic part. As to the language, he is in some parts inferior ; in others, superior ; and, in others, equal. Concerning which also, I shall deliver my opinion.

There is a merit in writing, which may be called the first, and, without which, all others are useless. What is that ? A style, pure in the choice of words, and preserving the true character of the Greek language. In this they are both very exact ; Herodotus being the standard of the Ionic, and Thucydides

cydides of the Attic, language. Conciseness has the ¹⁰ third place, In this, Thucydides seems to have the advantage of Herodotus. However, it may be said that, when conciseness is attended with perspicuity, it is pleasing; but, when it wants that, it is harsh. But let not this consideration stop us. After these, illustration has the first place among the adventitious merits: In this, the success of both is sufficiently conspicuous. After this merit, is placed the imitation both of the manners, and the passions: This merit the two historians have divided between them: For Thucydides has the advantage of expressing the passions; and Herodotus That of representing the manners. After these come the merits, that shew the great, and wonderful art of the composition. In these also, the historians are equal. Then follow Those, that comprehend the strength, vehemence, and such like powers of eloquence: In these Thucydides is superior to Herodotus; but the latter carries pleasure, persuasion, delight, and all merits of that kind to a much greater height than Thucydides. The phraseology of Herodotus is natural; and That of Thucydides vehement; who is

¹⁰ The second merit in language is unfortunately left out in all the editions, and manuscripts. Sylburgius refers us to two passages in our author's judgment of Lyfias, and to one in That of Isocrates: I have consulted them all; but none of them will supply this hiatus.

always

always uniform in his language. But the principal merit of all others is to characterize every thing : In this, Herodotus is more exact than Thucydides : For the latter is uniform in all things, and more so in his speeches than in his narration. However, I am of opinion that Demosthenes has particularly adopted his sentences. Upon the whole, the poetical pieces of both are fine (for I am not afraid of giving them that name) but the greatest difference between them, is this : The beauty of Herodotus is chearful ; and That of Thucydides, terrible.”

These are the rules laid down by Dionysius for writing history ; and, by these rules, he has examined the histories of Herodotus, and Thucydides, of Xenophon, Philistus, and Theopompus. Nothing, therefore, can be more just than to examine his own history by his own rules ; and to inquire how far his practice has been consistent with his theory.

The choice of the subject is the first thing we are to consider : Of this he has said so much in his preface, that no man can refuse him the merit of having chosen the noblest subject, that history can treat of : The rise and progress, the original, and improved constitution of a state, which in time conquered, and governed the greatest part of the then known world, must be allowed to open a scene, in which history, and philosophy
have

have an opportunity of displaying all their powers for the information, instruction, and improvement of mankind.

It is not without reason, that our author dates the beginning of his history from the infant state of the Roman commonwealth: For, though it may generally be true that the origin of a people, as containing mean incidents, and something of Barbarism in it, seldom draws the attention of the reader; yet the origin of so considerable a people as the Romans will always be interesting; and the world will be curious to inquire into the source of a river so large, and so awful in its course, and, though sometimes apt to overflow its banks, yet always carrying with it greater fertility, than desolation. It is impossible to speak of the beginning of our author's history, without mentioning his preface, which makes so great a figure in his own language, whatever it may do in mine: This preface, which is not like That of Sallust, applicable to any other history, or to any other kind of writing, is adapted to his subject, and to that alone. In that part of it, in which he compares the empire of the Romans with other empires, he seems to have imitated Polybius, who, in his preface also, compares the power of the Romans with That of the Lacedæmonians, the Persians, and the Macedonians; and, like our author, gives the preference to the power of the Romans: But every one, who reads the two prefaces, will find this subject treated in a much greater extent,
and

and with greater beauty both of thought, and language by Dionysius, than by Polybius: To whom, however, the former has paid a tacit compliment, in ending his history where Polybius begins his; that is, at the first Punic war. This, indeed, shews either his despair of surpassing him in treating the same subject; or his modesty in not attempting it.

Let us now examine in what manner our author has acquitted himself of the third duty incumbent upon an historian, which, he says, is That of knowing what to relate, and what to omit. Under this head, he blames Thucydides, as we have seen, for dwelling too long upon the same subject; which he himself has with great judgement avoided. With this view, he has introduced the digression concerning Aristodemus in the beginning of the seventh book, in order to relieve his readers from the long contests, which preceded the establishment of the tribunes of the people, and had taken up the greatest part of the sixth book. And, in the seventh book also, the long political debates in the affair of Coriolanus are succeeded by an entertaining relation of processions, and games. Among the meritorious omissions of our author, I must place That of a horrid, and incredible incident related by " Livy, who makes Mucius

" Book ii. Chap. 12.

Scævola roast his hand in the fire, in order to shew Porsena how much those, who aimed at a great name, despised their persons.

The order, in which the events are to be plac'd, is the next point he recommends. In this, he has followed the succession of events, without breaking his narration by the intervention of summers, and winters. A remarkable instance of this appears in the sixth book, where, the election of the consuls coming on during the secession of the people, he does not interrupt the narration of the events, with which the secession was attended; but, having just given the names of the new consuls, and mentioned the Olympiad, in which they were chosen, he hastens to the senate, and gives the speeches, that were made there for, and against the return of the people.

*It is with pleasure that I now enter upon that part of our author's writing, which relates to him more as a man, than as an historian. It is impossible to read his history without discovering in the author, a mind fraught with all the elements of humanity, a sincere, a mild, and an honest heart; an unaffected love of virtue; and, what is more amiable than a detestation of vice, a compassion for it; he congratulates indeed the happy, and condoles with the miserable, but without insulting even those, who deserve
their*

their misery: He is never satisfied with celebrating the bravery, the patriotism, the frugality, and contempt of riches in the old Romans; nor with lamenting the degeneracy of Those of his own time: Upon the whole, he teaches by precept what his, and every other history, will teach by examples, that the prosperity of every nation is owing to their public, and private virtue, and their adversity to the want of both. His love of liberty is no less conspicuous than his love of virtue: He never loses an opportunity of ascribing the greatness of those old Romans to their liberty, and their liberty to their virtue; and is alarmed at the least appearance of danger, which threatens them with the loss of either. What prince can read the characters given by him of Numa, and the last Tarquin, without a wish that his memory may be as much revered by posterity as That of Numa, or without a dread of being delivered down to the latest ages, as a tyrant, and a criminal of the first magnitude, like Tarquin? History is the tribunal, before which all princes must one day appear, and derive their lasting glory, or dishonour from her decisions. When they themselves are no more; when the mercenary scribblers of their time are as much forgotten as their works, then history takes her seat; and, like justice with her ballance, but with eagle's eyes, weighs

every action, and explores the actor's heart; strips ambition of her vain disguise, and treats a conqueror like a successful robber: Then will just praise be given to the prince, who made the happiness of his people his only care, and their law his only guide; whose only errors, if they were errors, proceeded from an excess of goodness misapplied, and are almost transformed to virtues by the dignity of the principle, from whence they flowed: Such a prince will history paint in her fairest colors, and decorate him for nations yet unborn to love, and for princes yet unborn to imitate.

I should now, to follow our author's progression, examine his style; but, if I was to enter into particulars, this examination would lead me a great way, not to mention the many Greek quotations, of which it must consist: I shall, therefore, say in general, that his language is Attic, perfectly pure and elegant: When I call it Attic, I do not mean such trifles as writing a ξ for a σ; but I mean an Attic diction; such a one as Thucydides, and Xenophon, and, before them, Herodotus, were celebrated for: Since the latter, though he writ in the Ionic dialect, has many Attic phrases, whether originally natives of Athens, or afterwards made free of that city, I cannot say; and it is upon his smooth, and flowing style chiefly, that Dionysius

nysius seems to have formed his own: This, I think, I have proved in several of my notes. For this reason, I could never understand what ¹² Photius meant, when he said our author was την λεξιν καινοπρεπης, that he had a becoming novelty in his style. Dionysius is certainly no innovator either in the choice, or in the composition, of his words; but it is well known that Photius was patriarch of Constantinople in the ninth century; and, though a man of learning, lived in an ignorant age, when the delicacy of the Greek language was much declined. I think the character Cicero has given of the style of Herodotus may well be applied to That of our author; sine ullis salebris, quasi sedatus amnis, fluit. This is very different from the style of some admired Latin authors, and more different yet from the short unrelative style, that now prevails among the French writers; whose concise, acuminate, unconnected periods are like so many proverbs, and follow, rather than succeed, one another. Among the many beauties of our author's style, I must not omit one, which is more or less to be found in all good writers in all languages, and never fails to charm the reader; I mean his poetical expressions: With these he has animated his style, particularly in his speeches, which, by this means, become elevated and pathetic,

¹² Cod. 86.

and

and insensibly persuade, while they seem intended only to please: To this the composition alone of his words does not a little contribute; and to the harmony of his composition I shall apply what he himself says of his favourite orator Demosthenes, that ¹³ his style comprehends numbers, some complete and perfect, others, incomplete; but so connected together, and compounded, that it is impossible to discover them to be numbers: By which means his style is poetical, not poetry; and melodious, not melody.

The reader may very well expect that I should give a reason for my not having accented the Greek in my notes: This will naturally lead to a question, which has been, long since, discussed by men of great learning both in our own nation, and in others. Most of them I have read, and chuse rather to refer my readers to them, than to repeat what they have said; to avoid which, I shall lay before the reader only two arguments, which I have not met with in any of those authors, and which convince me, though I myself was taught otherwise, that Greek prose ought to be read, like verse, according to the quantity, without any regard to the accents. It is left to those, who do me the honor to read this, to determine whether my conviction is well or ill founded. The first of these arguments will,

¹³ περί της λεκτικῆς Δημοσθ. δεινότης. c. 50.

I think,

I think, shew that the design of accents was not to transform long syllables into short, and short syllables into long; and consequently, as I said, that we ought to read Greek prose according to the quantity, without suffering this to be destroyed by the accents.

I could prove the proposition I have advanced by many passages taken from our author's treatise, concerning the composition of words; but I shall content myself with one of them, which, by its simplicity, will be intelligible, and consequently conclusive: The passage I mean is quoted by him from ¹⁴ Plato to shew what kind of composition constitutes dignity, and from what feet, or metre, it is derived: This passage is taken from his ἐπιλαφίος λόγος, and is as follows; Εγὼ μὲν ἡμῖν οἶδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσηκόντα σφισιν αὐτοῖς ὧν τυχόντες, πορεύονται τὴν ἐμαρμένην πορείαν. I shall only make use of the last member of this period; which, I believe, will be sufficient to prove all that I propose. If we read this according to the accents, it must be pronounced thus ὧν τυχόντες πῶρέϋονταὶ τὴν ἐμαρμένῃν πῶρεϊαν. Here the penultima of πῶρέϋονταὶ, from being long, is by the accent made short; and the penultima of ἐμαρμένῃν, from being short, is made long: But I shall now shew that

¹⁴ περὶ συνθεσ. ονοματ. c. 18.

the first ought to be read, as it is, long; and the last, as it is, short. Dionysius, in scanning this member of the period, says that the first and second feet of it, ὦν τυχὼν ἔς πορεῦ, are cretic; that the two following ὄνταί τῇν εἰ, are spondees; then another cretic, μαρμῆνῃν; and the last a hypobacchius, πορεῖαν. Now it is plain that, if we read this according to the accents, the first of the two spondees will be an iambic, ὄνταί; and μαρμῆνῃν will not be a cretic, but a molossus. This confusion of long, and short syllables will be avoided, if we can but persuade ourselves that Dionysius knew how to pronounce his own language.

The patrons of accents do, indeed, allow that we must read verse according to the quantity: But, if it happens that there are verses intermixed with prose, ¹⁵ as our author has shewn there are many in Demosthenes of several sorts, which, he says, were the effect of choice, not of accident, and designed to render his style melodious; how are we to read these verses? Are we to read them, like the context, according to the accents? In that case, they will cease to be verses: Or must we not read both them, and the context according to the quantity, which alone can prevent these verses from distinguishing themselves too much,

¹⁵ Ib. c. 25.

and from interrupting that harmony of style, which they were designed to promote?

The other argument is this: ¹⁶ Aristotle says that iambic verse is the very language of the vulgar; for which reason, they made use of iambics more than of any other verses in talking; ὁ δὲ ἱαμβὸς αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἱαμβεῖα φθελούηται λεγούηες. If iambics were the language of the vulgar, the language of the vulgar must be pronounced like iambics: But the patrons of accents allow that iambics must be pronounced according to the quantity; therefore the language of the vulgar must be pronounced according to the quantity. I have not the least suspicion of any argument, that can be opposed to this; though I am sensible that prejudices are great logicians, and will find cavils, where reasons are wanting; and here indolence comes to their assistance; and both master, and scholar are concerned in adhering to the old method of reading Greek according to the accents: For a boy may be taught to read that language tolerably well according to the accents in a very few months, when as many years will be necessary to enable him to read it according to the quantity; which is a knowledge the master himself must be well acquainted with, unless he has a mind the say-

¹⁶ Πηλορικ. Book iii. chap. 8.

ing of Petronius should be applied to him, plus docet quam scit. The difficulty in reading Greek according to the quantity, is occasioned by the three common, or doubtful vowels, α, ι, ο; which, though called by that name, are all of them always long in some words, and always short in others: This distinction is only to be acquired by a long conversation with the Greek poets: For no prosodies, that I have seen, will teach it. From this laborious task we are freed by the accents, which present us with a language unknown either to the ancients, or moderns, a language without quantity.

To what purpose then, will it be said, were the Greek accents introduced, if no regard is to be paid to them in pronouncing that language? To this I answer, that they were designed to mark the ¹⁷ elevation, and depression of the voice; but not to interfere with the quantity: And that the ancient Greeks had accents (contrary to the opinion of many learned men) and also a name for those accents, will appear beyond contradiction by a passage in ¹⁸ Strabo, where, in speaking of the Ilienses, he says that the Palladium, which was shewn by them in his time, was in a standing posture; but That, mentioned by Homer, sitting, which he proves by ¹⁹ this passage in that poet,

Θεῖναι Αθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν —.

¹⁷ Priscian, B. xv. Diomed. B. ii.

¹⁸ B. xiii. p. 897. Edit. of Casaub.

¹⁹ Il. Z. v. 92.

To this argument, he says, the Ilienses gave an idle answer, alledging that the accent, which he calls προσῳδία, in γούνασιν, ought to be transferred, from the antepenultima, to the penultima, and then ἐπὶ γουνάσιν will signify ἐπὶ ἐξέτησίαις. And here it is well worth observing that the translation of the accent, here contended for by the Ilienses, could only transfer the elevation of the voice, not the emphasis, or the quantity; otherwise, the metre would not have been preserved, as the reader will see, when the whole verse is laid before him.

Θεῖναι Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἢ ὕμνοιο.

The προσῳδαί of the Greeks were ²⁰ called by the ancient Latin authors, notæ vocum, moderamenta, accentuunculæ, and voculationes.

These passages sufficiently prove the antiquity of accents; but, as the moderns have for many ages made an ill use of them, and employed them to confound the quantity, instead of directing the elevation, and depression of the voice, for which they were originally designed; and, as this last application of the accents is irrecoverably lost, I cannot see to what purpose they should be retained; particularly since those, who read Greek according to the accents, are always misled, and those, who read it according to the quantity, often ensnared, by them.

²⁰ Gell. Book xiii. chap. 6.

Chiefly from D O D W E L L.

VOL. I.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Afca- nius.	Metonic Period.		Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Silvius	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
1171	3543	13	6	21 22		1124	3590	60	15	68 69	28
1170	44	14	7	22 23		23	91	61	16	69 70	29
69	45	15	8	23 24		22	92	62	17	70 71	30
68	46	16	9	24 25		21	93	63	18	71 72	31
67	47	17	10	25 26		1120	94	64	19	72 73	32
66	48	18	11	26 27		19	95	65	20	73 74	33
65	49	19	12	27 28		18	96	66	21	74 75	34
64	3550	20	13	28 29		17	97	67	22	75 76	35
63	51	21	14	29 30		16	98	68	23	76 77	36
62	52	22	15	30 31		15	99	69	24	77 78	37
61	53	23	16	31 32		14	3600	70	25	78 79	38
1160	54	24	17	32 33		13	1	71	26	79 80	39
59	55	25	18	33 34		12	2	72	27	80 81	40
58	56	26	19	34 35		11	3	73	28	81 82	41
57	57	27	20	35 36		1110	4	74	29	82 83	42
56	58	28	21	36 37							
55	59	29	22	37 38							
54	3560	30	23	38 39							
53	61	31	24	39 40	Alba built.	9	5	75	1	83 84	43
52	62	32	25	40 41	1	8	6	76	2	84 85	44
51	63	33	26	41 42	2	7	7	77	3	85 86	45
1150	64	34	27	42 43	3	6	8	78	4	86 87	46
49	65	35	28	43 44	4	5	9	79	5	87 88	47
48	66	36	29	44 45	5	4	3610	80	6	88 89	48
47	67	37	30	45 46	6	3	11	81	7	89 90	49
46	68	38	31	46 47	7	2	12	82	8	90 91	50
45	69	39	32	47 48	8	1	13	83	9	91 92	51
44	3570	40	33	48 49	9	1100	14	84	10	92 93	52
43	71	41	34	49 50	10	99	15	85	11	93 94	53
42	72	42	35	50 51	11	98	16	86	12	94 95	54
41	73	43	36	51 52	12	97	17	87	13	95 96	55
1140	74	44	37	52 53	13	96	18	88	14	96 97	56
39	75	45	38	53 54	14	95	19	89	15	97 98	57
			Silvius		15	94	3620	90	16	98 99	58
38	76	46	1	54 55	16	93	21	91	17	99 00	59
37	77	47	2	55 56	17	92	22	92	18	100 1	60
36	78	48	3	56 57	18	91	23	93	19	1 2	61
35	79	49	4	57 58	19	1090	24	94	20	2 3	62
34	3580	50	5	58 59	20	89	25	95	21	3 4	63
33	81	51	6	59 60	21	88	26	96	22	4 5	64
32	82	52	7	60 61	22	87	27	97	23	5 6	65
31	83	53	8	61 62	23	86	28	98	24	6 7	66
1130	84	54	9	62 63	24	85	29	99	25	7 8	67
29	85	55	10	63 64	25	84	3630	100	26	8 9	68
28	86	56	11	64 65	26	83	31	1	27	9 10	69
27	87	57	12	65 66	27	82	32	2	28	10 11	70
26	88	58	13	66 67	28	81	33	3	29	11 12	71
25	89	59	14	67 68	29	1080	34	4	30	12 13	72
					30	79	35	5	31	13 14	73

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Latinus Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Latinus Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
1078	3636	106	1	114 115	74	1030	3684	154	49	10	122
77	37	7	2	15 16	75	29	85	55	50	11	23
76	38	8	3	16 17	76	28	86	56	51	12	24
75	39	9	4	17 18	77						
74	3640	110	5	18 19	78				Albas Silvius.		
73	41	11	6	19 120	79	27	87	57	1	13	25
72	42	12	7	120 21	80	26	88	58	2	14	26
71	43	13	8	21 22	81	25	89	59	3	15	27
1070	44	14	9	22 23	82	24	3690	160	4	16	28
69	45	15	10	23 24	83	23	91	61	5	17	29
68	46	16	11	24 25	84	22	92	62	6	18	130
67	47	17	12	25 26	85	21	93	63	7	19	31
66	48	18	13	26 27	86	1020	94	64	8	20	32
65	49	19	14	27 28	87	19	95	65	9	21	33
64	3650	120	15	28 29	88	18	96	66	10	22	34
63	51	21	16	29 130	89	17	97	67	11	23	35
62	52	22	17	130 31	90	16	98	68	12	24	36
61	53	23	18	31 32	91	15	99	69	13	25	37
1060	54	24	19	32 33	92	14	3700	170	14	26	38
59	55	25	20	33 34	93	13	1	71	15	27	39
58	56	26	21	34 35	94	12	2	72	16	28	140
57	57	27	22	35 36	95	11	3	73	17	29	41
56	58	28	23	36 37	96	1010	4	74	18	30	42
55	59	29	24	37 38	97	9	5	75	19	31	43
54	3660	130	25	38 39	98	8	6	76	20	32	44
53	61	31	26	39 140	99	7	7	77	21	33	45
52	62	32	27	140 41	100	6	8	78	22	34	46
51	63	33	28	41 42	1	5	9	79	23	35	47
1050	64	34	29	42 43	2	4	3710	180	24	36	48
49	65	35	30	43 44	3	3	11	81	25	37	49
48	66	36	31	44 45	4	2	12	82	26	38	150
47	67	37	32	45 46	5	1	13	83	27	39	51
46	68	38	33	46 47	6	1000	14	84	28	40	52
45	69	39	34	47 48	7	99	15	85	29	41	53
44	3670	140	35	48 49	8	98	16	86	30	42	54
43	71	41	36	49 150	9	97	17	87	31	43	55
42	72	42	37	150 51	110	96	18	88	32	44	56
41	73	43	38	51 52	11	95	19	89	33	45	57
1040	74	44	39	52 1	12	94	3720	190	34	46	58
39	75	45	40	1	13	93	21	91	35	47	59
38	76	46	41	2	14	92	22	92	36	48	160
37	77	47	42	3	15	91	23	93	37	49	61
36	78	48	43	4	16	90	24	94	38	50	62
35	79	49	44	5	17	89	25	95	39	51	63
34	3680	150	45	6	18				Capetus.		
33	81	51	46	7	19				1	52	64
32	82	52	47	8	120	88	26	96	2	53	65
31	83	53	48	9	21	87	27	97			

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Albas Silvius.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Capys.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
986	3728	198	3	54	166	938	3776	246	25	102	214
85	29	99	4	55	67	37	77	47	26	3	15
84	3730	200	5	56	68	36	78	48	27	4	16
83	31	1	6	57	69	35	79	49	28	5	17
82	32	2	7	58	170				Calpe- tus.		
81	33	3	8	59	71						
980	34	4	9	60	72	34	3780	250	1	6	18
79	35	5	10	61	73	33	81	51	2	7	19
78	36	6	11	62	74	32	82	52	3	8	220
77	37	7	12	63	75	31	83	53	4	9	21
76	38	8	13	64	76	930	84	54	5	110	22
75	39	9	14	65	77	29	85	55	6	11	23
74	3740	210	15	66	78	28	86	56	7	12	24
73	41	11	16	67	79	27	87	57	8	13	25
72	42	12	17	68	180	26	88	58	9	14	26
71	43	13	18	69	81	25	89	59	10	15	27
970	44	14	19	70	82	24	3790	260	11	16	28
69	45	15	20	71	83	23	91	61	12	17	29
68	46	16	21	72	84	22	92	62	13	18	230
67	47	17	22	73	85				Tibe- rinus.		
66	48	18	23	74	86						
65	49	19	24	75	87	21	93	63	1	19	31
64	3750	220	25	76	88	920	94	64	2	120	32
63	51	21	26	77	89	19	95	65	3	21	33
			Capys.			18	96	66	4	22	34
62	52	22	1	78	190	17	97	67	5	23	35
61	53	23	2	79	91	16	98	68	6	24	36
960	54	24	3	80	92	15	99	69	7	25	37
59	55	25	4	81	93	14	3800	270	8	26	38
58	56	26	5	82	94				Agrip- pas.		
57	57	27	6	83	95						
56	58	28	7	84	96	13	1	71	1	27	39
55	59	29	8	85	97	12	2	72	2	28	240
54	3760	230	9	86	98	11	3	73	3	29	41
53	61	31	10	87	99	910	4	74	4	130	42
52	62	32	11	88	200	9	5	75	5	31	43
51	63	33	12	89	1	8	6	76	6	32	44
950	64	34	13	90	2	7	7	77	7	33	45
49	65	35	14	91	3	6	8	78	8	34	46
48	66	36	15	92	4	5	9	79	9	35	47
47	67	37	16	93	5	4	3810	280	10	36	48
46	68	38	17	94	6	3	11	81	11	37	49
45	69	39	18	95	7	2	12	82	12	38	50
44	3770	240	19	96	8	1	13	83	13	39	51
43	71	41	20	97	9	900	14	84	14	140	52
42	72	42	21	98	210	899	15	85	15	41	53
41	73	43	22	99	11	98	16	86	16	42	54
940	74	44	23	100	12	97	17	87	17	43	55
36	75	45	24	1	13	96	18	88	18	44	56

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Agrip- pas.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Aven- tinus.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.
895	3819	289	19	145	257	851	3863	333	3	37	301
94	3820	290	20	46	58	850	64	34	4	38	2
93	21	91	21	47	59	49	65	35	5	39	3
92	22	92	22	48	260	48	66	36	6	40	4
91	23	93	23	49	61	47	67	37	7	41	5
890	24	94	24	150	62	46	68	38	8	42	6
89	25	95	25	51	63	45	69	39	9	43	7
88	26	96	26	52	64	44	3870	340	10	44	8
87	27	97	27	1	65	43	71	41	11	45	9
86	28	98	28	2	66	42	72	42	12	46	310
85	29	99	29	3	67	41	73	43	13	47	11
84	3830	300	30	4	68	840	74	44	14	48	12
83	31	1	31	5	69	39	75	45	15	49	13
82	32	2	32	6	270	38	76	46	16	50	14
81	33	3	33	7	71	37	77	47	17	51	15
880	34	4	34	8	72	36	78	48	18	52	16
79	35	5	35	9	73	35	79	49	19	53	17
78	36	6	36	10	74	34	3880	350	20	54	18
77	37	7	37	11	75	33	81	51	21	55	19
76	38	8	38	12	76	32	82	52	22	56	320
75	39	9	39	13	77	31	83	53	23	57	21
74	3840	310	40	14	78	830	84	54	24	58	22
73	41	11	41	15	79	29	85	55	25	59	23
			Alladi- us.			28	86	56	26	60	24
						27	87	57	27	61	25
72	42	12	1	16	280	26	88	58	28	62	26
71	43	13	2	17	81	25	89	59	29	63	27
870	44	14	3	18	82	24	3890	360	30	64	28
69	45	15	4	19	83	23	91	61	31	65	29
68	46	16	5	20	84	22	92	62	32	66	330
67	47	17	6	21	85	21	93	63	33	67	31
66	48	18	7	22	86	820	94	64	34	68	32
65	49	19	8	23	87	19	95	65	35	69	33
64	3850	320	9	24	88	18	96	66	36	70	34
63	51	21	10	25	89	17	97	67	37	71	35
62	52	22	11	26	290				Procas.		
61	53	23	12	27	91	16	98	68	1	72	36
860	54	24	13	28	92	15	99	69	2	73	37
59	55	25	14	29	93	14	3900	370	3	74	38
58	56	26	15	30	94	13	1	71	4	75	39
57	57	27	16	31	95	12	2	72	5	76	240
56	58	28	17	32	96	11	3	73	6	77	41
55	59	29	18	33	97	810	4	74	7	78	42
54	3860	330	19	34	98	9	5	75	8	79	43
			Aven- tinus.			8	6	76	9	80	44
						7	7	77	10	81	45
53	61	31	1	35	99	6	8	78	11	82	46
52	62	32	2	36	200	5	9	79	12	83	47

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Pro- cas.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.
804	3910	380	13	84	348	
3	11	81	14	85	49	
2	12	82	15	86	350	
1	13	83	16	87	51	
800	14	84	17	88	52	
99	15	85	18	89	53	
98	16	86	19	90	54	
97	17	87	20	91	55	
96	18	88	21	92	56	
95	19	89	22	93	57	
94	3920	390	23	94	58	
			Amu- lius.			
93	21	91	1	95	59	
92	22	92	2	96	360	
91	23	93	3	97	61	
790	24	94	4	98	62	
89	25	95	3	99	63	
88	26	96	6	100	64	
87	27	97	7	1	65	
86	28	98	8	2	66	
85	29	99	9	3	67	
84	3930	400	10	4	68	
83	31	1	11	5	69	
82	32	2	12	6	370	
81	33	3	13	7	71	
780	34	4	14	8	72	
79	35	5	15	9	73	
78	36	6	16	110	74	
77	37	7	17	11	75	
76	38	8	18	12	76	1 0
						1
75	39	9	19	13	77	2
						3
74	3940	410	20	14	78	3
						4
73	41	11	21	15	79	4
						1
72	42	12	22	16	380	2 1
						2
71	43	13	23	17	81	3
						4
770	44	14	24	18	82	4
						1
69	45	15	25	19	83	1 2
						3
68	46	16	26	120	84	2 4
						3
67	47	17	27	21	85	3 1
						2
66	48	18	28	22	86	3 3

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Amu- lius.	Metonic Period.	Aeneas built.	Olympic period.			
765	3949	419	29	123	387	3 $\frac{3}{4}$			
64	50	420	30	24	88	$\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
63	51	21	31	25	89	4 $\frac{1}{2}$			
62	52	22	32	26	390	$\frac{2}{3}$			
61	53	23	33	27	91	$\frac{3}{4}$			
760	54	24	34	28	92	$\frac{4}{5}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
59	55	25	35	29	93	5 $\frac{1}{2}$			
58	56	26	36	130	94	$\frac{2}{3}$			
57	57	27	37	31	95	$\frac{3}{4}$			
56	58	28	38	32	96	$\frac{5}{6}$ $\frac{4}{1}$			
55	59	29	39	33	97	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			
54	3960	430	40	34	98	$\frac{2}{3}$			Rome. Varron. æra.
53	61	31	41	35	99	$\frac{3}{4}$			1
52	62	32	42	36	400	$\frac{6}{7}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	Rome built.		2
			Romu- lus.				Caton. æra.		
51	63	33	1	37	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1		3
750	64	34	2	38	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	2		4
49	65	35	3	39	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	3		5
48	66	36	4	140	4	$\frac{4}{5}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	4		6
47	67	37	5	41	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5		7
46	68	38	6	42	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	6		8
45	69	39	7	43	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	7		9
44	3970	440	8	44	8	$\frac{8}{9}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	8		10
43	71	41	9	45	9	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	9		11
42	72	42	10	46	410	$\frac{2}{3}$	10		12
41	73	43	11	47	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	11		13
740	74	44	12	48	12	$\frac{9}{10}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	12		14

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Romu- lus.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
739	3975	445	13	149	413	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15
38	76	46	14	150	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16
37	77	47	15	51	15	$\frac{2}{4}$	15	17
36	78	48	16	52	16	$\frac{10}{11} \frac{4}{1}$	16	18
35	79	49	17	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19
34	3980	450	18	2	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	18	20
33	81	51	19	3	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21
32	82	52	20	4	420	$\frac{11}{12} \frac{4}{1}$	20	22
31	83	53	21	5	21	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	23
730	84	54	22	6	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24
29	85	55	23	7	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25
28	86	56	24	8	24	$\frac{12}{13} \frac{4}{1}$	24	26
27	87	57	25	9	25	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	27
26	88	58	26	10	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28
25	89	59	27	11	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29
24	3990	460	28	12	28	$\frac{13}{14} \frac{4}{1}$	28	30
23	91	61	29	13	29	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	31
22	92	62	30	14	430	$\frac{2}{3}$	30	32
21	93	63	31	15	31	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33
720	94	64	32	16	32	$\frac{14}{15} \frac{4}{1}$	32	34
19	95	65	33	17	33	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	33	35
18	96	66	34	18	34	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36
17	97	67	35	19	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37
16	98	68	36	20	36	$\frac{15}{16} \frac{4}{1}$	36	38
15	99	69	37	21	37	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	37	39
14	4000	470	Interreg- num. 1	22	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	40

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Numa.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
713	4001	471	1	23	439	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	39	41
12	2	72	2	24	440	16 $\frac{4}{1}$	40	42
11	3	73	3	25	441	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	41	43
710	4	74	4	26	442	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44
9	5	75	5	27	443	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45
8	6	76	6	28	444	17 $\frac{4}{1}$	44	46
7	7	77	7	29	445	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	45	47
6	8	78	8	30	446	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48
5	9	79	9	31	447	$\frac{3}{4}$	47	49
4	4010	480	10	32	448	18 $\frac{4}{1}$	48	50
3	11	81	11	33	449	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51
2	12	82	12	34	450	$\frac{2}{3}$	50	52
1	13	83	13	35	51	$\frac{3}{4}$	51	53
700	14	84	14	36	52	19 $\frac{4}{1}$	52	54
699	15	85	15	37	53	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	55
98	16	86	16	38	54	$\frac{2}{3}$	54	56
97	17	87	17	39	55	$\frac{3}{4}$	55	57
96	18	88	18	40	56	20 $\frac{4}{1}$	56	58
95	19	89	19	41	57	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	59
94	4020	490	20	42	58	$\frac{2}{3}$	58	60
93	21	91	21	43	59	$\frac{3}{4}$	59	61
92	22	92	22	44	460	21 $\frac{4}{1}$	60	62
91	23	93	23	45	61	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	61	63
690	24	94	24	46	62	$\frac{2}{3}$	62	4
89	25	95	25	47	63	$\frac{3}{4}$	63	65
88	26	96	26	48	64	22 $\frac{4}{1}$	64	66
87	27	97	27	49	65	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	67

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Numa.	Metonic Period.	Alba built.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.
686	4028	498	28	50	466	23 $\frac{2}{3}$	66	68
85	29	99	29	51	67	$\frac{3}{4}$	67	69
84	4030	500	30	52	68	23 $\frac{4}{24}$	68	70
83	31	1	31	53	69	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	69	71
82	32	2	32	54	470	$\frac{2}{3}$	70	72
81	33	3	33	55	71	$\frac{3}{4}$	71	73
680	34	4	34	56	72	24 $\frac{4}{25}$	72	74
79	35	5	35	57	73	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75
78	36	6	36	58	74	$\frac{2}{3}$	74	76
77	37	7	37	59	75	$\frac{3}{4}$	75	77
76	38	8	38	60	76	25 $\frac{4}{26}$	76	78
75	39	9	39	61	77	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	79
74	4040	510	40	62	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	78	80
73	41	11	41	63	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	79	81
72	42	12	42	64	480	26 $\frac{4}{27}$	80	82
71	43	13	43	65	81	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	83
			Tullus Hosti.					
670	44	14	1	66	82	$\frac{2}{3}$	82	84
69	45	15	2	67	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	83	85
68	46	16	3	68	84	27 $\frac{4}{28}$	84	86
67	47	17	4	69	85	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	87
66	48	18	5	70	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	86	88
65	49	19	6	71	87	$\frac{3}{4}$	87	89
6	4050	520	7	72	Alba raised.	28 $\frac{4}{29}$	88	90
63	51	21	8	73		29 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	91
62	52	22	9	74		$\frac{2}{3}$	90	92
61	53	23	10	75		$\frac{3}{4}$	91	93
60	54	24	11	76		29 $\frac{4}{30}$	92	94

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Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tullus Hosti.	Metonic Period.	Olympiad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.		
659	4055	525	12	77	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	95		
58	56	26	13	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	94	96		
57	57	27	14	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	95	97		
56	58	28	15	80	$\frac{30}{31}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	96	98		
55	59	29	16	81	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	99		
54	4060	530	17	82	$\frac{2}{3}$	98	100		
53	61	31	18	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	99	1		
52	62	32	19	84	$\frac{31}{32}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	100	2		
51	63	33	20	85	32 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3		
650	64	34	21	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	2	4		
49	65	35	22	87	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5		
48	66	36	23	88	$\frac{32}{33}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	4	6		
47	67	37	24	89	33 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	7		
46	68	38	25	90	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	8		
45	69	39	26	91	$\frac{3}{4}$	7	9		
44	4070	540	27	92	$\frac{33}{34}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	8	110		
43	71	41	28	93	34 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	11		
42	72	42	29	94	$\frac{2}{3}$	110	12		
41	73	43	30	95	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	13		
640	74	44	31	96	$\frac{34}{35}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	12	14		
39	75	45	32	97	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15		
			Ancus Marcius.						
38	76	46	1	98	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16		
37	77	47	2	99	$\frac{3}{4}$	15	17		
36	78	48	3	100	$\frac{35}{36}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	16	18		
35	79	49	4	1	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19		
34	4080	550	5	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	18	120		
333	81	51	6	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21		

Before Chr. ft.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Ancus Marcius.	Metonic Period.	Olympi- ad.	Caton. era.	Varron. era.
632	4082	552	7	104	$\frac{36}{37} \frac{4}{1}$	120	122
31	83	53	8	5	$\frac{37}{38} \frac{5}{2}$	21	23
630	84	54	9	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24
29	85	55	10	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25
28	86	56	11	8	$\frac{37}{38} \frac{4}{1}$	24	26
27	87	57	12	9	$\frac{38}{39} \frac{1}{2}$	25	27
26	88	58	13	110	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28
25	89	59	14	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29
24	4090	560	15	12	$\frac{38}{39} \frac{4}{1}$	28	130
23	91	61	16	13	$\frac{39}{40} \frac{1}{2}$	29	31
22	92	62	17	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	130	32
21	93	63	18	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33
620	94	64	19	16	$\frac{39}{40} \frac{4}{1}$	32	34
19	95	65	20	17	$\frac{40}{41} \frac{1}{2}$	33	35
18	96	66	21	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36
17	97	67	22	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37
16	98	68	23	120	$\frac{40}{41} \frac{4}{1}$	36	38
15	99	69	24	21	$\frac{41}{42} \frac{1}{2}$	37	39
			Tarq. Priscus.				
14	4100	70	1	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	140
13	1	71	2	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	39	41
12	2	72	3	24	$\frac{41}{42} \frac{4}{1}$	140	42
11	3	73	4	25	$\frac{42}{43} \frac{1}{2}$	41	43
610	4	74	5	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44
9	5	75	6	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45
8	6	76	7	28	$\frac{42}{43} \frac{4}{1}$	44	46
7	7	77	8	29	$\frac{43}{44} \frac{1}{2}$	45	47
6	8	78	9	130	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tarq. Priscus.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caron. era.	Varron. era.		
605	4109	579	10	131	43 $\frac{3}{4}$	147	149		
4	4110	580	11	32	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	48	150		
3	11	81	12	33	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51		
2	12	82	13	34	$\frac{2}{3}$	150	52		
1	13	83	14	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	51	53		
600	14	84	15	36	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	52	54		
599	15	85	16	37	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	55		
98	16	86	17	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	54	56		
97	17	87	18	39	$\frac{3}{4}$	55	57		
96	18	88	19	140	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	56	58		
95	19	89	20	41	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	59		
94	4120	590	21	42	$\frac{2}{3}$	58	160		
93	21	91	22	43	$\frac{3}{4}$	59	61		
92	22	92	23	44	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	160	62		
91	23	93	24	45	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	61	63		
590	24	94	25	46	$\frac{2}{3}$	62	64		
89	25	95	26	47	$\frac{3}{4}$	63	65		
88	26	96	27	48	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	66		
87	27	97	28	49	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	65	67		
86	28	98	29	150	$\frac{2}{3}$	66	68		
85	29	99	30	51	$\frac{3}{4}$	67	69		
84	4130	600	31	52	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	68	170		
83	31	1	32	1	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	69	71		
82	32	2	33	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	170	72		
81	33	3	34	3	$\frac{3}{4}$	71	73		
580	34	4	35	4	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	72	74		
79	35	5	36	5	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75		
78	36	6	37	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	74	76		

Before Christ:	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tarq. Priscus.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton- ara.	Varon. æra.		
577	4137	607	38 Servius Tullius	7	50 $\frac{3}{4}$	175	177		
76	38	8	1	8	$\frac{50}{51}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	76	78		
75	39	9	2	9	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	79		
74	4140	610	3	10	$\frac{2}{3}$	78	180		
73	41	11	4	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	79	81		
72	42	12	5	12	$\frac{51}{52}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	180	82		
71	43	13	6	13	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	83		
570	44	14	7	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	82	84		
69	45	15	8	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	83	85		
68	46	16	9	16	$\frac{52}{53}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	84	86		
67	47	17	10	17	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	87		
66	48	18	11	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	86	88		
65	49	19	12	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	87	89		
64	4150	620	13	20	$\frac{53}{54}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	88	190		
63	51	21	14	21	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	91		
62	52	22	15	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	190	92		
61	53	23	16	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	91	93		
560	54	24	17	24	$\frac{54}{55}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	92	94		
59	55	25	18	25	55 $\frac{1}{2}$	93	95		
58	56	26	19	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	94	96		
57	57	27	20	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	95	97		
56	58	28	21	28	$\frac{55}{56}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	96	98		
55	59	29	22	29	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	99		
54	4160	630	23	30	$\frac{2}{3}$	98	200		
53	61	31	24	31	$\frac{3}{4}$	99	1		
52	62	32	25	32	$\frac{56}{57}$ $\frac{4}{1}$	200	2		
51	63	33	26	33	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3		

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Servius Tullius.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.		
550	4164	634	27	34	57 $\frac{2}{3}$	202	204		
49	65	35	28	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5		
48	66	36	29	36	57 $\frac{4}{1}$	4	6		
47	67	37	30	37	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	7		
46	68	38	31	38	$\frac{2}{3}$	6	8		
45	69	39	32	39	$\frac{3}{4}$	7	9		
44	4170	640	33	40	58 $\frac{4}{1}$	8	210		
43	71	41	34	41	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	11		
42	72	42	35	42	$\frac{2}{3}$	210	12		
41	73	43	36	43	$\frac{3}{4}$	11	13		
540	74	44	37	44	59 $\frac{4}{1}$	12	14		
39	75	45	38	45	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	15		
38	76	46	39	46	$\frac{2}{3}$	14	16		
37	77	47	40	47	$\frac{3}{4}$	15	17		
36	78	48	41	48	60 $\frac{4}{1}$	16	18		
35	79	49	42	49	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	19		
34	4180	650	43	50	$\frac{2}{3}$	18	220		
33	81	51	44	51	$\frac{3}{4}$	19	21		
			Targ. Superbus.						
32	82	52	1	52	61 $\frac{4}{1}$	220	22		
31	83	53	2	53	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	21	23		
530	84	54	3	54	$\frac{2}{3}$	22	24		
29	85	55	4	55	$\frac{3}{4}$	23	25		
28	86	56	5	56	62 $\frac{4}{1}$	24	26		
27	87	57	6	57	63 $\frac{1}{2}$	25	27		
26	88	58	7	58	$\frac{2}{3}$	26	28		
25	89	59	8	59	$\frac{3}{4}$	27	29		
24	4190	660	9	60	63 $\frac{4}{1}$	28	220		

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Tarq. Superbus.	Metonic Period.	Olymp. piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.		
523	4191	661	10	61	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	29	231		
22	92	62	11	62	$\frac{2}{3}$	230	32		
21	93	63	12	63	$\frac{3}{4}$	31	33		
520	94	64	13	64	$\frac{64}{65} \frac{4}{1}$	32	34		
19	95	65	14	65	$\frac{65}{2}$	33	35		
18	96	66	15	66	$\frac{2}{3}$	34	36		
17	97	67	16	67	$\frac{3}{4}$	35	37		
16	98	68	17	68	$\frac{65}{66} \frac{4}{1}$	36	38		
15	99	69	18	69	$\frac{66}{2}$	37	39		
14	4200	670	19	70	$\frac{2}{3}$	38	240		
13	1	71	20	71	$\frac{3}{4}$	39	41		
12	2	72	21	72	$\frac{66}{67} \frac{4}{1}$	240	42		
11	3	73	22	73	$\frac{67}{2}$	41	43		
510	4	74	23	74	$\frac{2}{3}$	42	44		
9	5	75	24	75	$\frac{3}{4}$	43	45		
8	6	76	25 Expelled.	76	$\frac{67}{68} \frac{4}{1}$	44	46		

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olymp. piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
507	4207	677	77	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	245	247	1	Lucius Junius Brutus, succeeded by Spurius Lucretius, the father of Lu- cretia; who was succeeded by Marcus Horatius. Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, succeeded by Publius Valerius Poplicola.
6	8	78	78	$\frac{2}{3}$	46	48	2	Publius Valerius Poplicola II. Titus Lucretius.
5	9	79	79	$\frac{3}{4}$	47	49	3	Publius Valerius Poplicola III. Marcus Horatius II.
4	4210	680	80	$\frac{68}{69} \frac{4}{1}$	48	250	4	Spurius Lartius. Titus Herminius.
3	11	81	81	69 $\frac{1}{2}$	49	51	5	Marcus Valerius. Publius Postumius Tubertus.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
502	4212	682	82	69 $\frac{2}{3}$	250	252	6	Publius Valerius Poplicola IV. Titus Lucretius II.
I	13	83	83	$\frac{3}{4}$	51	53	7	Publius Postumius Tubertus II. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus.
500	14	84	84	$\frac{69}{70} \frac{4}{1}$	52	54	8	Spurius Cassius Viscellinus. Opiter Virginius Tricostus.
99	15	85	85	$\frac{70}{71} \frac{1}{2}$	53	55	9	Postumus Cominius. Titus Lartius.
98	16	86	86	$\frac{2}{3}$	54	56	10	Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. Manius Tullius Longus.
97	17	87	87	$\frac{3}{2}$	55	57	11	Publius Veturius Geminus. Titus Æbutius Elva.
96	18	88	88	$\frac{70}{71} \frac{4}{1}$	56	58	12	Titus Lartius Flavius II. Quintus Clælius Siculus.
95	19	89	89	$\frac{71}{72} \frac{1}{2}$	57	59	13	Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. Marcus Minucius.
94	4220	690	90	$\frac{2}{3}$	58	260	14	Aulus Postumius. Titus Virginius.
93	21	91	91	$\frac{3}{4}$	59	61	15	Appius Claudius Sabinus. Publius Servilius Priscus.
92	22	92	92	$\frac{71}{72} \frac{4}{1}$	260	62	16	Aulus Virginius Cælimontanus. Titus Veturius Geminus.
91	23	93	93	$\frac{72}{73} \frac{1}{2}$	61	63	17	Postumus Cominius II. Spurius Cassius II.
490	24	94	94	$\frac{2}{3}$	62	64	18	Titus Geganius Macerinus. Publius Minucius.
89	25	95	95	$\frac{3}{4}$	63	65	19	Marcus Minucius Augurinus II. Aulus Sempronius Atratinus II.
88	26	96	96	$\frac{72}{73} \frac{4}{1}$	64	66	20	Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus. Spurius Lartius Flavius II.
87	27	97	97	$\frac{73}{74} \frac{1}{2}$	65	67	21	Caius Julius Iulus. Publius Pinarius Rufus.
86	28	98	98	$\frac{2}{3}$	66	68	22	Spurius Nautius. Sextus Furius.
85	29	99	99	$\frac{3}{4}$	67	69	23	Caius Aquilius. Titus Sicinus.
84	30	700	100	$\frac{73}{74} \frac{4}{1}$	68	270	24	Proculus Virginius. Spurius Cassius III.
83	31	1	1	$\frac{74}{75} \frac{1}{2}$	69	71	25	Quintus Fabius, the son of Cæso. Servius Cornelius.
82	32	2	2	$\frac{2}{3}$	70	72	26	Lucius Æmilius, the son of Mamercus. Cæso Fabius, the son of Cæso.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Iro.	Metonic Period.	Olympi- ad.	Caton. æra.	Varron æra.	Expul- sion.	CONSULS.
481	4232	703	103	74 $\frac{3}{4}$	271	273	27	Marcus Fabius, the son of Cæso. Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus.
480	34	4	4	74 $\frac{4}{5}$	72	74	28	Caius Julius Iulus II. Quintus Fabius II.
79	35	5	5	75 $\frac{1}{2}$	73	75	29	Cæso Fabius II. Spurius Furius.
78	36	6	6	$\frac{2}{3}$	74	76	30	Cneius Manlius. Marcus Fabius II.
77	37	7	7	$\frac{3}{4}$	75	77	31	Cæso Fabius III. Titus Virginus.
76	38	8	8	75 $\frac{3}{4}$	76	78	32	Lucius Æmilius II. Caius Servilius.
75	39	9	9	76 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	79	33	Caius Horatius. Titus Menenius.
74	4240	710	110	$\frac{2}{3}$	78	280	34	Spurius Servilius. Aulus Virginus.
73	41	11	11	$\frac{3}{4}$	79	81	35	Publius Valerius Poplicola. Caius Nautius.
72	42	12	12	76 $\frac{4}{5}$	280	82	36	Aulus Manlius. Lucius Furius.
71	43	13	13	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	81	83	37	Lucius Æmilius Mamercus III. Vopiscus Julius Iulus.
470	44	14	14	$\frac{2}{3}$	82	84	38	Lucius Pinarius. Publius Furius.
69	45	15	15	$\frac{3}{4}$	83	85	39	Titus Quintius Capitolinus. Appius Claudius Sabinus.
68	46	16	16	77 $\frac{4}{5}$	84	86	40	Lucius Valerius II. Tiberius Æmilius.
67	47	17	17	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	85	87	41	Aulus Virginus Nomentanus. Titus Numicius Priscus.
66	48	18	18	$\frac{2}{3}$	86	88	42	Titus Quintius Capitolinus II. Quintus Servilius Priscus.
65	49	19	19	$\frac{3}{4}$	87	89	43	Tiberius Æmilius II. Quintus Fabius.
64	1250	720	120	78 $\frac{4}{5}$	88	290	44	Spurius Postumius Albinus. Quintus Servilius Priscus II.
63	51	21	21	79 $\frac{1}{2}$	89	91	45	Titus Quintius Capitolinus III. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus II.
62	52	22	22	$\frac{2}{3}$	290	92	46	Aulus Postumius Albus. Spurius Furius.
61	53	23	23	$\frac{3}{4}$	91	93	47	Lucius Æbutius. Publius Servilius Priscus.
460	54	24	24	79 $\frac{4}{5}$	92	94	48	Lucius Lucretius. Titus Veturius Geminus.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olympiad.	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- tion.	CONSULS.
459	4255	725	125	80 $\frac{1}{2}$	293	295	49	Publius Volumnius. Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.
58	56	26	26	$\frac{2}{3}$	94	96	50	Publius Valerius Poplicola II. Caius Claudius Sabinus.
57	57	27	27	$\frac{3}{4}$	95	97	51	Quintus Fabius Vibulanus III. Lucius Cornelius.
56	58	28	28	80 $\frac{4}{1}$	96	98	5	Caius Nautius II. Lucius Minucius.
55	59	29	29	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	97	99	53	Caius Horatius. Quintus Minucius.
54	4260	730	130	$\frac{2}{3}$	98	300	54	Marcus Valerius. Spurius Virginius.
53	61	31	31	$\frac{3}{4}$	99	1	55	Titus Romilius. Caius Veturius.
52	62	32	32	82 $\frac{4}{1}$	300	2	56	Spurius Tarpeius. Aulus Aternus.
51	63	33	33	82 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	3	57	Publius Horatius. Sextus Quintilius.
450	64	34	34	$\frac{2}{3}$	2	4	58	Caius Menenius. Publius Sestius.
								THE FIRST DECEMVIRS.
49	65	35	35	$\frac{3}{4}$	3	5	59	Appius Claudius. Titus Genucius. Publius Sestius. Spurius Postumius. Servius Sulpicius. Aulus Manlius. Titus Romilius. Caius Julius. Titus Veturius. Publius Horatius.
								THE SECOND DECEMVIRS.
48	66	36	36	82 $\frac{4}{1}$	4	6	60	Appius Claudius. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. Marcus Cornelius. Marcus Sergius. Lucius Minucius. Titus Antonius. Manius Rabuleius. Quintus Poetilius. Creso Duillius. Spurius Oppius.

Before Christ.	Julian Period.	After taking Troy.	Metonic Period.	Olym- piad,	Caton. æra.	Varron. æra.	Expul- sion.	The THIRD DECEMVIRS.
447	4267	737	137	83 $\frac{1}{2}$	305	307	61	Appius Claudius, and the same col- leagues.
								CONSULS.
46	68	38	38	83 $\frac{2}{3}$	6	*	62 Varro. 61	Lucius Valerius Potitus. Marcus Horatius Barbatus.
45	69	39	39	84	7	8	63 Varro. 62	Larus Herminius. Titus Verginius.
44	4270	740	140	83 $\frac{1}{4}$	8	9	64 Varro. 63	Marcus Geganius Macerinus. Caius Julius.
43	71	41	41	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	310	65 Varro. 64	Titus Quintius Capitolinus IV. Agrippa Furius. [both from Livy.]
42	72	42	42	85 $\frac{2}{3}$	310	11	66 Varro. 65	Marcus Genucius. Caius Curtius
								CONSULAR TRIBUNES
41	73	43	43	85 $\frac{3}{4}$	11	12	67 Varro. 66	Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. Lucius Atilius Longus. Titus Clælius Siculus.
								CONSULS.
440	74	44	44	85 $\frac{1}{5}$	12	13	68 Varro. 67	Marcus Geganius Macerinus II. Titus Quintius Capitolinus V.

The Remains of Dionysius end with these Consuls.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

THOUGH no friend to the discourses usually employed in the prefaces to histories, yet I am obliged to speak of myself: In doing which I shall neither dwell too long on my own praise, which I know would be

ANNOTATIONS on the First Book.

¹ Τῆς εἰωθόλης ἀποδίδουθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις λόγους. This first period has occasioned great difficulty; and, consequently, great diversity of opinions both in the translators and commentators. Henry Stephens, as we call him, who was a man of great parts as well as great learning (which qualities are not always such inseparable companions as they may be thought) contends that we ought to read ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις, because, says he, it is too hard an expression to say λόγοι ἀποδίδουθαι τοῖς προοιμίοις, as if the historian was to give an account

to the preface of his history; when, on the other side, the preface itself is the thing, that gives the account. This is confining the sense of the word ἀποδίδουθαι to a single signification; whereas it is capable of many, and, particularly, of That, which our author has given to it in this passage. Plato has taken it in the same sense, where he says, ^a Καὶ ὁμολογεῖται μὴ παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι τὰς τῶν φυλάκων γυναῖξιν ἡμιτέκνους τε καὶ γυμναστικὴν ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΝΑΙ. I agree, indeed, with him that ἡμισὲς βεβλημένος should be understood as if

^a Plato B. v. Περὶ πολιτ. p. 654. Edit. of Marfil.

disagreeable to the reader, neither shall I censure other historians,² as Anaxilaus and Theopompus have done in the prefaces to their histories; but shall only shew the reasons, that induced me to undertake this work, and give an account of the means, by which I was furnished with the knowledge

the author had said *καίπερ ἤκιστα βελο-
μενος*; but I cannot agree with him in
joining *της εὐθείας λογης* with *ειπεν*,
because I often find *βελομαι* governing
an accusative case in the best authors,
and applied in the same sense our au-
thor uses it upon this occasion: Thus,
Thucydides uses the word in giving an
account of the unfortunate expedition
of the Athenians to Sicily under Nicias,
Lamachus, and Alcibiades, ^b *Και ὡς
αὐτης οἱ Καίαναισι ἐκ ἐδεχοντο (εὐησαν γὰρ
αὐτοῖσι ἀνδρες τὰ Συρακυσίων ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΙ)
ἐκομιθῆσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Τηριαν πόλιμον.*

² *Ὡςπερ Ἀναξίλαος καὶ Θεοπόμπος ἐν
τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐποίησαν.* As
to the first of these historians, I can
find nothing relating to him, that is
worth mentioning. The other was an
historian of great merit, and treated
as such by many ancient authors both
Greek and Latin, particularly by
Dionysius of Halicarnassus himself in
his letter to Cn. Pompeius; in which
he gives the character of the most
celebrated historians; and, among the
rest, of Theopompus, “who, he says,
“was the most illustrious of all the
“scholars of Isocrates; and, after
“enumerating the many advantages
“he had of being well informed of
“what he writ, he says, that the
“greatest characteristic of his writing,
“and That, in which he was more

“exact than all the other historians,
“either ancient or modern, was this,
“that he observed, and related, not
“only those things, that were observ-
“able by others, but, also, searched
“into the hidden motives both of the
“actions, and of the actors, and into
“the passions of the soul, which are
“not easily discovered by the gene-
“rality of mankind; and that he
“unfolded all the mysteries both of
“seeming virtue, and of latent vice.”

It is no wonder that so free a searcher
into the springs of Philip’s policy,
whose affairs were the subject of one of
his histories, and with whom he was
cotemporary, should pass for a censori-
ous writer. But the truth is, that the
iniquitous designs of Philip to enslave
Greece; the corrupt methods, made
use of by him to accomplish that de-
sign; the disorders of his court; his
personal prostitution to every vice,
sometimes, through intemperance, and
sometimes, through policy, were so
flagrant, that a naked relation of all
these excesses might make his history
appear a satire. This Philippic history
of Theopompus contained fifty eight
books, as we learn from Diodorus Si-
culus, who says that five of them were
suspected not to be genuine. ^c *Γεγραφε
(Θεοπόμπος) βιβλος αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς πεντή-
κοντα, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνεσι.*

^b Thucyd. B. vi. c. 50.

^c Diod. Sic. B. xvi. p. 511. Edit. of Steph.

of those things, I am going to relate. For I am of the opinion that all, who propose to leave such monuments of their minds to posterity, as time shall not involve in one common ruin with their bodies, and, particularly, those, who write histories, which we look upon as the repositories of truth, ³ the source both of prudence and wisdom, ought, first of all, to make choice of worthy and grand subjects, and such as are of great utility to their readers; then, with great care and pains, provide themselves with proper materials. For those, who build their histories upon subjects inglorious, wicked, or of no importance, either fond of being known, and of getting a name of any kind, or desirous to display the abundance of their oratory, ⁴ are neither known by posterity to their advantage, or commended for their eloquence, leaving this opinion in the minds of all, who are conversant with their histories, that their lives, and their writings were of a piece; since it is a just, and a general observation, that the works of an author are the images of his mind. There are others, who make choice indeed of the best subjects; but, by founding their relations upon common reports through precipitancy and carelessness, lose

³ Αρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας ἔσαν.
Le Jay has left out this fine observation in his paraphrase on this passage. The other French translator has not left it out in his.

⁴ Οὐτε τῆς γνώσεως ζηλευταὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγινόμενοις. Both the French translators have applied *ζηλευταὶ* in this place to *imitation* and *emulation*, which is, no doubt, one sense of the word, but

not the sense it bears here, where it plainly implies *admiration*, *praise*; and, in this sense, it agrees very well with what goes before: These men, says our author, are fond of being known, and they are so, but it is to their disadvantage. And thus Suidas explains the word *ζηλωτος μακαριστος. επαινετος.*

the merit of that choice. ⁵For we do not allow the histories of renowned cities, and of men who have governed nations, to be written in a hasty, and negligent manner. As therefore I am convinced that these considerations are necessary to, and ought first to be regarded by, historians, and, as I have taken great care to observe them both, I would neither omit the mention of them, nor ⁶give it any other place than in the preface to this work.

II. That I have made choice of a subject, worthy, grand, and useful, will be readily granted by all, who are not utterly unacquainted with ⁷general history: For, if any one, who has considered the ancient empires both of cities and of nations, as delivered down to us by history, and, after that, in surveying them severally, and comparing them together, desires to be satisfied which of them obtained the most extensive dominion, and, both in peace and war, performed the most glaring achievements, he will find the empire of the Romans to have far exceeded all those that preceded it, not only in the extent of their dominion, and in the splendor of their actions (⁸which no history has hitherto

⁵ Ου γὰρ ἀξιζμεν ἀντοχεδίας, etc. I am sensible that the general signification of the word ἀντοχεδίας is *extemporary*: but, as it, also, signifies *sudden*, *hasty*, I have chosen to give it this sense, because it agrees better with εἰκη, which our author had employed, just before, to signify the same thing.

⁶ Καταχωρῆσαι. I have followed the common editions in reading καταχωρῆσαι rather than καταχωρησαι with the Vati-

can manuscript; the first being an active verb, and signifying *to place*, *to dispose*; and the other, if there is such a word, a neuter, in which sense it can have nothing to do here.

⁷ Της κοινῆς ἱστορίας. Casaubon very well observes, upon this place, that κοινή ἱστορία signifies καθολικὴ ἱστορία, in opposition to τῇ τῶν κατὰ μέρος συντάξει.

⁸ AS ἔπω κεκοσμήκε λόγος ἔδειξ ἀξίως, *Que personne jusqu'ici n'a vantées comme*
worthily

worthily celebrated) but also in the length of time, that has handed it down to our days: For the empire of the Assyrians,

elles le meritent in Le Jay, is, by much, too vain a translation of the word *κορυμναι*: The other French translator has translated, or, rather, paraphrased this passage with more modesty, *Qu'aucun auteur n'a traités jusqu'ici avec toute la dignité, et toute l'éloquence qu'elles demandent*. When I read this expression in our author, I cannot help being surprised at his censuring, at one dash, all the writers of the Roman history; particularly, if, as it is generally thought, Livy's history appeared before his. For, if ever an historian had the talent of *adorning* the actions he relates, I really think that Livy possessed it in the highest degree. For this reason, Caligula, that mad emperor, whose sayings, though destitute of reason, were not destitute of the appearance of it, called Livy *verbosum in historiâ*^d. However, I have great reason to think that Livy's history did not make its appearance in the world so early as the consulship of Claudius Nero, and Calpurnius Piso, which was in the year of Rome 745, according to Cato. Vossius, I know, contends that Livy must have finished his history before the year 730^e; because he says, that, after Numa, the temple of Janus was twice shut, once, in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the end of the first Punic war; and, the second time, by Augustus, after the battle of Actium. ^f *Bis deinde post Numae regnum (Janus) clausus fuit: semel, Tito Manlio consule, post Punicum primum perfectum*

bellum; iterum, quod nostrae aetati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto, pace terrâ marique partâ. Vossius goes on, and says, It is well known that the temple of Janus was shut a second time, by Augustus in the year 730; and, also, a third time, by the same emperor, the following year; and, says he, What can be plainer, when Livy says That temple was shut, *but once*, in his time, that he writ those words, before it was shut the second, and third time? I will not quarrel with Vossius for making Livy say more than he does, in order to favour his argument: Livy does not say, *but once*, though, what he says, seems to imply it. This argument of Vossius proves, most certainly, that, when Livy writ those words, the temple of Janus had been only shut once by Augustus, but it is very far from proving that Livy finished his history before it had been shut, the second and third time. I find by ^g Dion Cassius that, after Caius Antistius had obtained a victory over the Astures and Cantabri (Augustus having left the command of the army to him by reason of his indisposition) the temple of Janus was shut by this emperor, for the second time, during his reign, which happened in the 729th year of Rome, Augustus being consul for the ninth time together with Marcus Silanus. Now, it is impossible that Livy could have finished his history before

^d Sueton. Life of Calig. c. 34.

^e B. liii. p. 589. Edit. Steph.

^f De Hist. Latin. B. i. c. 19.

^g Liv. B. i. c. 19.

ancient as it was, and running back as far as the fabulous times, spread itself no farther than over a small part of Asia. That of the Medes, who overthrew the Assyrian empire, and ⁹attained still greater power, lasted not long, but was dissolved in the fourth generation: the Persians, indeed, after they had conquered the Medes, at last, became masters of almost all Asia; but, having also invaded the European nations, they did not ¹prevail on many of them to submit

that year; since it, plainly, appears, by the epitome, that he extended it to the death of Drusus, which happened in the 744th year of Rome, Drusus himself and Crispinus being consuls. Nay, there are some authors, who carry his history even to the time of Tiberius, in the fourth year of whose reign he is said by Eusebius to have died in his 76th year^b. As the words quoted by Vossius out of Livy, are in his first book, it is very possible he might afterwards forget to alter them.

⁹ Μειζονα δυνασειαν περιβαλομενη. Περιεβαλοντο. επεκλυσαντο. Suidas. I shall defer taking notice of the ancient empires, here mentioned by our author, till he has gone through them; as I shall, also, considering the sense he gives to the word γενεα, till I come to the place, where he applies it to the duration of the Roman empire.

¹⁰ Ου πολλα επηγαγοντο. Le Jay has translated this *qui subjuguerent mesme une partie de l'Europe*; which is neither agreeable to the sense of the Greek word, nor to the fact, as it stands recorded in history. Επαγεσθαι signifies *to prevail on any one by money, promises*

or persuasion. Επαγομενα, εφολκα, η, απαληικα. Hesychius. Επηγαγει. προσωκειωσατο. ιδιοποιησατο. Suidas. In this sense, it is, frequently, used, by Thucydides; particularly, in relation to the Acanthians who were *persuaded* by a speech of Brasidas to revolt from the Athenians, as the Boeotians had, before, been, by the Persians, to abandon the cause of the Greeks. The Acanthians, says Thucydidesⁱ, δια τε τα ΕΠΑΓΩΓΑ ειπεν τον Βρασιδαν, και περι τα καρπη φοβω εγνωσαν οι πλειες αφισσασθαι Αθηναιων. I said that Le Jay's translation was not agreeable to the truth of history. For the Persians never made any conquests in Europe under Darius, the son of Hystaspes; they advanced no further than Marathon, where they were defeated by the Athenians, and Datis, their general, was slain. In their second expedition, when Xerxes commanded in person, they were far from making conquests in Europe. They were defeated at Salamis by sea, and at Plataea by land; and Xerxes himself was forced to fly into Asia with ignominy. But, if the Persians were unsuccessful in their

^b In Chronic.

ⁱ Thuc. B. iv. c. 88.

to their obedience, and continued not in power much above two hundred years. The Macedonian empire itself, which overthrew the Persian, and, in the extent of its dominion, exceeded all before it, did not flourish long, but, after Alexander's death, began to decline: For, being immediately divided into many kingdoms by his successors; and, after them, supporting itself to the second or third generation, it was weakened by its own hands, and, at last, destroyed by the Romans. But, even, the Macedonian empire did not subdue every country, and every sea. Of the wide-extended region of Libya, only that part, which borders upon Aegypt, obeyed their power; neither did they subdue all Europe, Thracia being the limits of their European conquests to the north, and the Adriatic to the west.

III. The most famous empires, therefore, we have any account of in history, "after they had arrived to so great a maturity and power, have mouldered away. As for the empire of the Greeks, it does not deserve to be compared

attempts to conquer Greece, they were not so in their attempts to corrupt it, as every one knows, who has read the Greek history. By their intrigues, they prevailed on the Boeotians, the Macedonians, and Thessalians to espouse their cause against the Greeks, in the expedition of Xerxes: and this is what our author means by *επηγαγοίλο*, in translating which Sylburgius has been much more cautious than Le Jay; he has said *non multum processerunt*, which, though it is far from expressing the sense of the word, made use of by our author, shews, at least,

that he did not look upon this expression to carry with it any idea of a conquest. But, as bad as that translation of Sylburgius is, the other French translator has translated it literally: For he has said, *ils ne firent plus de grands progrès*.

11. Τὸσαυτὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ ἰσχυρὴν λαβεῖναι. Intirely left out by Le Jay. His countryman has said very well *après être parvenus au degré de puissance que nous avons dit*; which, if it does not, absolutely, come up to the author's sense, is very near it.

to

to the former; since it was neither so extensive, nor its splendor so long-lived. ¹² For the Athenians were masters only of the maritime country during the space of sixty eight years, neither did their dominion extend even over all That, but only to the coasts of the Euxine and Pamphylian seas, when they were most powerful on that element. The Lacedaemonians, having the command of Pelóponnesus, and the rest of Greece, advanced their dominion as far as Macedon; but were deprived of their power by the Thebans, of which they had not been in possession quite thirty years. ¹³ But Rome is mistress of every country not inaccessible, or uninhabited; every sea owns her power, not only That within Hercules Pillars, but also the whole navigable ocean: She is the first, and the only state recorded in history, that ever made the east and west the boundaries of her empire. Neither has her dominion been of short duration, but more lasting than That of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For, the city was no sooner built, but she conquered many warlike nations, her neighbours, and still advanced, over-

¹² Αθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς μόνον ἡρξάντο τῆς θαλάσσης. Le Jay has surpassed himself in translating this passage. He has said, *Les athéniens n'ont été redoutable que sur la mer*. The other French translator has rendered it very properly.

¹³ Ἡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἀπάσης μὲν ἀρχεῖ γῆς, etc. Casaubon has a long note upon this passage, which Le Jay has translated without taking any notice of him, as he has many others from other commentators without giving his readers the least hint, to whom he was

beholden. Upon the whole, his notes are nothing else but one continued translation of the notes of other commentators. As to Casaubon's criticism upon this hyperbolical passage, all that I shall say in vindication of our author, is, that it was the style in vogue at Rome in his time, and many years after. Other authors, in speaking of the Roman power, have had the same flights, but few have expressed them so beautifully.

coming all opposition. These things happened during the course of seven hundred and forty five years from her foundation to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the hundred and ninety third Olympiad. By the conquest of all Italy, she was emboldened to proceed even to universal empire; and, having driven the Carthaginians from off the sea, whose maritime strength was superior to That of all others; and subdued Macedon the most powerful nation, till that time, at land, no enemy being left either among the Greeks or Barbarians, she is mistress of the whole world; ¹⁴ and this is the seventh generation she has continued

¹⁴. ΓΕΝΕΑΝ ἑβδόμην ἤδη τὴν ἐπ' ἐμὲ δια-
μενεῖ παντὶος ἀρχαῖα τοῦτα. I shall, in
this note, consider the ancient em-
pires, mentioned by our author, and
give a short synopsis of them. The
Assyrian empire was founded by Ni-
nus, the son of Belus, and possessed
the Upper Asia during 520 years ^k.
As the foundation of this empire is
placed by the chronologers ^l in the
3447th year of the Julian period, that
is, 491 years before the first Olympiad,
our author, very properly, says that it
ran back into the fabulous times ^m,
which are computed from the Ogygian
flood, to the institution of the Olym-
piads, and comprehend 1020 years.
The Medes revolted from the Assy-
rians under Dejoces, who was succeed-
ed by his son Phraortes, whose son,
Cyaxares, succeeded him ⁿ; and Asty-
ages, the son of the latter, succeeded

his father; during whose reign, the
empire of the Medes was dissolved by
Cyrus, *in the fourth generation*, as our
author says; by which, he plainly shews
in what sense he takes the word ΓΕΝΕΑ.
The beginning of the Persian empire
is, generally, computed from the tak-
ing of Babylon by Cyrus, which hap-
pened in the 4176th year of the Julian
period ^o. From that aera, to the year
Alexander made his triumphal entry
into the same city, which was the
4383^d of the same period ^p, there are
no more than 207 years; consequent-
ly, the empire of the Persians was of
no longer duration; which justifies
our author, in saying, that *it did not
continue much above two hundred years*.
In order to follow the computation of
our author, we must date the begin-
ning of the Macedonian empire from
the time she destroyed That of the

^k Herod. in Clio, c. 95.

^l Usher, p. 24.

^m Id. p. 7.

ⁿ Herod. in Clio, c. 107.

^o Usher p. 81.

^p Id. p. 175.

in possession of that dominion ; neither is there any nation, as I may say, that claims a share in her universal power, or

Persians, *την Περσων καθελυσαι ιχυν*, that is, from the abovementioned year of the Julian period 4383 ; and not from any of the Macedonian kings before Alexander, much less from Caranus, the founder of that kingdom. From that aera, to the year 4546 of the same period^q, in which Perseus, their last king, was defeated, and the Macedonian kingdom destroyed by Paulus Aemilius, there are found no more than 163 years ; out of which number, must be deducted the reigns of Alexander's generals (because our author says *μετ' εκεινους*) to the reign of Antigonus Gonatus, from whom there was a regular succession of kings from father to son down to Perseus, if we except Antigonus *Δωρων*, who was rather regent of the kingdom, during the minority of Philip, than king. Antigonus Gonatas, his son Demetrius, his grandson Philip, and his great-grandson Perseus, make three generations ; in the last of which, as our author says, the Macedonian empire was dissolved. As to the power of the Athenians over the maritime country, which our author says lasted 68 years, I shall not translate the note in Hudson, as M * * * has done, but date the beginning of that power, with Thucydides^r, from the recalling of Pausanias, whose arbitrary government had alienated the minds of the Allies from the Lacedaemonians, and thrown them into the arms of the Athenians. This happened in the 4240th year of the Julian period^s ; from whence, to the

battle of Aegos Potamos, in which the Athenian fleet was destroyed by Lyfander ; and which was fought in the 4309th year of the same period, there are 69 years, which agrees pretty well with the computation of our author. The Lacedaemonian power over all Greece must be dated from the abovementioned battle at Aegos Potamos. From thence, to the battle of Leuctra, in which they were utterly defeated, and stripped of that power by the Thebans under the command of Epaminondas. This battle was fought in the 4344th year of the Julian period^t ; and, from the battle of Aegos Potamos, to That of Leuctra, there are found 35 years, which make five years more than are assigned by our author, to the duration of their power. The only difficulty that remains, is to know what Dionysius means by *γενεαν εβδομην*, *the seventh generation*, during which he says, Rome had continued, in his time, mistress of the world. Dodwell has written a kind of dissertation upon this passage, which Le Jay has translated without taking any notice of Dodwell. The other French translator has acted with more candor, and mentioned his name. I agree with Dodwell that, by the word *γενεα*, Dionysius does not mean any determinate number of years, but a succession of princes, or of men ; but I cannot agree with him that Dionysius had a view, in speaking of these seven generations, to any succession of priests, or princes in the Julian family, which

^q Usher, p. 321.

^r Thucyd. B. i. c. 95.

^s Usher, p. 105.

^t Id. p. 147.

refuses

refuses obedience to it. But I need say no more to prove that I have not made choice, as I have said, of the least of subjects, or proposed to relate trivial, or obscure actions, but have undertaken the history both of the most illustrious state, and of the most shining achievements that can possibly be treated of.

IV. Before I proceed, I shall shew, in a few words, that it is not without design, and mature premeditation, that I

imaginary succession both the French translators have adopted. Whoever reads Dionysius must be convinced of his zeal for liberty, and his detestation of tyranny, which he never fails to shew upon all occasions, where his subject gives him any opportunity of declaring those sentiments: So that, I see no reason, why he should be accused of flattering either Caesar, who usurped the tyranny, or Augustus who continued that usurpation. I should sooner suspect him of drawing the picture of Caesar in the character of Spurius Cassius, who had been thrice consul, had obtained many victories, and, like Caesar, courted the people, in order to enslave them. Had these been as corrupt when Cassius attempted to seduce them, as they were virtuous, or as virtuous when Caesar made the same attempt, as they were corrupt, Cassius had succeeded, like Caesar, and Caesar, like Cassius, had received the punishment he deserved. Dionysius mentions the periods, which, in their order, preceded the uninterrupted possession of the universal power, the Romans enjoyed in his time, which was the seventh generation, they had

enjoyed it. The first of these periods was the conquest of all Italy; the second, the happy conclusion of the second Punic war, one of the conditions of the peace, granted to the Carthaginians by the Romans, being this, *that they should deliver up all their ships of war, but ten; Naves rostratas, praeter decem triremes, traderent*, says Livy^u; who has translated Polybius: Τα μακρὰ πλοία παραδύνααι πάντα, πλην δεκά τριηρων^w, are the words of the latter: This article destroyed their maritime power. The third period was the conquest of Macedon by Aemilius Paulus, which happened, as I have said, in the 4546th year of the Julian period; from which, to the consulship of Tiberius Claudius Nero, for the second time, and of Cneius Calpurnius Piso, which fell out in the 745th year of Rome; and, in the 4707th of the Julian period^x, in which our author published his history, there will be found 161 years: During which period, if any reader pleases to run over the generations of his own family, he will find that, for the most part, six generations are elapsed, and the seventh begun.

^u Livy, B. xxx. c. 37.

^w Polyb. B. xv. p. 705. Edit. Casaub.

^x Usher, p. 595.

date my history from the earliest times; but, from good reasons, which I can produce to justify my conduct against the censure of those, who, fond of finding fault with every thing, and, as yet, unacquainted with the subject of this discourse, may blame me for this reason; that, Rome, being, at this time, grown famous, and her infancy so inglorious, and obscure, and so unworthy the notice of history, that it is but a few generations ago, and, since the overthrow of the Macedonian power, and the happy event of the Punic wars, that she has made any appearance, or gained a reputation; when I was at liberty to chuse some celebrated incidents in her history for my subject, I should deviate into one so barren of shining events, as the Roman Antiquities. For, to this day, almost all the Greeks are strangers to the ancient history of Rome, and the greatest part of them are imposed upon by some false opinions, grounded on common reports, and led to believe that the first founders of it were certain vagabonds without house or home, Barbarians, and, even these not freemen, whom chance, and the injustice of fortune, inconsiderately showering down her greatest favours upon the most unworthy, and not religion, justice, and every other virtue, have raised, in process of time, to the empire of the world: While those, who are more malicious, openly rail at fortune, for having conferred on the most abandoned of all Barbarians those blessings, which the Greeks had formerly enjoyed. But why should I mention others? when, even, some historians have dared to publish these things, contrary to justice, and the truth of history,

history, in favour of foreign kings, enemies to the Roman government, to whom they had fervilely devoted themselves, and whose passions they have, perpetually, flattered.

V. In order, therefore, to remove these false impressions from the minds ¹⁵ of my countrymen, and to substitute true ones in their room, I shall, in this book, shew of what nations the first founders of this city were composed, at what particular times, each of them assembled, and, by what turns of fortune, they left their respective countries: By this means, I engage to make it appear that they were Greeks, and came together from nations not the meanest, nor the least considerable. In the beginning of the next book, I shall enter upon the actions, they performed immediately after the building of the city; and give an account of their discipline, the observance of which raised their successors to so great power. In the execution of this design, I shall, as far as I am able, omit nothing worthy of history; to the end that I may infuse in the minds of those, who shall then be

¹⁵ Των πολιῶν. I have so great a respect for the memory of Casaubon, and Stephens, that I am always sorry when I am obliged to differ from them. They both contended that we ought to read τὸν πολλῶν, instead of τὸν πολιῶν. But the reason given by the last, to support this alteration, seems to me to prove the contrary: He says, that our author attributes these erroneous opinions τοῖς πολλοῖς, not τοῖς πολιῶις: But, by οἱ πολλοί, he can mean none but the generality of the Greeks, his countrymen; since, immediately before, he says that almost all the Greeks

were unacquainted with the ancient history of Rome; and then adds, that the greatest part of them had been imposed upon by common reports: Neither can I understand why πολιῶις should be confined to the citizens of Halicarnassus, and not extended to all the Greeks; since the errors he undertakes to refute were common, as he says, to almost all of them, and not only to the citizens of Halicarnassus, which, though in Caria, was a Greek colony; and this might well justify Dionysius in calling all the Greeks his *countrymen*.

informed

informed of the truth, such an idea of this city, as may be adequate to its merit, if wild prejudice, and disaffection have not entirely exasperated them against it; and root out all indignation at a subjection grounded on reason, (for, by an universal, and unalterable law of nature, it is ordained that superiors shall govern their inferiors) and, at the same time, silence their complaints of fortune, as if she had wantonly bestowed upon an undeserving people an empire so great, and of so long a continuance; particularly, when they shall be convinced from this history, that Rome, even in her infancy, brought forth infinite examples of virtue, than which no city, either Greek, or Barbarian, ever produced greater for piety, justice, habitual temperance, and military accomplishments.

¹⁶ If these things are really so, I shall escape censure, which generally attends the promise of things unexpected and wonderful: Since all these men, who raised their country to so great power, are unknown to the Greeks, for want of worthy relators. For, no accurate history of the Romans, written in the Greek language, has, hitherto, appeared, but only summary accounts, and short epitomes.

¹⁶. Εἰ δὲ. Stephens and Casaubon would have us read εἰ γε: But, I find, by many of their alterations of the text, that they had never seen the Vatican manuscript, which has εἰ δὲ. This makes the text very clear without the necessity of altering ἀπεσαι into ἀπεσω. Every one knows that the figure, called by the grammarians, an ellipsis, is very common among the Attic writers.

Thus, Cyaxares, in Xenophon, sends an angry message to Cyrus to order him, or, at least, the Medes, who were with him, to return immediately; καὶ νυν, εἰ μὴ Κυρὸς βέλῃται· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἵμεις γε τὴν ταχίστην παρῆμεν^γ: Where, after βέλῃται, παρῆμεν is understood; and here, after εἰ δὲ, ταύτα ὅπως εἶχεν, or something equivalent to it, must be supplied by the reader.

^γ Xenoph. B. iv. ἐν Κυρουπαίδ. p. 288. Edit. of Hutchins.

VI. ¹⁷ Hieronymus Cardianus (the first author I know of upon this subject) has given a cursory account of the Roman Antiquities in his history of the Epigoni. After him, ¹⁸ Timaeus, the Sicilian, treated of antiquities in his universal history, and placed in a separate work, the wars of the Romans with Pyrrhus of Epirus. Besides these, ¹⁹ Antigonus, ²⁰ Polybius, Silenus, and innumerable other authors have

¹⁷· Ἱερωνυμὸς Καρδιανὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἐπιγονῶν πραγματείᾳ. It plainly appears, by a note in Hudson on this passage, that the Epigoni, whose history was written by Hieronymus of Cardia, were not the generals, who divided the empire of Alexander, but their descendants. ² Hieronymus writ the wars of Alexander also, and was much esteemed by Eumenes his countryman, who made so great a figure after Alexander's death; by which, the age of this historian is certainly known.

¹⁸· Τιμαίος ὁ Σικελιώτης. ^a Diodorus Siculus gives great commendations to his countryman, Timaeus, for his exactness in chronology, and great learning; but, at the same time, says, he was, justly, accused for his censoriousness, which acquired him the name of *Ἐπιμαίος*; which name, Athenaeus ^b tells us, was given him by Callimachus Ister. Suidas says, he was cotemporary with Agathocles; and, being banished by him, revenged himself by traducing the author of his banishment. The same writer says he was a disciple of Philiscus, the Milesian, and that he writ the transactions

of the Romans and Sicilians, and those of the Greeks and the latter.

¹⁹· Ἀντίγονος. I can find very little concerning this historian. The note in Hudson, which M * * * has translated, without saying from whence he had it, gives very little light with respect either to this author, or his writings. ^c Vossius, very justly, thinks this historian not to have been the same with Antigonus Carystius.

²⁰· Πολύβιος καὶ Σίληνος. The first of these historians is so well known, and so deservedly admired, that I need say nothing concerning him. In another note, which M * * * has also translated, we are told, that ^d Cicero says Silenus writ the history of Hannibal with great exactness, and that ^e Livy quotes him. Both which, upon turning to the places in those authors, I find to be so. But there is one thing worth observing, which is not taken notice of in that note, nor any where else that I know of. Cicero, a little after, says that Silenus, whom Coelius follows, gives an account of a very remarkable dream of Hannibal, which I am far from mentioning for the sake of the dream, but to shew that Livy

^a Suidas. Diod. Sic. B. xix. p. 695.

^c De Hist. Graec. B. i. c. 12.

^b Diod. Sic. B. v. p. 198.

^d Cic. of Div. B. 1. c. 24.

^e Athen. B. vi. c. 20.

^f Liv. B. xxvi. c. 49.

attempted.

attempted the same subject, though in a different manner; each of whom has written some few things concerning the Romans, which they have compiled from common reports, without any diligence, or accuracy. Like to these, in all respects, are the histories, which some Romans also have published in Greek concerning the ancient transactions of their own nation: Of whom the most ancient are ²¹Quinctus Fabius, and Lucius Cincius, who both flourished during the Punic wars: Each of these has related the actions, at which he himself was present, with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them; but given a summary account of

took the same relation from Silenus, though he has not mentioned him. Hannibal dreamed, it seems, that the gods had given him a guide to conduct him into Italy, and that this guide commanded him not to look back: But Hannibal could not govern his curiosity; and, upon looking back, saw a vast monster with serpents twining round it, which, in its march, overturned trees, shrubs, and houses. And, when Hannibal admired what this might be, he was told by his guide, that it was the desolation of Italy; and that he should go forward, without troubling himself with what was doing behind him. *Vastitatem Italiae esse: precepisseque ut pergeret protinus: quid retro, atque a tergo fieret, ne laboraret.* This story Livy relates, though with greater pomp than Cicero, and closes it in this manner: *Vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire, nec ultra inquireret, sineretque fata in occulto esse.*

^{21.} Καῖνλος Φαβίος καὶ Λευκίος Κίγκιος. The first was the grandson of Caius Fabius, who painted the temple of Salus, and obtained the name of *Pictor*^s. Quinctus Fabius lived in the time of the second Punic war, of which he writ the transactions, and is called *Scriptorum antiquissimus* by ^hLivy. He was sent by the senate to ⁱDelphi to consult that oracle, concerning the means to be taken by the Romans to put a stop to their misfortunes. Lucius Cincius Alimentus lived at the same time, and treated the same subject. We find by ^kLivy that he mentioned many particulars relating to the second Punic war, which he had learned from Hannibal while he was his prisoner. He is there honoured by Livy with the title of *maximus auctor*. It appears plainly, from this passage in our author, that both these Roman historians writ in Greek.

^f Livy, B. xxi. c. 22.

^g Pliny, B. xxxv. c. 4.

^h Livy, B. xxii. c. 7. id. B. i. c. 42.

ⁱ Appian in Hanibalic.

^k Livy, B. xxi. c. 38.

those

those early events, that happened soon after the building of the city. For these reasons, therefore, I have determined not to pass over that beautiful part of the Roman history, which the ancient authors have disregarded; and from which, if accurately treated, will result two things, that, of all others, are the most advantageous, and the most just: Those brave men, who have fulfilled their destiny, will gain immortal glory, and be extolled by their posterity, (both which render human nature like to the divine, and prevent their actions from perishing together with their bodies;) and the present and future race of those ²² godlike men, when they consider that all, who are sprung from an illustrious origin, ought to set a value on themselves, and pursue nothing unworthy of their ancestors, will tread the paths of the most generous, and most virtuous ambition, rather than lead a life of pleasure and ease; and I, who have not undertaken this work for the sake of flattery, but of truth and justice, (which ought to be the aim of all history) shall, in the first place, have an opportunity of expressing my benevolence to all good men, and to those, who ²³ take a pleasure in the con-

²². Ἰσοθειων ἀνδρων. Our author here is so far transported with his admiration of the ancient Romans, as to dare to call them godlike men, and to talk of the human nature being rendered like to the divine. These impious strains have been copied from the heathen, by the christian, writers; and, by these, rendered still more impious: For there is certainly more impiety in comparing men to the true God, than to false ones. Whenever,

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therefore, any thing of this kind shall, hereafter, occur, I desire the reader will look upon me as a translator of another's thoughts, not a publisher of my own.

²³. Φιλοθεωρεται των καλων εργαων και μεγαλων. Le Jay has translated this in a very extraordinary manner; *qui se piquent de belles lettres*. The other French translator has said much better; *qui veulent s'instruire des belles actions et des grandes choses*.

D

fideration

fideration of great and worthy actions ; and, after that, of making the most grateful return I am able, to the city of Rome for the instructions I have received, and the other advantages I have enjoyed during my abode here.

VII. Having thus given an account of the design of this work, I shall now say something concerning the materials I provided myself with before I began it: For it is possible that those, who have read Hieronymus, Timaeus, Polybius, or any of the historians, whom I have, just now, accused of abbreviating history, not finding in those authors, many things mentioned by me, will suspect that I have recourse to invention, and inquire how I came by the knowledge of those particulars. Left any one, therefore, should entertain this opinion of me, I think it proper to acquaint them with the relations, and records, I have made use of. I came into Italy, ²⁴ immediately, after Augustus Caesar had put an end

²⁴. Αμα τῷ καὶ αὐθιναί τον ἐμφυλίον πόλεμον ὑπο τῆ Σεβαστῆ Καίσαρος ἐβδόμης καὶ ογδοήκοης καὶ ἐκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος μεσσης. Many things are to be taken notice of in this passage, in order to make it clear to the reader. The year our author came to Italy, must have been the 724th of Rome, and the beginning of the third year of the 187th Olympiad. This aera is remarkable for the death of Antony and Cleopatra, the conquest of Aegypt, and the end of the civil war, which happened in the month of August that year, as the decree of the senate, passed upon that occasion, plainly shews^k. But the

month of August was, then, called by its old name, *Sextilis*, and Caesar Octavianus was not called Augustus, when he conquered Aegypt, and put an end to the civil war^l. This year, Octavianus himself was consul for the fourth time, and his colleague for this part of the year was Marcus Tullius Cicero^m, son to the great Roman orator; who, being left at Rome, while Caesar was employed in Aegypt, received the letters of his colleague concerning the death of Antony, and the happy event of the Alexandrine war; and, after reading those letters in the rostrum, ordered a copy of them to be

^k Macrob. Sat. B. i. c. 12.

^l Dion. Cass. B. li. p. 523.

^m Plutarch, Life of Cicero.

to the civil war, in the middle of the hundred and eighty seventh olympiad; and, having from that time, to this present, that is, twenty two years, lived at Rome, learned the Roman language, and acquainted myself with their writings, I employed all that interval in preparing materials for this work; and some things I received from men of the greatest consideration among them for learning, whose conversation I used; and others I gathered from histories, written by the most approved Roman authors; such as ²⁵ Porcius Cato,

fixed up there, in the same place, where Antony had, so cruelly, made a spectacle of his father's head. This was much taken notice of at that time. I said that Caesar had not the title of Augustus, when he reduced Aegypt: But, as it was given to him in 727, long before our author finished his history, and, probably, before he began it, there is no room to be surprised that Dionysius should give him that title upon this occasion. Caesar, it seems, three years after the reduction of Aegypt, he himself being consul for the seventh time, and Agrippa for the third time, pretended to resign his illegal power to the senate and people of Rome, from whom he had usurped it. To which purpose, he makes a long speech, in Dion. Cassius ⁿ, to the senate, who, certainly, never believed a tittle of it. However, they repaid his dissimulation with the title of Augustus.

²⁵ Πορκίος τε Καίων, και Φαβίος Μαξιμος, etc. The first is known by the name of the Censor, to which dignity

he arrived after having passed through all the great offices of the commonwealth. There scarce ever was a man, who came into the world with greater parts, or cultivated those parts with greater application; a great general, a great orator, and a great historian, and, above all, the most virtuous man of the most virtuous commonwealth. Among his other accomplishments, he understood agriculture perfectly, which is a qualification, that will, always, be highly esteemed by a wise people. ^o Vossius supposes this Fabius Maximus not to be the same person ^p Cicero speaks of, when he says, *Ser. Fabius Pictor, et juris, et literarum, et antiquitatis bene pertius*, but Q. Fabius Servilianus. Valerius Antias is often mentioned by the Roman authors, as a writer of annals, and said by Velleius Paterculus ^q, to have been cotemporary with Sisenna, another Roman historian, with whom ^r Cicero, if there is no mistake in the text, says Licinius Macer, a writer of annals also, lived in friendship. There were many

ⁿ Dion. Cass. B. liii. p. 581.

^q B. ii. c. 5.

^o Vossius in hist. Lat. B. i. c. 3.

^r De Leg. B. i. c. 2.

^p Cicero in Bruto, c. 21.

Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, the Aelii, Gellii, and Calpurnii, and several others of good note.

²⁶ Supported, therefore, by the authority of these histories, which are like the Greek annals, I undertook this work. So much concerning myself. It now remains, that I should, also, say something concerning the history itself; what compass of time I assign to it; what subjects I relate; and what form I give to the work.

VIII. I begin my history from the most ancient relations, which the historians before me have omitted, as a subject not to be cleared up without great difficulty; and bring it down ²⁷ to the beginning of the first Punic war,

Roman authors of the name of Tubero, one of whom Lucius Aelius Tubero^s, was an historian, and one of Quintus Cicero's^t legates in Asia. Sextus and Cnaeus Gellius were, also, annalists. Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi was consul the 620th year of Rome with Publius Mucius Scaevola, which was the year Tiberius Gracchus was slain; and censor the 633^d with Quinctus Caecilius Metellus: His history, or rather annals, are often quoted by the Roman authors^u. There was another Calpurnius Piso, who is said to have written of Marius; and, consequently, must have been a later historian than the former.

²⁶. Απ' αἰνῶν ὁρμῶμενος τῶν πραγμάτων· εἰσι δὲ ταῖς ἑλληνικαῖς χρονολογίαις τοιχῆαι. Thus translated by Le Jay; *dont j'ay lu les ouvrages très conformes à ceux de nos Grecs*. So that, according

to him, the works of these Roman annalists are *very like* Those of Thucydides or Xenophon, or of any other Greek historian of the first class.

²⁷. Ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς πρώτης Φοινικικῆς πολέμου. The first Punic war, from whence Polybius dates his history, properly began in the consulship of Manius Valerius Maximus, and Manius Otacilius Crassus, when the Romans sent Appius Claudius at the head of an army to the relief of the Mamerines, who had possessed themselves of Messana^w. Appius not only relieved Messana, then besieged by Hiero king of Syracuse, and the Carthaginians, but defeated them both, and, after that, the Romans concluded a peace with Hiero: Though I am sensible that the first Punic war is, generally, supposed to have begun the succeeding year, when the consuls Lucius

^s Cicero to his brother, B. i. ep. 1.

^t Id. Verr. iv. c. 49.

^u Voss. Hist. Lat. B. i. c. 6.

^w Polybius, B. i. p. 11. et 16.

which

which broke out in the third year of the hundred and twenty eighth olympiad : I relate all the foreign wars the city was engaged in during that period, and all the seditions, with which she was agitated ; from what causes they flowed, and, by what measures, and, from what motives, they were appeased : I give an account, also, of all the forms of government she used, as well during the monarchy, as after its dissolution ; and what was the constitution of each : I enter into a detail of the best of all customs, and the most excellent of all laws ; and, in short, I shew the whole manner of living of the ancient Romans. As to the form I give to this work, it does not resemble That, which the authors, who make wars alone their object, have given to their histories ; nor That, which others, who treat of the several forms of government by themselves, have adopted ; neither is it like the chronological works, which ²⁸ the authors of the Athenian annals have published (for these, being uniform, soon grow tedious to the reader) ²⁹ but partakes of

Postumius, and Quintus Mamilius were sent into Sicily to command the army. This year I find to have been the 445^{1st} of the Julian period*, and not the 4449th, as M * * * has said ; and the 492^d of Rome, not the 487th, or the 489th, as he supposes : At least, it stands the 492^d, in the *Fasti consulares*.

²⁸. Οι τας Αθηιδας πραγματευσαμενοι. If I were to translate the doubts contained in the latin annotation, as M * * * has done, I believe they would afford very little satisfaction to the reader.

² Usher, p. 271.

All that I shall say, therefore, is, that I cannot discover the author of these *Athenian annals* ; and, if I could, I do not imagine the discovery would be of any great consequence.

²⁹. Αλλ' εξ απασης ιδεας μικλον. There is great difficulty in this passage ; concerning which, I shall acquaint the reader with the critical observations of Henry Stephens, not as they are abstracted in Hudson's notes, and still more so in Those of M * * * ; but, as they stand in his Prolegomena ; and, then, add some observations of my own.

every

every kind; of the oratorical, speculative, and narrative; to the intent that I may afford satisfaction to those persons, who

^y Stephens contends, and, I think, very justly, that, in the period which precedes this, we should read *μονας* after *οι της πολεμης αναγραφαντες*, in order to answer *πολιτειας αυτας εφ' εαυτων*, in the next sentence. He goes on, with the same strength of reason, and says that, after these words, *αλλ' εξ απασης ιδεας μικρον εναγωνις τε και θεωρητικης*, some *third kind* of *ιδεα* is wanting; because our author says *εξ απασης ιδεας*, and not *εξ εκατερης ιδεας*, as he would have said, if he had mentioned but two sorts. This, he says, is further confirmed by our author's proposing not two, but three sorts of men, in whose favour he gave this form to his history: He adds, that all the translators have mistaken the sense of the word *εναγωνιος*, by applying it to a relation of wars, and contends that the *ιδεα εναγωνιος* relates to statesmen, as the *ιδεα θεωρητικη* regards philosophers; and that the third *ιδεα*, proposed in favour of the third sort of men, whom our author designs to gratify, meaning those, who make history an amusement, should be *ηδεια*, or something of that nature. Thus, I have laid before the reader, in as short, and as clear a manner as I am able, these truly judicious remarks of Stephens on this passage; and shall only add, that I find by a note of not quite two lines in Sylburgius, that the Venetian manuscript has *αγωνισμασι* instead of *αναγνωσμασι*, and that Lapis has followed this reading, and translated it *in historicis certaminibus*: However, Sylburgius has not

followed it himself, nor said any thing in his notes, to signify either his approbation, or disapprobation of it; neither has this reading been taken notice of by Hudson in his collation even of the Venetian manuscript; or followed by any translator either Latin, or French. But, I must own, I look upon this reading as the true one, and that it will conduce much to clear up this passage, which, otherwise, seems to me almost inexplicable. In order, therefore, to form a clear idea of our author's design in giving a mixed form to his history, and in chusing a form so mixed, as to give satisfaction to political orators, to philosophers, and to those, who read for amusement, we must observe that the *ιδεα εναγωνιος* is designed for the first, the *θεωρητικη* for the second, and what for the third? something must be wanting: Stephens supplies it by *ηδεια*: I should, rather, chuse *διηγηματικη*, which is a word, properly, adapted to history, narration being the soul of it, and a word used by our author himself, in his character of Thucydides^z. And what can be more entertaining to those, who read history, as they do romance, than a *relation* of battles, sieges, and all the other military operations, of which history furnishes so great a variety? This, in my opinion, will justify us in reading *αγωνισμασι*, with the Venetian manuscript, instead of *αναγνωσμασι*. If any one doubts of the sense I have given to the *ιδεα εναγωνιος*, let him read the critical works of our author, and

^y Stephens Proleg. c. 12. ^z C. 37.

desire to qualify themselves for political debates ; to such, as are engaged in philosophical speculations ; and to all, who propose no other end in the contemplation of military actions, than an undisturbed entertainment. These things, therefore, will be the subject of my history, and this the form of it. The author is Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the son of Alexander ; and, from hence, I begin.

IX. THE most ancient possessors of the place, where this city, the mistress of the whole earth and sea, now stands, and which the Romans inhabit, are said to have been the barbarous ³⁰ Siceli, natives of the country. As to the condition of the place before their time, whether it was inhabited, or desert, none can certainly say. Afterwards, the Aborigines made themselves masters of it, having dispossessed the inhabitants after a long war : These people lived, before that, on the mountains, in villages without walls, and dis-

he will find instances without number of his using it in this sense. In speaking of Demosthenes, he says, ^a Ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐναγωνίων αὐτῆς λόγων ὅποσοι πρὸς δικαιοσύνην γέγονασι ἢ πρὸς ἐκκλησίας. The last thing I shall mention in this note, which I am afraid is, already, too long, is, that, by *philosophers*, for whose satisfaction he proposes the *ιδέα θεωρητική*, he does not mean either natural, or moral, but *political philosophers* : And, however unnatural this alliance may seem, yet our author, himself, says, that he writ a treatise (now lost) against those, who, unjustly, censured *political philosophy* ; ^b ἢν (παραγματολογίαν) συνέταξα μὲν

ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας πρὸς τὰς κατὰρχεινίας αὐτῆς ἀδικῶς.

³⁰ Σικελοὶ. I do not wonder that the Latin translators call these people *Siculi* ; because That was the name they were known by among the Romans : But I wonder the French translators should call them *les Sicules*. However, Thucydides calls them Σικελοὶ, and tells us that, being driven out of Italy, they passed over into Sicily ; and, having overcome the Sicanians, who were then in possession of that island, they caused it to be called Σικελία^c, instead of Σικανία.

^a Περὶ Δημοστ. Δανουτ. c. 45.

^b Περὶ τῆς Θεκυδ. χαρακ. c. 2.

^c Thucyd. B. vi. c. 2.

perfed. But, after the Pelafgi, and fome other Greeks, mingling with them, affifted them in the war againft their neighbours, they drove the Siceli out of this place, walled in many towns, and contrived to make themfelves mafters of all the country, that lies between the³¹ Liris, and the Tiber: Thefe rivers fpring from the foot of the Apennine mountains, by which the whole length of Italy is divided; and, at the diftance of about eight hundred ftadia from one another, difcharge themfelves into the Tyrrhene Sea; the Tiber to the north, near the city of Oftia; and the Liris to the fouth, paffing by Minturnae: Both thefe cities are Roman colonies. This nation remained in the fame place, being never, from that time, driven out by any others; the³² fame people being

³¹. Λιρίς και Τιβερίς. Thefe two rivers were the boundaries of Latium, after the conquest of the Aequi, the Hernici, and the Volsci. The Liris is now called *il Garigliano*, and either ran through, or paffed by Minturnae, a very confiderable city. ^d Cluver fays that there are to be feen, on the left of the river, and about four Roman miles from the mouth of it, vaft ruins of aquaeducts, amphitheatres, and towers. Between Minturnae, and the fea, are the marfhes in which Marius endeavoured, in vain, to conceal himfelf. Minturnae, as our author fays, was a Roman colony, which was fent thither in the confulship of ^e Appius Claudius Caecus, for the fecond time, and of Quintus Volumnius Flamma, alfo, for the fecond time; which year appears by the *Fasti confulares* to have been the 458th of Rome. ^f Oftia was,

alfo, a Roman colony, fettled there by Ancus Marcius. All authors agree, that a ftadium contained 600 feet; but then it muft be remembered, that thefe are Greek feet: Now, Arbuthnot makes an Englifh foot to exceed a Greek foot by ,0875 decimals: So that, a ftadium contains 504 feet, four inches, and, 5 decimals, Englifh meafure.

³². Ονομαίων αλλαγαις αἰταις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι προσαγορευόμενοι. Here is certainly fome error in the tranfcriber: Sylburgius thinks it may be corrected by reading *συχναις* inftead of *αἰταις*. Hudson prefers *ονομασιν αλλοις και αλλοις οἱ αὐτοὶ*, etc. I would read the fentence thus; *ονομασιν αλλοτε αλλοις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἄνθρωποι προσαγορευόμενοι*; becaufe our author tells us, in the very next fentence, that they were known by different names, at different periods.

^d Cluver Ital. Antiq. p. 1074.

^e Livy, B. x. c. 21.

^f Florus, B. i. c. 3.

called

called by different names, at different periods: Till the time of the Trojan war, they preserved their ancient name of Aborigines; but, under Latinus, their king, who reigned during that war, they began to be called Latines: And Romulus, having built a city after his own name, sixteen generations from the taking of Troy, they changed their name to That, which they now bear; and, in process of time, contrived to raise themselves from the smallest nation, to the greatest, and, from the most obscure, to the most illustrious, by their humane reception of those, who were destitute of a settlement; by a communication of the rights of citizens to all, who, after a brave resistance, had been conquered by them; by extending those rights to such, as had been manumitted among them; and by disdaining no condition of men, from whom the commonwealth might reap an advantage: ³³ But, above all, by the constitution of

³³ Ὑπερ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, κοσμῶ τὰ πολίτευμα, ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν κατέστησαν το παθήματων, ἐκ παντός καιρὸς λαμβανούτες τι χρησιμὸν. Le Jay has translated this passage in a strange manner; *et sur tout de profiter avec adresse des bons et des mauvais succès pour maintenir par de sages loix la forme du gouvernement.* He was misled by Portus, who has translated it pretty much in the same manner. Sylburgius, and the other French translator, have rendered it much better. It is certainly a fine observation; and, I believe, a very just one, that the Romans made so good an use of their *sufferings*, as to improve their constitution by them.

Polybius, in speaking of the Romans, makes the same observation; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀγωνῶν, καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰῆς τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπέλαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἰσχυμένοι το βελίον. Where, by the way, *πραγμάτια* signifies *difficulties*, as *παθήματα*, in the passage before us, signifies *sufferings*; which are, most certainly, the best lessons, both in private, and in public life: *μαθήματα*, *παθήματα*, is a thought, which has been employed in all ages, and in all languages; and may, very possibly, be, originally, derived from ^h Herodotus, who makes Croesus, when a captive, say to Cyrus τὰ δὲ μοι ΠΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ τὰ εὐρία ἀχαρίτα, ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΑ γέγονε.

^c B. vi. p. 459.

^h Herodot. in Clio, c. 207.

their government, which they formed out of the various misfortunes, that befel them, extracting always something useful from every occurrence.

X. There are some, who affirm that the Aborigines, from whom the Romans are, originally descended, were ³⁴ natives of Italy, a people sprung from no other; (for I call Italy, all that shore, which is furrounded by the Ionian and Tuscan gulphs; and, in the ³⁵ third place, by the Alps on the side

³⁴ Οἱ μὲν αὐτοχθόνας Ἰταλίας. Le Jay has translated this in a manner equally bold, and unphilosophical; *Enfants de la terre mesme*: So that, the Aborigines sprung from the earth, like the animals mentioned by Diodorus Siculus to have been formed by the slime of the Nile. The other French translator has said *des naturels d'Italie*, which is as well as his language will allow: Ours is not at all happier in expressing αὐτοχθόνας: The word *natives*, which I have used, because I know no better, will not explain it without some addition: For I look upon *naturels* in French, and *natives* in English, to signify no more than a people born in the country in opposition to foreigners. I even doubt whether *indigenae* in Latin signifies any more: When Lucan says of the Appennine — *piniferis amplexus rupibus omnes Indigenas Latii populos*, I think he means no more than the *natives* of Italy at that time: But αὐτοχθόνας signifies a people who are not only born in a country, but whose ancestors, from time immemorial, always inhabited that country. Every body knows the Athenians pretended to be such a people.

³⁵ Καὶ τρεῖς περιέχουσιν ἐκ γῆς Ἀλπεῖς. Hudson tells us the Venetian manuscript has *τρεῖς*, which reading he favours, because ^k Zosimus mentions *three* Alps, viz. *κοτῖαι, ποινναί, μαρρίναι*. But Ptolomy mentions four, viz. *τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν Ραίϊαν Ἀλπίοις ὄρεσι, καὶ ταῖς Ποινναῖς, καὶ τῇ Οὐρᾷ, καὶ τῇ Καρχαδὺν ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ Νωρικόν*; by which, he says Italy was bounded to the north. So that, we may as well read four Alps upon the authority of Ptolomy, as three upon That of Zosimus. But there is a description of the bounds of Italy in Polybius, which our author seems to have had in his eye upon this occasion; and which, I believe, will put it out of all doubt that he writ *τρεῖς*, and not *τρεῖς*. Polybius says ^l *Τῆς δὴ πάσης Ἰταλίας τῷ σχηματὶ τριγωνοειδὲς ὑπαρχούσης, τὴν μὲν μίαν ὀρίζει πλευρὰν αὐτῆς, τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κεκλιμένην, ὃς τε Ἰωνίος πορθός, καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ὃ κατὰ τὴν Ἀδριακὴν κόλπον· τὴν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ δυσμὰς τέτραμμένην, τὸ Σικελικόν, καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πελάγος* — *Τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν τὴν παρὰ τὰς ἀρκύς καὶ τὴν μεσογαίαν παρὰ τεινύσαν ὀρίζει κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ἢ τῶν Ἀλπεων παρώρεια*. Here, what our author

^l Lucan, B. ii. v. 432.

^k B. vi.

^l Polybius, B. ii. p. 102.

of the land) and these authors say that they were first called Aborigines from their having been the origin of their posterity ; as we should call them γενάρχας or πρωτογονεις. Others pretend that certain vagabonds without house or home, gathered together out of many places, met one another there by chance, and seated themselves in the fastnesses, living by robbery and feeding of cattle : For this reason, those, who are of this opinion, change their name also to one more suitable to their condition, calling them Aberrigines, to shew they were wanderers ; and, according to these, the Aborigines are in danger of being confounded with those, the ancients called ³⁶ Leleges : For this is the name they, generally, give to a vagabond and mixed people, who have no fixed abode they can call their country. Others give a fabulous account of their being a colony of those Ligures, who are near neighbours to the Umbri. For the Ligures inhabit many parts of Italy, and some of Gaul ; and, which of them is their native country is not known, since nothing certain is further said of them.

calls τριται, in the third place, Polybius calls την δε λοιπην, the remaining side of the triangle ; and, where our says εκ γης, Polybius says, παρὰ την μεσογαίαν παραλίνεσαν.

³⁶. Δη λεγω. Stephens has, with great sagacity, substituted Λελεγων in the room of δη λεγω, which words signify nothing in this place. The Leleges are mentioned by Homer as a warlike nation, and to have been governed by Altes their king,

Αλλεω, ὅς Λελεγεσσι φιλοπτολεμοισιν ανασσει
Πηδασον αιπηεσαν εχων επι Σαλνιοενι ^m.

They were first settled in the Idaean gulph ; and, being driven from thence, they went into Caria, and lived in a city, called Pedasaⁿ, lying in the inland country of the Halicarnassenses. They, afterwards, ingaged in a military expedition with the Carians, and were dispersed over all Greece, and their nation extinguished.

^m Iliad φ. γ. 87. * Strabo, B. xiii. p. 909. Casaub. Edit.

XI. But the most learned of the Roman historians, among whom is Porcius Cato, who has collected, with the greatest care, the origins of the Italian cities; Caius Sempronius, and a great many others, say, they were Greeks; part of those, who, formerly, inhabited Achaia, and, many generations before the Trojan war, left that country: But they do not point out either the Greek nation, to which they belonged, the city, from which they removed, the time, when, the leader, under whom, or, from what turns of fortune, they left their mother country; and, founding their account on a Greek relation, they have quoted no Greek author to support it: It is therefore uncertain how the truth stands. If, what they say be true, ³⁷ they can be a colony of no other people, but

³⁷. ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ΕΤΕΡΩ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΕΗΣΑΝ ΑΠΟΙΚΟΙ
ΓΕΝΕΣ, Η ΤΩ ΚΑΛΕΜΕΝΩ ΝΥΝ ΑΡΧΑΔΙΚΩ. Μ***
has, upon this occasion, translated a
note of Ryckius, in which the latter
contends that Dionysius is mistaken,
when he asserts that the Aborigines
were a colony of the Arcadians. For,
says he, if the Aborigines were the first
inhabitants of Italy, it is not possible
that the Arcadians under Oenotrus
could be the same people with the
Aborigines; because it is proved by
Scripture that Italy was inhabited be-
fore the time of Oenotrus. This is,
properly, σκιαμαχεν, to raise shadows,
and then fight with them. I wonder
that neither Ryckius, nor his translator
should remember what Dionysius says
a few pages before, viz. that the Siceli
were the *original* inhabitants of that part
of Italy, where Rome was, afterwards,
built; and that they were driven out

of their country by the Aborigines as-
sisted by the Pelasgi. The *origines* of
Cato are so often quoted by the Latin
writers, and particularly, by Varro,
the most celebrated antiquary of his
time, that I should make no difficulty
to prefer the authority of Cato before
That of any modern writers, who are
deprived of the books, and, particu-
larly, of the records, which he, as
censor, must have had before him:
And we find that not only Cato, but
Sempronius, and many other Roman
historians affirm that the Aborigines
were Greeks, who, before their com-
ing into Italy, had lived in Achaia.
Ryckius has also discovered another
error in Dionysius, for asserting that
the Arcadians were the first Greek
colony, that came into Italy: Where-
as, he assures us from ° Pliny that the
Pelasgi came from Greece into Italy,

° Pliny, B. iii. c. 5.

of those, who are now called Arcadians : For these are the first of all the Greeks, who crossed the Ionian gulph under

before the Arcadians. I have looked into this place of Pliny, and all I can find there, is, that Pliny, in enumerating the ancient inhabitants of Latium, mentions, first, the Aborigines, then the Pelasgi, and, after them, the Arcades, the Siculi, the Aurunci, and the Rutili. This, I believe, the reader will think a very weak argument to urge against the authority of Dionysius ; particularly, since Pausanias says that the colony, ^p Oenotrus led into Italy, was the first sent out of Greece. Oenotrus was the youngest son of Lycaon, the son of Pelasgus ; and Pausanias makes Lycaon to have been cotemporary with Cecrops, who was so with Moses ; and Lycaon carried a colony of Saïtes, who were Egyptians, into ^q Attica, 65 years before Moses led the Isralites out of Aegypt. As to the other proof, drawn from Scripture to shew that Italy was inhabited before the arrival of Oenotrus ; this argument, I am sure, if it could be proved from thence, as I believe it cannot, is far from subverting the authority of Dionysius ; because, as I have shewn, he asserts the same thing. The only text in Scripture which can, by any contrivance, be tortured to signify the peopling of Italy, must be this : ^r *And the sons of Javan ; Elshah and Tdrshish, Kittim and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands ; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations.* Of these four sons of Javan, Kittim is the person, whose posterity

are supposed to have peopled Italy. I call him Kittim with the English translation ; the Vulgate calls him Cethin, the Septuagint Κητιοι, and the Cotton manuscript Κητιοι ; in Hebrew, כְּתִיִּים, which word, as it was, undoubtedly, written by Moses (if he writ in the Cananaean, commonly called, the Hebrew language) without points, or a Dagesh, may be either spelt Kitim, or Chetim, but I should rather write it Ketim. The authority, therefore, of this text is brought to prove that the posterity of this man, however he spelt his name, peopled Italy. This we cannot, possibly, believe without supposing, at the same time, that Italy was one of the *Isles* of the Gentiles. But, small mistakes in geography, I know, must not be regarded, when texts of Scripture are to be wrested in order to carry any favorite point. However, I think it may be proved from several texts of Scripture, that, by the descendants of Ketim, are meant the Macedonians, and not the Italians. I cannot put an end to this note, without taking notice of a mistake, which the Latin, and, consequently, the French translators, have fallen into, by rendering μυθος *a fable*. Every body knows that μυθος signifies *a fable* ; but it is often used for λογος, which must be the signification of it in this place, unless the translators have a mind to make our author destroy the authority of Cato, and of the other Roman historians, whom he quotes to support his system. That μυθος does often

^p In Arcad. c. 3.

^q Usher, p. 10.

^r Genesis, c. x. v. 4, 5.

the

the conduct of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, and settled in Italy. This Oenotrus was the fifth from Æzcius and Phoroneus, who were the first kings of Peloponnesus. For Niobe was the daughter of Phoroneus, and Pelasgus is said to have been the son of Jupiter and Niobe; Lycaon was the son of Æzcius, whose daughter was Deïanira; and Deïanira and Pelasgus were the parents of another Lycaon, whose son, Oenotrus, was born seventeen generations before the Trojan expedition. And this was the time, when the Greeks sent this colony into Italy. Oenotrus left Greece as dissatisfied with his portion of land: For Lycaon, having two and twenty sons, it was necessary to divide Arcadia into as many shares: This inducing Oenotrus to depart out of Peloponnesus, he prepared a fleet, and crossed the Ionian gulph with Peucetius one of his brothers: They were followed by many of their own people, (for this nation is said to have been very populous in early times) and by as many other Greeks, as had less land, than was sufficient for them. Peucetius, therefore, landing his men ³⁸ above the cape

signify *λογος* we know from the best critics, and the best writers: *Μυθων ρηγαρα, αι δει λεγειν υποδεικνυντα*, says Hesychius. In Homer, we find *μυθος* used in this sense almost in every book; and, in the following verse, it can be taken in no other,

Ηπειλησεν ΜΥΘΟΝ, ὁ δὲ τέλεσμένος ἐστὶ ⁵.

³⁸. Ὑπερ ακας Ιαπυγίας. The French translators have made Peucetius land and settle at the cape Iapygia, which

is not agreeable to the geography of that coast. For it is well known that the country, called from him, Peucetia, and, afterwards, Messapia, lay to the north of the Calabri, whose country lay to the north of that cape. Strabo gives the following account of the inhabitants of this peninsula, the point of which is the cape Iapygia, and the neck, that piece of land, which lies between Tarentum and Brundisium, and which, he says, is one day's jour-

⁵ Iliad α, γ. 388.

Iapygia,

Iapygia, which was the first part of Italy they made, settled there; and, from him, the inhabitants of these places were called Peucetians. But Oenotrus, with the greatest part of the army, came into another gulph, that washes the western coast of Italy, and which was then called the Ausonian gulph, from the Ausonians bordering on it: But, after the Tyrrhenians became masters at sea, it changed its name to That by which it is known at this day.

XII. And, finding there a large tract of land proper both for pasture and tillage, but, in a great measure, desert; nor, even That, which was inhabited, populous, he cleared some of it of the Barbarians; and built small cities contiguous to one another, according to the manner of habitation in use among the ancients: And all the country he possessed, which was very large, was called Oenotria; and all the people under his command, Oenotrians; which was the third time they changed their name. For, in the reign of Æzcius, they were called Æzii; when Lycaon succeeded to the command, Lycaonians; and, after Oenotrus led them into Italy, they were, for a while, called Oenotrians. What I say is supported by the testimony of ³⁹Sophocles, the tragic poet, in his drama, intituled Triptolemus: For he there introduces Ceres informing Trip-

ney to a man on foot. ¹Οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ καὶ αὖτις το μὲν τι Σαλεντίνες καλεῖται το περὶ ἀκρὰν Ἰαπυγίαν, το δὲ Καλαβρὺς ὑπερτέλλει προσέβοροι Πευκέλιοι εἰσι. I am confident their mistake arose from their not attending to the word ὑπερ.

³⁹ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ τραγωδοποιὸς ἐν Τριπτολέμῳ δράματι. The Greek author of

the life of Sophocles, prefixed to his tragedies, says he writ one hundred and thirty, of which seventeen were thought not to be his. Seven only of all these tragedies remain: Among those that are lost, is the tragedy of Triptolemus, mentioned by our author upon this occasion.

¹ Strabo, B. vi. p. 425.

tolemus ⁴⁰ how large a tract of land he was to travel over, in order to sow the seeds she had given him ; for, taking notice, first, of the eastern part of Italy, which reaches from the cape Iapygia to the Sicilian streight, and, then, slightly mentioning Sicily on the opposite side, she returns again to the western part of Italy ; and runs over the most considerable nations, that inhabit this coast, beginning with the settlement of the Oenotrians. But I need only quote these Iambics, “ ⁴¹ These you will leave behind you : On “ your right, all Oenotria, the Tyrrhene gulph, and the “ Ligurian land will receive you.” And ⁴² Antiochus of Syracuse, a very old historian, in his account of the planting of Italy, enumerates the most ancient inhabitants, in ⁴³ the order, in which each of them possessed themselves of any part of it ; and says that the first, who are recorded in history

⁴⁰. Οσὴν χωρὰν ἀναγκασθήσεται — διεξελθεῖν. Thus translated by le Jay ; *L'espace de terre qu'il avoit à labourer*. This is, indeed, improving upon the commands given by Ceres to Triptolemus. In Sophocles, we find she orders him to *travel* over Italy and Sicily : But, in le Jay, she commands him to *plough* them up. The other French translator has rendered it very properly.

⁴¹. Τὰ δ' ἐξοπιθε. I have followed the pointing of Lapis in translating these verses.

⁴². Ἀντιόχος ὁ Συρακυσσιος. This author flourished in the 90th olympiad^a, that is, about the year of Rome 336. He writ the history of Sicily in nine books.

⁴³. Ὡς ἕκαστοι τι μέρος αὐτῆς κατεῖχον. I do not think that either Portus, Sylburgius, or le Jay has translated this sentence properly. The first has said *quam partem*, the second *quae loca*, and le Jay *des lieux qu'ils ont occupez*. The point contended for by our author is to shew that the Oenotri were the *first* colony that came into Italy : This, he says, Antiochus of Syracuse asserts : And ὥς, visibly, relates to the order of time, in which each of these ancient inhabitants possessed themselves of some particular part of the country. The other French translator was aware of the difficulty, and has not translated this sentence at all.

^a Diod. Sicul. B. xii. p. 322.

to have inhabited that country, were the Oenotri: His words are these: “ Antiochus, the son of Xenophanes, has
 “ given this account of Italy, which is the most credible and
 “ certain, out of the ancient histories: That country, which
 “ is now called Italy, was formerly possessed by the Oeno-
 “ tri.” Then, he relates in what manner they were governed, and that, in process of time, Italus came to be their king, from whom, changing their name, they were called Italians; that he was succeeded by Moriges, from whom they were called Morgetes: And that Sicelus, being received as a guest by Moriges, and, setting up for himself, divided the nation. After which he adds this, “ Thus were the Oeno-
 “ tri called Siceli, Morgetes, and Italians.”

XIII. Now, let us, also, shew how ⁴⁴considerable a nation the Oenotri were from the testimony of ⁴⁵Pherecydes,

⁴⁴· Και το γένος ὅσον ἦν το τῶν Οἰνοτρῶν ἀποδειξώμεν. The sense of the word ὅσον has been mistaken by all the translators, except Portus: Le Jay has not so much as attempted to translate this sentence; but has said in a loose manner; *Voyons ce qu'on doit penser des Oenotriens*. Sylburgius is not quite so loose; however, he has not rendered ὅσον. *Nunc genus quoque Oenotrorum declarabimus*. This has misled the other French translator, who has, visibly, translated him; *prouvons encore l'origine des Oenotriens*. But our author has already proved the origin of the Oenotri; and, now, goes on to shew the extent of the country, and the number of the cities they were masters of, that is, *how considerable* a people they were,

which is the force of the word ὅσον.

⁴⁵· Φερεκυδὴν τὸν Ἀθηναίου γενεαλόγον ἔδενος δευτέρου. M*** says, upon this occasion, that Pherecydes lived about the time of Servius Tullius. But he confounds Pherecydes of Syrus, the Theologer, with Pherecydes, the Athenian, of whom our author speaks. The first flourished in the 59th olympiad; according to Diogenes Laertius, who has written his life: The other was born at Leros, in the 74th olympiad; and, living at Athens, was called an Athenian. He is named γενεαλόγος by Diogenes, for which he quotes Eratosthenes. Pherecydes wrote the Athenian Antiquities in ten books, as Suidas says. He was about the same age with Herodotus.

^ω Ολυμπιαδ. αναγραφ.

the Athenian, another ancient historian, and a genealogist inferior to none: He thus expresses himself concerning the kings of Arcadia; “Lycaon was the son of Pelasgus and
 “Deïaneira: This man married Cyllene, a Naïd nymph,
 “from whom the mountain Cyllene took its name:” Then, having given an account of their children, and what places each of them inhabited, he mentions Oenotrus and Peucetius, saying, thus: “And Oenotrus, from whom those,
 “who inhabit Italy, are called Oenotri; and Peucetius,
 “from whom those, who live near the Ionian gulph, are
 “called Peucetii.” These, therefore, are the accounts given by the ancient poets and ⁴⁶historians, concerning the settlement and origin of the Oenotri; by whose authority, I am convinced that, if the Aborigines were, in reality, a Greek nation, according to the opinion of Cato, Sempromius, and many others, they were descendants of these Oenotri: For I find that the Pelasgi and ⁴⁷Cretenses, and the other nations, that inhabited Italy, came thither afterwards; neither can I discover that any other colony, more ancient than this, came from Greece to the western parts of Europe. I am of opinion that the Oenotri made themselves masters of many other places in Italy, some of which were desert, and others ill inhabited; and that they

⁴⁶. Μυθολογικῶν. See the 37th annotation towards the end.

⁴⁷. Κρητικῶν. This is one of the Greek colonies on the eastern side of Italy, which Helenus advises Aeneas to avoid;

—*cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graiis.*
Hic et Naritii posuerunt moenia Locri,
Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos
Lyctius Idomeneus.*

* Virgil, Aeneid. iii. ♫ 398.

possessed

possessed themselves, also, of some part of the country belonging to the Umbri, and were called Aborigines from their dwelling on mountains (for the Arcadians are fond of such situations) in the same manner, as, at Athens, some are called ⁴⁸ Hyperacrii, and, others, Paralii. But, if any are, naturally, slow in giving credit to accounts of ancient transactions without examination, let them be so in believing them to be Ligures, Umbri, or any other Barbarians; and let them suspend their judgment till they have heard what remains, and, then, determine which opinion is, of all others, the most probable.

XIV. Of the cities, first inhabited by the Aborigines, few remain at this time; but, the greatest part of them, having been laid waste both by wars, and other destructive calamities, are abandoned. These cities were in the Reatine territory, not far from the Apennine mountain (as Terentius Varro writes in his Antiquities) the nearest being one day's journey from Rome; the most celebrated of which I shall give an account of after him. Palatium, five and twenty stadia distant from Reate, which city is still inhabited by the Romans near the

⁴⁸. Ως ὑπερακριες τινας, και παραλιες Αθηνησι. There is a note of the Greek scholiast upon the following verse of Aristophanes in his wild, but witty comedy, called *Lysistrata*; which note Suidas has transcribed literally in explaining the word *παραλων*. As this note will shew the origin of this division of the Athenians, some of whom were called *Diacrii* or *Hyperacrii*, inhabitants of the mountains, and others,

Paralii, or inhabitants of the sea coast, I shall, also, transcribe it; the verse in Aristophanes is as follows:

Αλλ' εδε Παραλων εδεμια γυνη παρ'.

Πανδιων διαδεξαμενος την Κεκροπος βασιλειαν προσκλησαμενος και την Μεγαριδα, ευειμε τοις πασιν εις δμοιρας. Αιγει μεν την παρα- το ασν μεχρι Πυθια. Παλανι δε την παρα- λιαν. Λυκω δε την Διακριαν. Νισω δε την Μεγαριδα.

γ γ. 58.

F 2

Quintian

Quintian way. Trebula, distant from the same city about sixty stadia, and standing upon an easy ascent. Vespola, at the same distance from Trebula ⁴⁹. Suna, a famous city forty stadia from Vespola, where there is a very ancient temple of Mars. Mephyla, about thirty stadia from Suna; of which the ruins, and the traces of the walls are to be seen. Orvini-um, forty stadia from Mephyla, a city inferior to none in that part of the country for fame and extent: For the foundations of the walls still appear, and some tombs of ancient magnificence; as well as the inclosures of burying places extending themselves on high terrasses: Here is an ancient temple of Minerva, seated on the top of the hill. At the distance of eighty stadia from Reate, on the Jurian way near the mountain Coritus, stood Corfula, lately destroyed: There, an island is to be seen, called Issa, surrounded with a lake; which island is said to have been inhabited by the Aborigines, without any artificial fortification, the inhabitants relying, for their security, on the bogs of the lake,

⁴⁹. *Τῶν Κεραυνίων ὄρων πλησίον*. I am intirely of ² Cluver's opinion that the transcribers set down the Ceraunian instead of others mentioned by our author: Since every body knows those mountains are in Epirus, opposite to Italy. Le Jay has, upon this occasion, translated two notes, one of Sylburgius, and the other of Portus: But neither of them give any light to this passage: Had I done so, I should have thought myself obliged to name Those from whom I took them. All the

commentators refer us to Cluver for the situation of these ancient towns of the Aborigines. But, upon looking into that great, and learned geographer, I find he is very uncertain concerning their situation, for which he gives this very good reason: That most of them lay in ruins at the time our author writ his history. I shall, therefore, not trouble the reader with the conjectures of various authors, concerning their names and situations.

² Cluver, *It. Antiq.* p. 684.

instead

instead of walls. Near to Iffa, is Maruvium, at the end of the same lake, distant forty stadia from what they call *The seven waters*. Again, Batia, towards the Latin way, thirty stadia from Reate: Then, Tiora, which is called Matiena, forty. In this city, they say, there was a very old oracle of Mars; the manner of which was near the same with that oracle, fabled to have, formerly, been among the Dodonaeanes; only there, a pigeon was said to prophesy, sitting on a holy oak: But, among the Aborigines, a bird, sent from heaven, which they call *Picus, a wood-pecker*, and the Greeks *Δρυοκολαπίης*, appearing on a pillar of wood, did the same. Lifta, twenty four stadia from the last mentioned city, the metropolis of the Aborigines; which, formerly, the Sabines, from Amiterna, attacking it by night, surpris'd. Those, who survived the taking of the town, being received by the Reatines, when, after many attempts, they found themselves unable to retake it, they consecrated the country to the gods, as if it still had been their own, denouncing curses against those, who should, after that, enjoy the produce of it.

XV. Cutylia, a renowned city, seventy stadia from Reate, situated at the foot of a mountain; not far from which, is a lake of four acres, full of native waters, ever flowing, and, as they say, bottomless: This lake, as having something divine in it, the inhabitants of the country look upon as sacred to victory; and, surrounding it with an inclosure, lest any one should approach the water, they preserve it inaccessible; only, once a year, those, who are appointed by
their

religion, perform certain customary sacrifices on a little island in the lake; This island is near fifty feet diameter; and not more than one foot above the water: It is loose, and floats about, the wind, gently, wafting it from one place to another. There grows an herb in this island, like ⁵⁰ Burre-reed, as, also, certain small shrubs; a thing, which those, who are unacquainted with the works of nature, will hardly comprehend, and may be looked upon as a wonder inferior to none.

XVI. The Aborigines are said to have settled, first, in these places, after they had driven out the Umbri: And, making excursions from thence, they warred upon the Barbarians; but, particularly, upon the Siceli, their neighbours, in order to dispossess them of their lands. First, a body of young men, consecrated to the gods, consisting of a few, were sent out by their parents to seek a maintenance, according to a custom, which, I know, many Barbarians and Greeks have used. For, whenever the numbers of the inhabitants of any of their cities were so far increased, that the produce of their lands would, no longer, maintain them all, or the earth, injured by unseasonable changes of the weather, brought forth her fruits in less abundance than usual, or any other accident of that nature, either better or worse, introduced a necessity of lessening their numbers, they consecrated to some god all the men, who were born within a certain year; and, providing them with arms, sent them out of

⁵⁰ Βύρρον. This plant is called in English *Burre-reed*; in Norfolk, we call it *Gladden*. It is very common in marshy grounds.

their

their country : If this was done by way of thanksgiving for populousness, or a victory in war, they, after the usual sacrifices, prosecuted their colony with benedictions : But, if the design of it was to pray a deliverance from those evils, which the divine anger had inflicted on them, they performed the same ceremony, but, with dejected looks, and begging forgiveness of the youth they sent away. Those, who departed, having, now, no longer, any country they could call their own, unless by favour, or force, they should gain another to receive them, looked upon the latter as their country. And the god, to whom they had been consecrated when they were sent out, seemed, generally, to assist them, and, beyond all human expectation, to prosper those colonies. In pursuance, therefore, of this custom, some of the Aborigines, also, at that time, their country growing very populous, (for they would not put any of their children to death, looking on this as the greatest of crimes) consecrated to some god the offspring of the year, and, when they were grown to be men, they sent them out. These, after they had left their country, were continually plundering the Siceli : And, as soon as they became masters of any places in the enemy's country, the rest of the Aborigines, also, who wanted lands, with greater security, now, attacked each of them their neighbours; and built several cities, some of which are inhabited, to this day, by the Antemnates, the Tellenenses, and the Ficulenses, who live near the mountains, called Corniculi, and by the Tiburtini, among whom a part of their city is, at this time, called Sicelion : And, of all their neighbours, they infested
the

the Siceli most. From these differences, there arose a general war between the two nations, more considerable than any of the former in Italy, which was drawn out to a great length.

XVII. Afterwards, some of the Pelasgi, who inhabited Theffaly, as it is, now, called, being obliged to leave their country, settled among the Aborigines; and these, with joint forces, made war upon the Siceli. It is possible the Aborigines might receive them from the hopes of their assistance, but I rather believe it was chiefly on account of their affinity. For the Pelasgi were, also, a Greek nation, anciently, of Peloponnesus: They were unfortunate in many things, but, particularly, in wandering much, and having no fixed abode. For they, first, lived in the neighbourhood of the Achaian Argos, as it is now called, being, in the opinion of many, natives of the country. They received their name, originally, from Pelasgus their king: Pelasgus was the son of Jupiter, as it is said, and of Niobe, the daughter of Phoroneus, who, as the fable says, was the first mortal woman Jupiter had knowledge of. In the sixth generation afterwards, leaving Peloponnesus, they came ⁵¹ into that country,

⁵¹ Εἰς τὴν τότε Αἰμονίαν, νυν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλεσμένην. Casaubon, in his notes upon Strabo, quotes some Greek verses of Rhianus, which explain the account given by our author of Theffaly, as well as that given of it by ^a Strabo; who says that Theffaly was called Pyrrhaea from Pyrrha, the wife of Deucalion; afterwards, Haemonia, from

Haemon; and, at last, Theffaly, from Theffalus, the son of Haemon. These verses the reader may not be displeased to find here:

Πυρραϊαν ποτὲ τήνγε παλαιότεροι καλεσκού
Πυρρῆς, Δευκαλιωνος ἀπ' ἀρχαίης ἀλοχοῖο·
Αἰμονίην δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφ' Αἰμοῖος, ὃν ῥα Πηλεσγος
Γενάτο, φερίαιον υἱόν· ὃ δ' αὖτε κεν Θεσσαλον Αἴμων.
Τῇ δ' ἀπὸ Θεσσαλῆς λαοὶ μέλει φημι ξάντο.

^a Strabo, B. ix. p. 677.

which

which was, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Theffalia: The leaders of the colony were Achaeus, Phthius, and Pelasgus the sons of Lariffa, and Neptune. When they were arrived in Haemonia, they drove out the Barbarians, who were the inhabitants of it, and divided the country into three parts, calling them after the names of their commanders, Phthiotis Achaia, and Pelasgiotis. After they had remained there five generations, during which, they arrived to the greatest prosperity, enjoying the most fertil plains in Theffaly, in the fixth generation, they were driven out of it by the Curetes, and Leleges, who are now called Aetoli, and Locri, and by many others, who inhabit the parts near Parnassus, their enemies being commanded by Deucalion, the son of Prometheus, and of Clymene, the daughter of Oceanus.

XVIII. And, dispersing themselves in their flight, ⁵² some went into Crete; others possessed themselves of some of the islands, called Cyclades; some inhabited the country, called Hestiotis, near Olympus and Offa; others went into Boeotia, Phocis, and Euboea; some, transporting themselves into

^{52.} Οἱ μὲν εἰς Κρήνην ἀπηλθόν. etc. The different settlements of this wandering people are taken notice of by all geographers; especially, by Homer, whose authority in geography is little inferior to That he has, so deservedly, acquired in poetry. He mentions the Pelasgi in Crete,

ἐν δὲ Κυδωνίᾳ

Δοριεὺς τε τριχαιῖκες δῖοι τε Πελασγοὶ ^b.

He also takes notice of their inhabiting the plains of Theffaly near Lariffa,

Ἰπποθόος δ' ἀγχι φυλά Πελασγῶν ἐγγιστιμῶν
Τῶν οἱ Λαρίσσαι ἐξέωλκα ναίεσθαι σκόν^c.

^a Strabo, who quotes the authority of Homer, speaks of their inhabiting those countries, and many others; particularly, that they settled in the island of Lesbos, which, from them, was called Pelasgia. And, after shewing that they lived also at Athens, he says, the Athenians called them Πελαργες, *Storks*, because they wandered from one place to another.

^b Odyf. τ. γ. 177.

^c Iliad. β. γ. 840.

^d B. v. p. 338.

Asia, became masters of many places on the sea coast near the Hellespont, and of many of the adjacent islands, particularly, of That, which is now called Lesbos, mingling with those, who composed the first colony, that was sent thither from Greece ⁵³ under Macar, the son of Ciraſius. ⁵⁴ But the

⁵³ Ἀγωνίος Μακάρος τῆς Κιρασίου. I cannot find whether this Macar was the son of Ciraſius, who, as Eusebius says, was the fifth king of the Argivi: But I find in Stephanus that he was the father of Erefus, from whom the city in Lesbos, so called, took its name.

⁵⁴ Το δε πλεον αυτων μερος δια της μεσογειας τραπομενοι προς της εν Δωδωνη καλοικησας σφων συγγενεις. I shall not deprive the reader of the curious translation le Jay has exhibited of this passage. It is well known that Dodona was a city of the Molossi, a people of Epirus; and that Theſſaly, from whence the Pelasgi were driven by the Curetes, and Leleges, was separated from Epirus only by mount Pindus. So that, our author says, very properly, that the Pelasgi passed through the *midland country* to Dodona, δια της μεσογειας. This sentence le Jay has, unfortunately, rendered *par la Méditerranée*. It is scarce credible that a man, who taught rhetoric above twenty years in Clermont college, as he himself says, should be, so perfectly, unacquainted both with the Greek language, and with geography: But le Jay, it seems, was fond of navigation. I find, by the preface of M***, the other French translator, that the journalists of Trevoux, the capital of the

principality of Dombes, have employed all their eloquence to extol, and adorn this translation of le Jay: Which the reader will not be surprised at, when he is informed that both the translator, and the panegyrist are Jesuits; whose obstinacy in defending one another at all events, joined to an unrelenting hatred of all their opposers, puts me in mind of what Tacitus says of the Jews, *apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu; sed adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. However, I find that, notwithstanding these pompous panegyrics, the translation of le Jay has been censured in France in some critical letters, written, I presume, by the other French translator; and, among other errors objected to him, this affair of the *Mediterranean* was not forgotten. This produced an answer from the Jesuits, in which they acknowledge the *mistake*; but attribute it to an oversight in the correctors of the press, and say, that the translator had written *que ce nombre (des Pelasgues) vint par le pays Méditerrané, ou par la campagne Méditerranée, ou par la region Méditerranée*; and that the word *region*, for example, had been dropped by the correctors. The other replies that this answer will be allowable, if two things are granted: The first, that *le pays, la campagne, la region Medi-*

greatest part of them, passing through the midland country, took refuge among the inhabitants of Dodona, their relations (against whom, as a sacred people, none would make war) where they continued some time. But, finding themselves grow troublesome, and the country not being sufficient to support them all, they left it in obedience to an oracle, which commanded them to sail to Italy, then, called Saturnia: And, having prepared a great many ships, they passed the Ionian sea, endeavouring to reach the nearest parts of Italy. But, the wind being in the south, and they unacquainted with the coast, they were carried off to sea, and landed at one of the mouths of the Po, called ⁵⁵ Spines: In this place, they left their ships, and such of their people, as were least able to bear fatigue, placing a guard there, to the end that, if their affairs succeeded ill, they might be sure of a retreat: Those, who were left behind, surrounded their camp with a wall; and, bringing in plenty of provisions in their ships, when their affairs seemed to prosper, they built a city of the same name with the mouth of the river. These people arrived to a greater degree of prosperity than any others on

terranée is used in French to signify *le milieu des terres*; and the second, that it is probable the word *region*, *pays*, or *campagne*, should be dropped by the correctors of the press, and the translator say nothing of it among his *errata*.

By this abstract of the dispute, the reader will see that the attack was strong, and the defence weak; and

that le Jay's brethren had recourse to a mean subterfuge, in order to defend a most egregious blunder.

⁵⁵. Σπινης. ^f Cluver shews this to have been the principal mouth of the Po, which he supposes to be the reason why it is called *Primaro* at this day. On the left side of it, stood Spina, once a considerable city.

¶ Ital. Antiq. p. 134.

the Ionian coast; and, being masters at sea for a long time, they sent tenths to the god at Delphi, those arising from their gains at sea, being, in magnificence, inferior to none. But, afterwards, the Barbarians, in the neighbourhood, making war upon them in great numbers, they left the city (however, these Barbarians, in process of time, were driven out by the Romans) and that part of the Pelasgi, left at Spines, was, thus, destroyed.

XIX. Those, who bent their march through the midland country, crossing the mountainous part of Italy, arrived at the territory of the Umbri, which borders on That of the Aborigines: The Umbri inhabited a great many other parts of Italy, and were an exceeding great, and ancient people. At first, therefore, the Pelasgi made themselves masters of some of the lands belonging to the Umbri, where they, first, settled, and took some of their small towns: But, a great army being raised against them, they were terrified at the number of their enemies, and betook themselves to the country of the Aborigines: These, determining to treat them as enemies, presently, gathered together out of the adjacent towns, in order to drive them out of the country. The Pelasgi, who happened, at that time, to be incamped near Cotyle, a city of the Aborigines, hard by the Holy lake, observing the little island floating about in it; and, learning, from the captives they had taken in the fields, the name of the inhabitants, concluded ⁵⁶ they had accomplished the

⁵⁶. Τελος εχειν σφισι το θεοπροπιον Jay, have rendered this as if σφισι related to θεοπροπιον, which the Greek oracle:

oracle : For That, which had been delivered to them in Dodona, and which Lucius Mamius, no obscure man, says, he himself, saw engraven, in ancient characters, upon one of the Tripods, standing in the temple of Jupiter, was in these terms ; ⁵⁷ “ Go in search of the Saturnian land, inhabited
“ by the Siceli, and of Cotyle, a city of the Abori-
“ gines, where there is a floating island ; then, mixing with

language will not bear : For, in that case, *δεδωμενον*, or something analogous to it, would have been inserted. But *τελος εχειν σφισι* is very elegant Greek to signify *that the oracle was accomplished with regard to them*. Sylburgius has said, *crediderunt finem jam habere suum oraculum* ; which is scarce Latin : However, it shews that he made the same mistake. The other French translator has rendered it very artfully, *ils crurent que l'oracle étoit accompli*. Thus, by leaving out *σφισι*, he has avoided the difficulty of connecting it with either. The reader will determine which translator takes most pains for his satisfaction ; he, who endeavours to explain difficulties, or he, who avoids them.

⁵⁷ Στεργεμαιομενοι Σικελων Σαλκενιαν αιαι, etc. I wish our author had given us this inscription in the ancient characters, in which Mamius says, he saw it engraven on the tripod at Dodona : But I suppose Mamius himself did not copy the inscription in those characters. However that may be, it is certain that an inscription, engraved so many generations before the Trojan war, and exhibited in the characters then in use, would give great satisfaction to

the curious : For it must be allowed that this would be the most ancient inscription now in the world. But, whatever might be the characters, the oracle, or rather, the priests, at Dodona, delivered themselves in very good verse ; and, particularly, took care to be very explicit in their injunction to the Pelasgi to send the tenths to Apollo ; which shews the oracle to be genuine : For, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions concerning the meaning of other parts of this oracle, I observe, there is none concerning That. There is a passage in this book, in which our author tells us, that Hercules abolished this monstrous custom of sacrificing human victims, by directing the people to offer pageants to Saturn, instead of men. All authors agree that the Carthaginians, like the Tyrians, their ancestors, thought human sacrifices the most effectual to appease their angry deities. How strange a thing is it that any nation should be so infatuated by their religious prejudices, as to imagine that the sacrifice of their fellow-creatures, under the notion of a delegated atonement, could be an acceptable offering to their CREATOR !

“ them,

“ them, send a tenth to Phoebus, and heads to Jupiter,
 “ and, to his father, a man.”

XX. When the Pelasgi saw the Aborigines advancing with a numerous army, they met them unarmed with olive branches in their hands, and gave them an account of their fortunes, begging they would receive them in a friendly manner, and suffer them to cohabit with them; assuring them, at the same time, they would not be troublesome; since heaven, itself, led them into this country, as the only one, that agreed with the oracle, which they explained to them. When the Aborigines heard this, they resolved to obey the oracle; and, as they laboured under a war, they were, then, carrying on with the Siceli, to receive the assistance of these Greeks against the Barbarians, their enemies. To this purpose, they entered into an alliance with the Pelasgi, and granted to them such of their lands as lay near the Holy lake, of which the greatest part were marshy, and which, according to the ancient style of their language, are now called Felia: For it was the custom of the ancient Greeks, generally, to place before those words, that began with a vowel, the syllable γ , written with one letter: ⁵⁸ This was like a gamma, formed by two oblique lines joined to one upright line, as $\text{F}\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\eta$, Felene, $\text{F}\alpha\nu\alpha\zeta$, Fanax, $\text{F}\omicron\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, Foicus, and $\text{F}\alpha\nu\eta\rho$, Faner, and many such words. Afterwards, a considerable part of them, as the land was not sufficient to

⁵⁸. $\text{T}\gamma\lambda\omicron$ δ' ἦν ὡς περ γαμμα, etc. I shall defer the consideration of this Acolic letter, till I come to the place, where our author shews that the Ro-

man, and Greek characters were, originally, the same. See the forty first annotation on the fourth book.

support them all, prevailed on the Aborigines to join them in the expedition they proposed; and, making war upon the Umbri, they surpris'd Croton, a rich and large city; and made use of this city, as a fortress to annoy the Umbri, which was, sufficiently, fortified to defend them in time of war, and had many fertil pastures lying round it. They made themselves masters, also, of a great many other places, and, with great alacrity, assisted the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in against the Siceli, till they drove them out of their country: And the Pelasgi inhabited in common with the Aborigines many cities, some of which were, before, inhabited by the Siceli, and others they built themselves; of which number, is the city of the Caeretani, then, called Agylla, and Pifa, Saturnia, and Alfion, and some others, of which they were, in process of time, dispossessed by the Tyrrhenians.

XXI. But Phalerium, and Fescennia are, to this day, inhabited by the Romans, and preserve some small remains of the Pelasgian nation; which cities, formerly, belonged to the Siceli. In these there remained, for a long time, many of the ancient institutions, formerly, in use among the Greeks, such as the ⁵⁹ fashion of their arms, Argolic bucklers, and spears; and, when they sent out an army beyond their con-

⁵⁹· Των ἑπλων των πολεμιστηριων κοσμος. All the translators, both Latin and French, have rendered this, *the ornaments of their arms*: Their reason was, I imagine, because κοσμος, sometimes, signifies *an ornament*. Had Dionysius designed to speak of the ornaments,

he would, no doubt, have shewn us what those ornaments were: Whereas, he mentions only the shape of these arms; calling the first an Argolic buckler, which every one knew, at least in his time, to be round; and this the Romans, who had made use
fines,

finer, either to begin a war, or to resist an invasion, certain holy men, unarmed, went before the rest, carrying with them the conditions of peace: Such, also, were the structure of their temples, ⁶⁰ the images of their gods, their purifications, and sacrifices, and many other things of the same nature. But, the most conspicuous monument, by which it appears that those men, who drove out the Siceli, formerly, lived at Argos, is the temple of Juno at Phalerium, built in the same form with That at Argos; where the manner of the ceremonies was the same; holy women served the temple, and ⁶¹ a girl unmarried, called Canephoros, *Basket-Bearer*, began the sacrifice, besides chorus's of virgins, who ⁶² hymned the goddess in songs of their country. These people were, also, masters of a considerable part of those, they call, the Campanian plains, which afford a most pleasing prospect, and very fertile pasture, having driven the Aurunci, a barbarous nation, out of part of them. There they built

of this buckler, afterwards, changed for the ^s *Scutum*, which we find by all authors to have been of an oblong figure; as they, also, made use of the ^h *Pilum*, instead of the spear. If any one doubts whether the Argolic buckler was round, let him look into Virgil, who compares the only eye of Polyphemus, to an Argolic buckler, or the sun, which I presume retains still the same figure it had then:

telo lumen terebramus acuto
Ingens, quod torvâ solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici clypei, aut Phoebeae lampadis
*instar*ⁱ.

⁶⁰. Τα εδη των θεων. The translators have rendered τα εδη *chapels, altars, sanctuaries*. But, as εδος signifies also, *an image*, as may be seen in Julius Pollux, Hesychius, and others, I have chosen to translate it so; because the *chapels*, etc. seem to be included in the structure of the temples.

⁶¹. Αγνη γαμων παρς. Admirably, translated by le Jay; *une jeune vierge irreproachable dans ses mœurs*.

⁶². Ὑμνεσων την θεον. The reader will forgive my translating this *hymning*, when he considers that Milton has used the word in his *Paradise lost*.

^s Livy, B. viii. c. 8.

^h Polyb. B. vi. p. 469.

ⁱ B. iii. v. 635.

several cities, particularly, ⁶³ Larissa, giving to it the name of their metropolis in Peloponnesus. Some of these cities are standing even at this day, having often changed their inhabitants: But Larissa has been long deserted, and shews, at present, no other sign of its ever having been a city, but the name, and, even, this is not, generally, known: It was not far from ⁶⁴ Forum Popilii. They were, also, masters of a great many other places, as well on the coast, as in the midland country, of which they had dispossessed the Siceli.

XXII. The Siceli, being warred upon both by the Pelasgi, and Aborigines, found themselves incapable of making resistance; and, taking with them their wives and children, and such of their effects as consisted in gold or silver, they quitted all their country to them: Then, bending their course southward, along the mountains, they marched through all the lower part of Italy; and, being driven from every place, they, at last, prepared rafts in the Streight; and, taking the advantage of an ⁶⁵ ebb-tide, passed over from Italy to the next island;

⁶³. Λαρίσσα^k. Pausanias says that the citadel at Argos was called Larissa, from Larissa, the daughter of Pelasgus, from whom, also, two cities in Thessaly were called by the same name; which tends very much to confirm the account, given by our author, of the Pelasgi living in Thessaly.

⁶⁴. Ἀγορὰς Ποπιλίας. ^l Cluver shews the name of this town to have been *Forum Popilii*, which, he says, is now called *Forlim populo*, but oftener, *Forli piccolo*.

⁶⁵. Φυλαξάντες καλίουῖα τον ρυγ. I have called this an *ebb-tide*, though I am

sensible that there are no tides in the Mediterranean, as in the ocean: The reason of which may, possibly, be that the water in the Mediterranean being so much less in bulk than That of the ocean, it cannot resist the weight of the water in the latter; for which reason, this, always, runs into the Mediterranean with great violence at the Straights of Gibraltar, not to mention the water, that comes in through the Hellespont; and this violence exceeds the effect of the attraction of the moon upon the water of the Mediterranean: For this seems to be large enough for

^k In Corinth. p. 165. Edit. Lips. ^l Ital. Antiq. p. 295.

which was then possessed by the Sicani, an Iberian nation; who, flying from the Ligures, were, but lately, settled there, and had given the name of Sicania to that island, which, from

the moon to act more upon one part of it than another, and, consequently, to make one part swell more than another; but, when it subsides, it must extend itself towards the Streights, which the superior weight, and force of the water, perpetually, rushing in there, will not permit. This might, indeed, be answered by the assumption of an under-current, which may run out of the Streights; at the same time, the upper-current runs in. But, even, in that case, so vast a lake as the Mediterranean could neither receive, nor discharge water enough at the Streights, in so short a time as the tide flows and ebbs, to rise, or fall sensibly. I know that ^m Aristotle says the water, in the Strait of Sicily, ebbs, and flows according to the moon. ⁿ Strabo also, quotes Eratosthenes to shew that the water in that Strait changes its course twice every day, and as often every night, like That of the ocean. Notwithstanding these very great authorities, I much doubt whether the ebbing, and flowing of the water, in the Strait of Sicily, is so regular as they contend for; and, particularly, whether it is governed by the moon. I rather think, that it is owing to the winds, which, sometimes, blow into that Strait from the Tyrrhene sea, that is, from the north; and, at other times, from the Sicilian sea, which lies to the south of it. And ^o Thucydides, who gives the same account of the Siceli passing over from Italy to Sicily,

then called Sicania, says they crossed the Strait *καλῶς τε ἀνεμῶς*, with a *favourable wind*, or, as Hobbes has, very properly, translated it, *with a fore-wind*. But, there is a difficulty, that occurs in the account given of the Sicani by Thucydides, and followed by our author: The first says, the Sicani were driven out of their country *ὑπο Λιγυῶν ἀνασάντες*, and our author says *Λιγυῶς φευγόντες*. Now, we find in no history that the Ligures were ever in possession of any part of Spain. ^p Cluver endeavours to solve this difficulty by supposing that Spain ought here to be understood in a large sense, so as to comprehend France; in which case, those Ligures, who lived between the Rhone, and the Alps, would be near neighbours to the Spaniards. Upon this occasion, I cannot help taking notice of a great mistake committed by this, truly, learned and exact geographer: He imagines that ^q Thucydides, whose words he quotes, applied those words to the passage of the Sicani from Italy to Sicily; whereas, nothing can be plainer than that Thucydides applied them to the Siceli crossing the Strait on rafts, and not to the Sicani. As for the *Λιγυῶς*, who are said by Thucydides, and Dionysius to have expelled the Sicani, I suspect they were not the Ligures, as all the translators have called them, and I myself among the rest, but some other ancient people, whose history we are unacquainted with.

^m Περὶ θαύμ.ⁿ B. i. p. 59.^o B. vi. c. 2.^p In Sic. Ant. p. 26.^q P. 27.

its triangular figure, was, before, called Trinacria: There were very few inhabitants in it for so large an island; so that, the greatest part of it was desert. When, therefore, the Siceli landed there, they, first, settled in the western parts; and, afterwards, in several others, and, from these, the island began to be called Sicely. In this manner, the Sicelian nation left Italy, according to ⁶⁶ Hellanicus, the Lesbian, the third generation before the Trojan war, and in ⁶⁷ the twenty sixth year of the priesthood of Alcyone at Argos. For he says that two Italian colonies passed over into Sicely; the first consisting of the Elymi, who had been driven out of their country by the Oenotri; the second, five years after, of the Aufones, who fled from the Iapyges. He makes Sicelus the king of these people, who, he says, gave name both to them, and to the island. But, according to ⁶⁸ Phi-

⁶⁶. Ελληνικός ὁ Λεσβίος. *Ou de Milet; il fit, selon Suidas, une description de la terre*, says M * * *: But, here, again, he confounds Hellanicus, the Lesbian, with Hellanicus, the Milesian: Suidas, expressly, says, the περιόδος γης was written by the last. There is a remarkable passage quoted by Gellius out of Pamphila, by which, the ages of Hellanicus, the Lesbian, of Herodotus, and Thucydides will, plainly, appear: In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, Hellanicus was sixty five years old, Herodotus fifty three, and Thucydides forty.

⁶⁷. Αλκυονης Ιερωμενης εν Αργει. Our author follows the same method with ^s Thucydides, who says that the first year of the Peloponnesian war was the 48th of the priesthood of Chrysis at

Argos. It is supposed that Hellanicus of Lesbos was the first historian, who introduced the method of computing the years according to those of the priestesses at Argos; as Timaeus was the first, who introduced That of computing them according to the olympiads.

⁶⁸. Φιλίππος ὁ Συρακυσίος. The age, in which this historian lived, is very well known by his attachment to Dionysius the elder, by whom he was, afterwards, banished; a just reward for the assistance he gave to the tyrant of his country. ^t He writ, besides other works, of the affairs of Sicily, in eleven books. As to his sentiments, the disposition of his subject, and his style, they are very particularly, and very beautifully described by our ^u author,

^t B. xv. c. 23.

^s B. ii. c. 2.

^t Diod. Sicul. B. xiii. p. 387.

^u C. 5.

listus, the Syracusan, the time, when this colony passed into Sicely, was the eightieth year before the Trojan war; but the people, who went thither out of Italy, were neither the Siceli, the Aufones, nor the Elymi, but the Ligures, whose leader was Sicelus; who, he says, was the son of Italus; and that, in his reign, the people were called Siceli; and that these Ligures had been driven out of their country by the Umbri, and Pelasgi. Antiochus, the Syracusan, fixes no time for their passage, but says the people, who left Italy, were the Siceli, who had been forced to quit their country by the Oenotri, and Opici; and that they chose Sicelus for their leader. But ⁶⁹ Thucydides writes that the people, who left the country, were the Siceli, and those, who drove them out of it, the Opici: And that the time, when they left it, was many years after the Trojan war. These, therefore, are the relations, given by authors of credit, concerning the Siceli, who removed from Italy, to settle in Sicely.

XXIII. The Pelasgi, having made themselves masters of a large and fertile tract of land, took some towns, built others, and, by a swift and great advance, rose to power, riches, and every other prosperity, which they did not long enjoy: But, when all the world looked upon them to be in the most flourishing condition, they became the object of divine

in his criticism on the Greek historians: He, there, says, among other things, that, instead of imitating the freedom, and spirit of Thucydides, he was a servile flatterer of tyranny; that, like Thucydides, he left his subject imperfect; and, though inferior to

him in dignity and strength, yet he imitated him in the roundness, and closeness of his periods.

⁶⁹ Θυκυδίδης δὲ. See his sixth book, and second chapter; great part of which passage has been quoted in the former notes.

wrath;

wrath ; and some of them were destroyed by calamities, inflicted by the hand of Heaven, others by their Barbarian neighbours : But the greatest part of them were again dispersed through Greece, and the country of the Barbarians ; concerning whom, if I attempted to give a particular account, it would require a very long discourse. However, a few of them remained in Italy, through the care of the Aborigines. The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought, which laid waste the land, the fruit falling from the trees before it came to maturity ; neither did the corn, which came up, and flowered, stand, as usual, till the ear was ripe ; nor was there grass sufficient for the cattle : Some of the waters were not fit to drink, others shrunk, during the summer ; and others were, totally, dried up. ⁷⁰ The like misfortunes attended the offspring both of

⁷⁰. Ἀδελφα δὲ τέλοισ ἐγένετο περὶ τε πρεσβίων καὶ γυναικῶν γονας. The reader will observe that, in this description of the misfortunes, which happened to the offspring both of women, and cattle, our author has made choice of such terms, as are applicable to both : In which, he has been followed by the Latin translators, particularly, by Portus, as published by Hudson, who, I observe, has made some very proper alterations in this place. Le Jay, also, has succeeded very well in rendering this passage. But the other French translator has taken another course : He has made two periods of it ; one of which he has applied to the women, and the other to the cattle ; which renders his translation tedious

by the repetition of the same calamities in different terms. There is one thing in his translation, that renders it not only tedious, but ridiculous. It is to be observed that our author, after he has described the corruption, and drying up of the waters, speaks first, in general terms, of the misfortunes, that happened to the offspring of women, and cattle ; and then goes on to particularise them : This general account of those misfortunes this translator has left out, because Sylburgius, his guide, has left it out also ; whose words are these ; *Nec feliciores erant foeturae mulierum* ; which the other has literally translated : *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuses dans leurs accouchements*. Now, the leaving out
cattle

cattle, and of women. For they were either abortive, or died at their birth; some, by their death, destroying even those that bore them: And, if any escaped the danger of their delivery, they were either lame, or imperfect; or, being hurt by some other accident, were not fit to be reared. The rest of the people, also, particularly those, in the vigor of their age, were afflicted with various distempers, and uncommon deaths. Upon their consulting the oracle what god, or genius they had offended, to be thus afflicted, and, by what means, they might hope for relief, the god answered that, having obtained what they desired, they had neglected to give what they had promised, but that the most valuable things were still due from them: For the Pelasgi, in a time of ⁷¹ general scarcity, had made a vow to offer up to Jupiter,

this general account of those misfortunes has given an air of ridicule to his translation of the whole passage: But, in order to shew this in a proper light, I must transcribe the period, which, immediately, precedes this. *Les sources, says he, étoient presque épuisées, ou même entièrement à sec par les chaleurs excessives.* And, then, adds, *Les femmes n'étoient pas plus heureuses dans leurs accouchements.* Now, it is plain, by the common rules of grammar, that this last sentence must relate to That, which, immediately, precedes it; because *plus* is a comparative; and must relate to something; and there is nothing but the preceding sentence, to which it can relate. The last sentence, therefore, must mean nothing, or it must mean this: *Les femmes dans leurs accouche-*

ments étoient presque épuisées, ou même entièrement à sec par les chaleurs excessives.

^{71.} Παντων χρημάτων. This use of the word *χρηματια* ought to convince the translators that it does not always signify *money*; though, I observe, that it is, generally, rendered so. Nay, what is still more extraordinary, even ^w Aristotle's definition of *χρηματια*, (by which he shews that, instead of signifying *money*, it signifies every thing, of which the value is measured by *money*) is, however, rendered in the same manner by the Latin translator, whoever he is. The words of Aristotle are; *χρηματια δε λεγομεν παντα, οσων η αξια νομισματι μετρεται.* Thus translated; *Pecunias autem appellamus omnia, quorum aestimationem metitur nummus.*

^w H₀ix. B. iv. c. i.

Apollo,

Apollo, and the ⁷² Cabiri, the tenths of all their future product. Their prayer being heard, they set apart, and sacrificed to the gods the promised portion of all their fruits, and cattle, as if their ⁷³ vow had related to them only: This, ⁷⁴ Myrsilus, the Lesbian, relates, using almost the same words,

⁷²· Τοις Καβειροις. Much time, and labour have been thrown away by many men of learning in order to discover the etymology, the origin, the names, and functions of these ridiculous heathen gods, called by the Greeks, Καβειροι. * Herodotus speaks of a temple dedicated to them at Memphis, and says, that their images resembled That of Vulcan, whose children, it seems, they were; and that the image of Vulcan represented a pygmy. Upon this foundation, ^γ Bochart, and, after him, the author ^z of the history of Heaven, deduce their names from the Phoenician language, in which כבירי signifies *powerful*, in the plural number: And the Phoenician, commonly called the Hebrew, and the Aegyptian language, being, nearly, the same, it will follow that this was the signification of the word in Aegyptian. I have shewn, in a small dissertation inserted in my translation of Xenophon's Anabasis, that there is no sort of affinity between the Hebrew, and Aegyptian languages: To which I shall now add an observation I have since made, which will put this matter out of all doubt: When ^a Joseph's brothers went into Aegypt to buy corn, he spoke to them by an interpreter. Our countryman

Hyde, in his ^b history of the religion of the ancient Persians, says, *Cabiri sunt Gabri, voce Persicâ aliquantulum detortâ*. These, he says, paid a civil, not a true worship to fire.

⁷³· Ως δὲ καὶ τῶν μόνων εὐξαμένοι. Casaubon, very justly, observes that εὐχεσθαι καὶ τινος signifies *vovere aliquid*; to support which, he quotes a passage in Demosthenes. To this I shall add the authority of Aristophanes, who uses εὐχὴν ποιησασθαι in the same sense;

Τῇ δ' Ἀγροτέρῃ καὶ χιλίων παρηνεσσε
Εὐχὴν ποιησασθαι χιμαρῶν ἐς αὐρίου
Αἱ τριχίδες εἰ γενοιάτ' ἐκάλον τε βόλῃς ^c.

When any one made a vow to offer up a number of goats, or oxen, the vow was to be performed at the expence of those poor animals: For which reason, the preposition καὶ was very proper. This custom of sacrificing oxen, by way of thanksgiving for a victory, was, like all other follies, carried to an extravagant height by the Roman emperors, to one of whom the white oxen are supposed to have sent a Greek epistle, in which they are made to say, *αν συ νικησεις, ἡμεῖς ἀπολυμεθα, if you conquer, we die*.

⁷⁴· Μυρσίλος ὁ Λεσβίος. This historian is quoted by many ancient authors,

* In Thal. c. 37. ^γ P. ii. Geog. sacr. B. i. c. 12. ^z C. 27. ^a Genesis, c. xlii. ^ψ. 23.
^b C. 29. ^c ἐν ἱππικῇ. ^φ. 657, 8, 9.

which

which I now do, only, that he does not call the people Pelasgi, but Tyrrhenians, of which I shall, presently, give the reason.

XXIV. When they heard the oracle was brought to them, they were at a loss to guess at the meaning of it. While they were in this perplexity, one of the elders, conjecturing the sense of it, told them, they were very much mistaken, if they thought the gods complained of them without reason: That they had, indeed, rendered to the gods the first fruits of every thing with punctuality, and justice, except Those of the human offspring, a thing, of all others, the most precious in the sight of the gods, which yet remained due; and that, if the gods received their share of this also, the oracle would be ⁷⁵ fulfilled. Upon this, some were of opinion that he was in the right, others that there was treachery couched under his discourse: But, somebody proposing to ask the god, whether he desired to receive the tenths of the men, they sent their priests a second time, and the god ordered it should be so. In consequence of this, a sedition arose among them concerning the manner of this decimation; and those, who had the government of the cities, first quarrelled among themselves; after that, the rest of the people conceived a jealousy of their magistrates. Thence, followed disorders, and insurrections, such as might well be expected from a people, seized with a madness, inflicted by the hand of Heaven: Many houses

but without any circumstances, that lived.
can acquaint us, certainly, either with
his writings, or the age, in which he

^{75.} Τελος ἐξεν σφισι το λογιον. See the
56th annotation.

became,

became, intirely, abandoned, when, only, part of the inhabitants removed: For their relations were unwilling to ⁷⁶ forsake their dearest friends, and remain among their greatest enemies. These, therefore, were the first, who, leaving Italy, wandered about Greece, and many parts of the Barbarians country: After these, others did the same, and this continued every year. For the magistrates in the cities ceased not to select the first fruits of the youth, as fast as they arrived to manhood, desiring to render what was due to the gods; and, at the same time, to free themselves from those, ⁷⁷ who, lurking in the cities, were the most likely to raise tumults: Many, also, under specious pretences, were sent away by their enemies through hatred. So that, there were many ⁷⁸ emigrations, and the nation of the Pelasgi was scattered over the greatest part of the earth.

XXV. They were superior to many in the knowledge of military discipline, which they had acquired by ⁷⁹ practising it in the midst of dangers, while they lived among warlike

⁷⁶. Απολειπεσθαι των φιλιων. The generality of the translators have mistaken the sense of this passage: απολειπεσθαι τινος signifies *to forsake any one*, rather than *to be forsaken by others*. Many instances of which may be found in Xenophon, and other writers of the best authority.

⁷⁷. Και σασιασμος εκ των διαλαθων των δεδιωτες. Here must be some error in the text. Sylburgius thinks it ought to be διαλαχων. This will certainly help the defect, but not cure it. I should chuse to read it thus: Και σασι-

ασμος εκ των διαλαχων των, και ουκ εκπεμψθεντων δεδιωτες.

⁷⁸. Επανασασεις. Here Sylburgius, Portus, and Stephens, with great reason, read, απανασασεις.

⁷⁹. Εκ της μελα κινδυνων ποιεισθαι τας μελεας. In this, our author has imitated Thucydides, who, in speaking of the experience, which the Lacedaemonians, and Athenians had acquired in military affairs, before they entered upon the Peloponnesian war, says, μελα κινδυνων τας μελεας ποιουμενοι ^d.

^d B. i. c. 18.

nations; and, by their cohabitation with the Tyrrhenians, became, intirely, masters of sea affairs: And, Necessity, alone sufficient to give resolution to those in want, was their leader, and director in every dangerous enterprize. So that, whither soever they went, they conquered with ease: And the same people, from the name of the country, out of which they had been driven, and, also, in memory of their ancient extraction, were called by the rest of the world, both Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgi; which I have mentioned for this reason, that, when the poets, and historians call them Tyrrhenians, and Pelasgi, none may wonder how the same people should have both these names. For ⁸⁰ Thucydides speaks of them as living in that part of Thracia called Acte, and of the cities there as inhabited by men, who spoke two languages: He, then, makes mention of the Pelasgian nation in the following manner: “ There are some Chalcidians, but the greatest part are Pelasgi, the same nation with the Tyrrhenians, who, once, inhabited Lemnos, and Athens.” And Sophocles makes the chorus, in his drama of ⁸¹ Inachus, speak the following anapaestic verses, “ Father Inachus, son of the

⁸⁰. Θουκυδιδης. This passage of Thucydides relates to the expedition of Brasidas against the coast of Thrace, called *Acte*: The first part of which passage our author does not transcribe, but only gives the sense of so much of it, as he thought necessary to his subject: The latter part of it he has transcribed in the manner, I suppose, he read it in his copy of that author.

But, as there are some small differences between the words, as he quotes them, and those in the present editions of Thucydides, I shall lay the passage before the reader. ^c Καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικόν ἐνὶ βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλείον, Πελασγικὸν τῶν καὶ Λήμνον πόλιν καὶ Ἀθῆνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησαντῶν.

⁸¹. Ἐν Ἰναχῷ. This tragedy of Sophocles is lost.

• Thucyd. B. iv. c. 109.

“ fountains

“fountains of old Ocean, who art held in great veneration in the streets of Argos, and the hills of Juno, and among the Tyrrhene Pelasgi.” The name of Tyrrhenia was then known throughout Greece. And all the western part of Italy was called even by that name; the several nations, of which it was composed, having lost their respective appellations: The same thing happened to many parts of Greece; and, particularly, to that part of it, which is now called Peloponnesus: For the whole peninsula, in which are comprised Arcadia, and Ionia, and many other nations, was called Achaia, from the Achaians, one of the nations, that inhabited it.

XXVI. However, the time, when the calamities of the Pelasgi began, was about the second generation before the Trojan war: But this people subsisted, even, after that war, till their nation was reduced to a very inconsiderable number. For, besides Croton, a town of some note in Umbria, and some others founded by the Aborigines, all the rest of the Pelasgian cities were destroyed. But Croton preserved its ancient form a great while; neither is it long, since it changed both its name, and inhabitants, and is, now, a Roman colony, called Corthonia. After the Pelasgi left the country, their cities were seized by many people, as each happened to live near them; but, chiefly, by the Tyrrhenians, who made themselves masters of the greatest part, and the best, of them. Some are of opinion that the Tyrrhenians are natives of Italy; others, that they are foreigners: Those, who maintain the first, say this name was given them

from the towers, which they built before any of the inhabitants of this country : For covered buildings, when fortified, are called by the Tyrrhenians, as well as by the Greeks, ⁸² *Τυρσείς*, *Towers*. From this incident, they will have it that they received their name, in like manner as the Mosynoeci in Asia : For these, also, live in a kind of wooden towers, raised on high piles, which towers they call ⁸³ *Μοσσυνες*.

XXVII. But those, who, fabulously, affirm them to be foreigners established there, say, that Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, gave his name to the nation : That he was a native of Lydia, and had, formerly, removed thither from the country, anciently, called Moconia ; and that he was the fifth from Jupiter : They say, further, that Manes was the son of Jupiter, and Terra, and the first king of that country ; and that his son by Callirhoe, the daughter of Oceanus, was Cotys, who, by Alie, the daughter of earth-born Tullus, had two sons, Asies, and Atys ; from the last of whom, by Callithea, the daughter of Choraëus, came Lydus, and Tyrrhenus ; and that Lydus, remaining there, inherited his father's kingdom, from whom the country was called Lydia : But Tyrrhenus, who was the leader of the colony, conquered great part of Italy, and gave the name

⁸² *Τυρσείς*. *Τυρσις*, *πυργος*, *επαλξις*, *προμαχων*. Hesychius. This word is used more than once, in this sense, by Xenophon, in his expedition of Cyrus.

⁸³ *Μοσσυναικας*. *Μοσσυν*, or *Μοσυν*. *Πυργος*. Hesychius. [†] Xenophon gives a very extraordinary account of these people.

[†] In. *Κυρ. Αιστ.* B. v. p. 393. Edit. of Hatchin

of Tyrrhenians to his followers. However, ⁸⁴ Herodotus says that Tyrrhenus was the son of Atys, who was the son of Manes, and that the Maeonians did not come, voluntarily, into Italy: For he says that, in the reign of Atys, there was a dearth in the country of the Maeonians: And that the inhabitants, from a fondness for their native country, contrived a great many methods to resist this calamity: One day, they allowed themselves but a moderate sustenance; the next, they fasted: But, the mischief continuing, they divided the people into two parts, who were to draw lots which should go out of the country, and which should stay in it: That one of the sons of Atys staid, and the other went forth; and that the ⁸⁵ happier lot fell to that part of

⁸⁴. *Herodotw de eirhiai.* See his first book; chapter the 94th.

⁸⁵. *Λαχσεης δε της αμα Λυδw μοιρας την αμεινω τυχην εκχωρησαι.* Casaubon has, with his usual sagacity, both discovered, and reformed the errors of this passage: He has, very justly, said that *εκχωρησαι* can, by no means, be applied to the people under Lydus: He advises, therefore, to read the passage thus: *Λαχσεης της αμα Λυδw μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι εκχωρησαι δε την ετεραν,* etc. or thus, *λαχσεης δε της αμα Λυδw μοιρας την μεν τε μεινεν τυχην, εκχωρησαι δε την ετεραν.* Either of these readings makes the sentence agreeable to the rest of this history. I shall, therefore adhere to the first part of Casaubon's alteration; and supply the second from the words of Herodotus, many of which it is

plain our author has made use of in this relation. ^ε Herodotus says, *λαχον-τας δε αυτων της ετερας εξιεναι εκ της χωρης:* Upon this foundation, I would read the whole sentence thus: *λαχσεης δε της αμα Λυδw μοιρας την μεν αμεινω τυχην, μειναι εκ δε της χωρας την ετεραν εξιεναι απολαχυσαν των χρηματων τα μερη.* This makes the sense complete; and the reader will observe that the words I have inserted, are those of Herodotus: Besides, by reading *εκ δε της χωρας*, instead of *εκχωρησαι*, there is little violence done to the text; and, as *εκχωρησαι*, according to the present reading, belongs to the former sentence, there is a verb wanting in the latter to lead to the consequence of *απολαχυσαν*, the sense of which will, otherwise, be too much suspended: And this verb is supplied by *εξιεναι*, the very word

^ε In Clio, c. 94.

the

the people, which was under Lydus, to remain in the country; and the other left it, after they had received that share of their fortunes, which fell to them; and arrived on the western parts of Italy, which were inhabited by the Umbri, where they remained, and built those cities, that were in being, even, in his time.

XXVIII. I am sensible that several other authors, also, have given this account of the Tyrrhenians; some, in the same terms; others, changing both the name of the leader of the colony, and the time of their migration. For some have said that Tyrrhenus was the son of Hercules, by Omphale, the Lydian; and that he, coming into Italy, dispossessed the Pelasgi of their cities, though not of all, but of those only, that lay on the north side of the Tiber. Others say that Tyrrhenus was the son of Telephus; and that, after the taking of Troy, he came into Italy. But ⁸⁶ Xanthus the Lydian, who was as much acquainted with ancient history as any man; and whose testimony ⁸⁷ may be as much relied

made use of by Herodotus, which answers the other word, used immediately before, both by Herodotus, and our author, that is ἐπ' ἐξοδῷ τῆς χώρας. I find the former makes the king, who was Atys, place himself at the head of that part of the people, which was to stay at home, and his son Tyrrhenus, or Tyrîenus, as he calls him, at the head of That, which was to leave their country.

⁸⁶. Ξανθος ὁ Λυδοῦς. This Lydian historian was the son of Candaules, and a citizen of Sardes, the capital of

Lydia, which was taken by the Ionians, and Athenians in his time, as Suidas says from Hesychius. This happened in the 3^d year of the 70th olympiad, and the 4214th of the Julian period ^h. By this it appears that Xanthus writ before Herodotus.

⁸⁷. Τῆς δὲ παλαιοῦς καὶ βεβαιωτῆς ἀν' ἑδρας ὑποδείξεως νομιμαίης. Not one of the translators has taken the least notice of the potential word ἀν in rendering this passage; a word peculiar to the Greek language, and, very elegantly, made use of by our author upon this occasion.

^h Usher, p. 93.

on in That of his own country, does not, in any part of his history, either name Tyrrhenus, as a prince of the Lydians, or know any thing of the arrival of a colony of Maeonians in Italy; neither does he make the least mention of Tyrrhenia, as a Lydian colony, though he takes notice of several things of less importance: But says that Lydus, and Torebus were the sons of Atys; that they, having divided the kingdom they had inherited from their father, remained both in Asia, from whom, he says, the nations, over which they reigned, received their names; his words are these; “ From Lydus, the Lydians, and, from Torebus, the Torebi are so called. There is a little difference in their language, and they still borrow many words from one another, like the Ionians, and Dorians.” Hellanicus, the Lesbian, says, that the Tyrrhenians, who were, before, called Pelasgi, received the name they are now known by after they had settled in Italy. These are his words, in his Phoronis; “ Phrastor was the son of Pelasgus, their king, by Menippe the daughter of Peneus; his son was Amyntor; Amyntor’s Teutamides; whose son was Nanas: In whose reign, the Pelasgi were driven out of their country by the Greeks; and, leaving their ships in the river Spines in the Ionian gulph, took Croton, an inland town; from whence, advancing, they ⁸⁸ peopled the

⁸⁸ Την νυν καλεσμενην Τυρρηνιαν ἐκλίσαν. *Ils batirent la Ville, qu’on nomme Tyrrhenie*, says le Jay: I will not say that he has mistaken the sense of the word ἐκλίσαν in this place, because I dare say he never considered it at all; but ap-

plied himself, solely, to translate the Latin of Portus, which he has misunderstood: *Eam, quae nunc Tyrrhenia vocatur, condiderunt*, does not signify *ils batirent la ville, qu’on nomme Tyrrhenie*, but, *ils peuplerent le pays, qu’on*
“ country,

“country, now called, Tyrrhenia.” But the account Myrsilus gives is the reverse of That given by Hellanicus: The Tyrrhenians, says he, after they had left their own country, were, from their wandering, called Πελαργοι, that is, *Storks*, as resembling, in that respect, the birds, called by that name, that come over in flocks both into Greece, and the country of the Barbarians; and he adds, that these people built the wall round the citadel of Athens, which is called the ⁸⁹Pelargian wall.

XXIX. But I look upon it that all those, who take the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelasgi to be one, and the same nation, are under a mistake. It is no wonder they were, sometimes, called by one another's names; since the same thing has happened to other nations also, both Greeks, and Barbarians; as to the Trojans, and Phrygians, who live near to one another: Both which nations many have thought to have been but one, differing in name only, not in reality. And, of all the nations, that have been confounded by being called by the same names, those, that inhabit Italy, have not been

nomme Tyrrhenie. In this sense, ⁱ Virgil has used the word *condo*,

Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.

Had le Jay been a little more skilled in geography, he would have known that there never was a city called Tyrrhenia; but, I imagine, he had a mind to build one. The other French translator has rendered it very well.

⁸⁹. Το Πελαργικον καλεμενον. This must be the true reading, as Casaubon has, very well, observed, who quotes

ⁱ Virgil, Aen. i. v. 33.

the *Etymologicon magnum* to support it. To which I shall add the authority of Aristophanes, who makes himself very merry with his countrymen for representing Pallas all armed, and Clisthenes with a shuttle,

Επ. Και πως αν ει γινοιτ' αν ευιακτος πολις,
Οπη θεος γυνη γεγονηα, πανοπλιαν
Εστηκ' εχυσα, Κλεισθενης δε κερκιδα;

ΠΕΙ. Τις δ' αν καθεξει της πολεως το Πελαργικον^k;

Upon which, the Greek scholiast, very justly, observes ότι Αθηνησι το Πελαργικον τειχος εν τη Ακροπολει

^k Εν ορειθ. v. 830.

the

the least so. For there was a time, when the Latines, the Umbri, the Aufones, and many others, were all called Tyrrhenians by the Greeks; the remoteness of the countries, inhabited by these nations, making the exact distinction of them obscure to those⁹⁰, who live at a distance: And many historians have taken Rome itself for a Tyrrhenian city. So that, I am persuaded these nations changed their name, when they changed the place of their⁹¹ abode; but cannot believe they had both the same origin, for this reason chiefly, among many others, that their languages are different, and preserve not the least resemblance to one another. “ For, “ neither do the⁹² Crotoniatae, says Herodotus, nor the

⁹⁰. Τοις προσω. This seems very like a tautology, which it was very easy to remove, by leaving out τοις προσω, as it is in the Vatican manuscript, or τῶ προσω, as it stands in all the editions. But I have not allowed myself this liberty in translating it, though I find the other translators have not been so scrupulous.

⁹¹. Ἐπεὶ καὶ βίων. I do not think that an alteration in the manner of living of a people is sufficient to give room for an alteration in their name: But a removal from one country to another may have this Effect. And this is the sense I have given to βίος in this place: In which I am justified by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*, which gives this signification to the word among many others: βίος, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τις διαίτῃται.

⁹². Οὐτε Κρότωνιάται. It appears, by comparing this quotation with the

words of Herodotus, that our author contented himself with expressing his sense without confining himself to his words. It is, therefore, no wonder that he should call these people Κρότωνιάται, in vulgar Greek, instead of the Ionic Κρήσωνιάται in ¹ Herodotus. It is plain that both Dionysius, and Herodotus mean the inhabitants of Croton in Italy. So that, I see no reason to correct Herodotus from our author, notwithstanding the authority of Glareanus, and Casaubon, and even of ^m Cluver, who all contend for that correction. The reason given by the last for it, is, that Herodotus speaks of a town in Thrace called Κρήσωνη in his seventh and eighth books. But this is a mistake: For, in the seventh, Herodotus calls this town Κρήσωραι, or, as the ⁿ Medicean manuscript has it, Κρήσωρη; and, in the eighth, he speaks of γῆ Κρήσωρινῃ; but, in neither,

¹ In Clio, c. 57.

^m Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 575.

ⁿ C. 127.

“ Placiani, who speak the same language, use the same with
 “ any of their neighbours: By which, it appears that they
 “ preserve the same language they brought with them into
 “ those countries.” However, it is ⁹³ surprising that, notwithstanding the Crotoniatae spoke the same language with the Placiani, who lived near the Hellespont, since both were, originally, Pelasgi, the language of the former should be quite different from That of the Tyrrhenians, their nearest neighbours: Because, if consanguinity is to be looked upon as the cause, why two nations speak the same language, the contrary must occasion their speaking a different one: For there is no room to think that both these causes can produce the same effect. It may, indeed, be, reasonably, supposed, that men of the same nation, living at a distance from one

does he call this town in Thrace
 ° Κρητων, which is the name, he gives to this city in Italy a few lines before this passage quoted by our author.

⁹³ Καίτοι θαυμαστέον ὅτι, etc. Both the French translators have struck upon the same rock in rendering this passage. The reader will observe that our author says the Placiani lived near the Hellespont, in which he has followed ° Herodotus. This circumstance those two translators have not attended to, which has led them into the mistakes they have committed. But I shall myself be guilty of a disingenuity, less pardonable than a mistake, if I censure them without transcribing their words. Those of M * * * are as follows; *or ne seroit il pas sur-*

prenant que les Crotoniates et ceux de Placiene, qui habitent auprès du Peloponnese, parlassent la même langue comme étant les uns et les autres Pelasgues d'origine, et qu'au contraire ils en eussent une toute différente de celle des Tyrrhéniens leurs voisins? Here, this gentleman, first, makes the Placiani live near the Peloponnese, when our author says they lived near the Hellespont; and then, he makes the Tyrrhenians to be neighbours to the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani. Le Jay, in order to render his mistake still more conspicuous, after mentioning the Crotoniatae, and the Placiani, calls the Tyrrhenians *voisins des uns et des autres*.

° In Clio, c. 57.

p In Clio, c 57.

another,

another, may, by conversation with their neighbours, no longer, preserve the same dialect ; but, it cannot be imagined that people of the same nation, living in the same country, should not, in the least, agree with one another in their language.

XXX. For this reason, therefore, I am persuaded that the Tyrrhenians, and the Pelasgi are a different people. However, I do not think the Tyrrhenians were a colony of the Lydians : For they do not use the same language with the latter ; neither can it be alledged that, though they agree, no longer, in that respect, they, still, retain some other indications of their mother country. For, they neither worship the same gods with the Lydians, nor make use of the same laws, or institutions ; but, in these, they differ more from the Lydians, than from the Pelasgi : And those seem to come nearest to the truth, who do not look upon them as a foreign people, but as natives of the country ; since they are found to be a very ancient nation, and to agree with no other, either in their language, or in their manner of living : And there is no reason why the Greeks may not be supposed to have called them by this name, both from their living in towers, and from the name of one of their kings. The Romans give them different appellations : For, from the country, they, once, inhabited, named Etrutria, they call them Etrusci ; and, from their knowledge in the ceremonies relating to divine worship, in which they excel all others, they call them, at this time, though less accurately,

⁹⁴ Tusci; but, formerly, with the same accuracy, as the Greeks, they called them Thyfcoi: However, they call themselves from the name of one of their leaders, Razenua. But, I shall shew, in another place, what cities the Tyrrhenians inhabited; what forms of government they established; how great ⁹⁵ power the whole nation acquired; what actions, worthy of memory, they performed; and what fortune attended them. The Pelasgi, therefore, who were not destroyed, or dispersed in colonies, there being but few left out of a great many, remained in these parts, as fellow-citizens to the Aborigines; where, in process of time, their posterity, together with others, built the city of Rome. And this is the account history gives of the Pelasgi.

XXXI. Soon after, another colony of Greeks landed on this part of Italy from ⁹⁶ Pallantium, a town of Arcadia,

⁹⁴ Απο της εμπειρίας των περι τα θεία σεβασμάτα λειψργίων. They called them Thyfcoi απο τῆς θυειν. It is to be observed that the word Thyfcoi is oftener found in Roman inscriptions without the asper, than with it.

⁹⁵ Δυναμιν τε ὅποσιν οἱ συμπάντες. It is visible that something is wanting to complete the sentence: For neither διεδεξανίλο in the vulgar editions, nor διεπραξανίλο, in the Vatican manuscript, which is much better, can be applied to this. I would, therefore read ἐκλήσανίλο, which the learned reader will, I believe, think not improper in this place. I am surprised that the commentators, who, often, labour points of less consequence, have taken no notice of this.

⁹⁶ Εκ Παλλαντίης πόλεως Ἀρκαδικῆς. ⁹ Pausanias says that Antoninus Pius erected this village into a city in memory of the Arcadians, who came from thence, and settled on the spot, where the city of Rome was, afterwards, built; and that he granted to the citizens of Pallantium their liberties, and exempted them from paying tribute. He, further, says that the town, built by Evander and his people near the Tiber, afterwards, changed its name by the loss of the two letters λ and ν. Which, by the way, shews the correctness of the Vatican manuscript in a point, in which all the editions are faulty. M * * * says that all the palaces of princes have taken their name from this town, for which he

⁹ In Arcad. c. 43.

about threescore years before the Trojan war, as the Romans themselves say. This colony had for its leader Evander, said to have been the son of Mercury, and of some Arcadian nymph, whom the Greeks call Themis, and say she was inspired: But the writers of the Roman antiquities, call her, in the language of their country, ⁹⁷ Carmenta, which implies the same as *Θεσπιωδος*, in Greek, *a Prophetess in verse*. For the Romans call *ᾠδας*, *verses*, Carmina. However, they agree that this woman, possessed by divine inspiration, prophesied, in verse, to the people of things to come. This colony was not sent out by the common consent of the nation; but, a sedition having arisen among the people, the faction, which was defeated, left the country of their own accord. Faunus, a descendant of Mars, happened, at that time, to have ⁹⁸ inherited the kingdom of the Aborigines, a man, as it is

quotes Pliny, B. iv. c. 6. I have before me Harduin's ^r Pliny, and all I can find in that place are these words, *Palantium, unde Palatium Romae*.

⁹⁷ Καρμενίαν ονομαζουσιν. It appears by this, and many other passages in our author, that he, and Virgil derived their accounts from the same authorities. The latter makes Aeneas go to Evander to implore his assistance against the Rutuli. After Evander had promised to assist him, and given him an account of the ancient inhabitants of the country, he says ^s,

*Mepulsum patriâ, pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens, et ineluctabile fatum
His posuere locis: matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita, et deus auetor Apollo.*

I cannot omit taking notice of the truly poetical dress Virgil has given to a plain historical fact, viz. that Evander, and his Arcadians were settled in the very spot, where Rome, afterwards, stood,

*passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, et lautis mugire carinis^t.*

⁹⁸ Ετυγχανε δε τότε την βασιλειαν των Αβεριγιωνων παρειληφως ο Φαυνος. M * * * is the only one of all the translators, who has not expressed the sense of the word *παρειληφως*. Those, who are well acquainted with the Greek language, know there is a great difference between *λαμβάνειν*, and *παραλαμβάνειν*: the first signifies *to receive* simply, and the other *to receive by inheritance*. In

^r B. iv. c. 6. ^s Virgil, Aen. viii. *ψ*. 333. ^t *ψ*. 360.

said,

said, of activity, as well as prudence, whom the Romans, in their sacrifices, and songs, honor, as one of the gods of their country. This man received the Arcadians, who were but few in number, with great friendship, and gave them as much of his own lands as they desired. And the Arcadians, as Themis, by inspiration, had advised them, chose a hill, not far from the Tiber, which is, now, near the middle of the city of Rome; and, at the foot of this hill, built a small village, sufficient for the complements of the two ships, in which they came from Greece: This village was ordained by fate to excel, in process of time, all other cities, whether Greek, or Barbarian, not only in its extent, and the majesty of its empire, but, in every other instance of prosperity; and to be celebrated, above them all, as long as human nature shall subsist. This village they called Pallantium from their mother city in Arcadia: However, the Romans now call it Palatium, time having introduced this inaccuracy, which has given occasion to many absurd etymologies.

XXXII. But some have written, of whom Polybius the Megalopolitan is one, that it was called so, from a young man, named Palas, who died there; that he was the son of Hercules by Dyna, the daughter of Evander; and that his grandfather by the mother's side, having raised a monument for him on the hill, called the place Palantium from this

this last sense, " Plato has used the word in the discourse between Socrates, and Cephalus; where the former asks the latter, *πολλερον, ω κεφαλε, ων κεκλησαι τα πλεω παρλαβες, η επεκλησω.*

" In *πολιτ.* B. i. p. 573.

youth.

youth. But I have never seen any monument of Palas at Rome, neither could I hear of any sacrifices, or any thing of that nature, performed in memory of him; although this family is not unremembered, or without those honors, with which divine natures are worshipped by men: For I find that public sacrifices are performed, yearly, by the Romans, to Evander, and Carmenta, in the same manner, as to the other heroes, and genius's; and I have seen two altars raised; one to Carmenta, under the Capitoline hill, near the Carmental gate; and the other to Evander, at the foot of another hill, called the Aventine hill, not far from the gate Trigemina. But I know of nothing of this kind done in honor of Palas. The Arcadians, therefore, being settled all together under the hill, planned houses according to the manner of their country, and, also, built temples. And, first, they erected a temple to the Lycæan Pan, by the direction of Themis: For, among the Arcadians, ⁹⁹ Pan is

⁹⁹ Ἀρκάσι γὰρ θεῶν ἀρχαιοτάτος τε καὶ τιμιώτατος ὁ Παν. * The author of the history of Heaven derives the name of this god, who was worshiped by the Egyptians at * Mendes, from an Hebrew word פָּנִים *Panim*, signifying *masks*, which the persons, dressed like Fauns, used to hang upon trees after the processions performed in honor of Bacchus. This etymology depends upon a supposed affinity between the Egyptian and Hebrew languages, which, I dare say, is, intirely, groundless: For, I think, I have convinced the reader, in a former ^y note, that

these two nations did not understand one another. But, if we should read the Hebrew word, which that author has brought to support this extraordinary etymology, as my truly learned friend, Dr. Gregory Sharpe, in his curious dissertation on the Hebrew language, says we ought to read it, what will become of this etymological word, *Panim*? For he plainly shews that, in all Hebrew words, where no vowel occurs, we ought to supply it by an *e*. This he, very judiciously, confirms by reading פָּרָק *a partridge*, *quera*, which all sportsmen will ac-

^w B. i. c. 17.

* Herod. In Euterp. c. 46.

^y See 72^d Ann.

the most ancient, and the most honoured of all the gods : Here they found a proper place for this purpose, which the Romans call the Lupercal, we should call it ¹⁰⁰ Λυκαίων, *Lycaeum* : But the ground about the temple, being, now, all built upon, the ancient disposition of the place is not easy to be guessed at. However, there was, as it is said, formerly, a vast ¹⁰¹ cavern under the hill, covered with a grove of spreading oaks ; deep fountains issued from the foot of the

knowledge to be the call of that bird. Instead of *Panim*, therefore, it must be read, and written in Roman letters, *Pe-nim* ; and this, at once, destroys both the etymology, and the system, that is built upon it. But there is another misfortune, that attends this etymology. ² Herodotus tells us, that the Egyptian word *Mendes* signified both the god Pan, and a goat. And, for this reason, the Egyptian painters, and, after them, the Greek painters, represented Pan with the face and legs of a goat. By this, it is plain that Pan was not the Egyptian name of this god. Is it not, therefore, more natural to suppose the word to be what it, plainly, appears, a Greek word, and to denote the *universe* ; and that the Greeks, and, particularly, the Arcadians, in adoring Pan, paid a most reasonable worship to the great CREATOR and PRESERVER of *all things* ?

¹⁰⁰. Λυκαίων. It is very plain from this passage, as well as from many others in the best authors, that those, who derive the word *Lupercal* from

the wolf, that suckled Romulus, and Remus, are under a great mistake. And, yet, I have met with this derivation in some authors, particularly, in Ovid, who says of this wolf ^a,

Illa loco nomen fecit ; locus ipse Lupercis.

Magna dati nutrix praemia lactis habet.

It is true he gives the true etymology presently after ;

Quid vetat Arcadio dictos a Monte Lupercos ?

Faunus in Arcadiâ templa Lycaeus habet.

There is no doubt but the Lycaean hill in Arcadia, on which, ^b Pausanias says, the temple of Pan stood, gave name to the *Lupercal*, as, I dare say, the Lycaean games, there celebrated, gave occasion to the Roman *Lupercalia*.

¹⁰¹. Σπηλαίον ὑπο τῷ λοφῷ μεγα, etc. The reader will observe this description to be a little poetical. It seems to be introduced by our author to enliven his narration. Le Jay, and the two Latin translators have contented themselves with giving the naked sense of it. The other French translator has rendered it with greater vivacity.

² In Euterp. c. 46.

^a Fastr. B. ii. ψ. 421.

^b In Arcad. c. 38.

rocks,

rocks, and the valley adjoining to the precipices was shaded with thick and stately trees. In this place, they raised an altar to this god, and performed a sacrifice according to the custom of their country, which the Romans offer up to this day, in the month of February, after the winter solstice, without altering any thing in the rites then performed. The manner of this sacrifice will be related afterwards: Upon the top of this hill, they set¹⁰² apart a piece of ground, which they dedicated to Victory, and instituted annual sacrifices to be offered up to her also, which the Romans perform, even, in my time.

XXXIII. The Arcadians, fabulously, say this goddess was the daughter of Palas, the son of Lycaon; and that she received those honors from mankind, which she now enjoys, at the desire of Minerva, with whom she had been educated: For they say that Minerva, was delivered, as soon as she was born, to Palas, by Jupiter, and that she was brought up by him, till she was received into Heaven. They built, also, a temple to Ceres, to whom, by the ministry of women,

^{102.} Το της νικης τεμενος εξελοντες. I should have imagined that εξελοντες, which cannot be applied to *a temple*, might have taught Portus, and his follower, le Jay, that τεμενος, in this place, does not signify *a temple*. That it often has this signification cannot be denied: But the genuine sense of the word, and the only one it can bear here, is *a place set apart, and consecrated to victory*. Τεμενος is derived from τεμνω, which signification it preserves,

when it is used in the sense our author has given it upon this occasion. Τεμενος, πωας ο μεμερισμενος τοπος τινη εις τιμην. Hesychius. And this is the sense, and the only sense it can bear in the following passage of ^c Homer,

οφρ' αν αλοιεν
Δμωες Οενσσης ΤΕΜΕΝΟ Σμελα κοπρησαντες.

Sylburgius, and the other French translator have rendered it very properly.

^c Odyss. ε. χ. 299.

they performed ¹⁰³ sacrifices without wine, according to the custom of the Greeks; none of which rites have been changed by time to this day. Besides, they dedicated a temple to the Hippian Neptune, and instituted a festival, called, by the Arcadians, Hippocratia, and, by the Romans, ¹⁰⁴ Consualia, during which, it is customary among the latter, for the horses, and mules to rest from work, and to have their heads crowned with flowers. They, also, consecrated many other temples, altars, and images of the gods; and instituted purifications, and sacrifices, according to the manner of their own country, which, at this time, are performed without any alteration. But I should not wonder if some

^{103.} Νηφάλιοι θυσίαι. These sacrifices were performed without any libations of wine, from whence they had their name. There is a passage in the Oedipus Coloneus of Sophocles, which, with the observation of the scholiast upon it, will serve to clear up this sentence.

ε γαν αν ποιε

Πρωλαισιν υμων αντεκυρσ' οδοιπρων
Νηφων αοινοις ^d.

Upon which, the scholiast says, he calls the Eumenides αοινες, οτι ε σπενδειται οινος αυταις, αλλ' υδωρ· διο και νηφαλιαι καλυνται αι σπονδαι αυτων. After this explanation of νηφαλιοι θυσίαι, the reader, I believe, will wonder as much as myself to find this passage translated by le Jay, *des sacrifices qui n'étoient point suivis de repas*.

^{104.} Κωνσαλια υπο Ρωμαιων λεγομενα. These were, afterwards, called ^e *Ludi*

Circenses, after the Circus was built by Tarquinius Priscus: They are, generally, supposed to have been instituted by Romulus, after the ravishment of the Sabine women. Though it is very possible that he might only revive them. Every one, who has read the history of the Roman emperors, must know with what magnificence these games were celebrated, and what heats the fondness for this, or that faction (that was the term) created among the spectators. It is thought that the chariot races, instituted by Oenomaus at ^f Elis, gave the first rise to these Circensian games. But, as those races were, also, celebrated in ^g Arcadia so early as the funeral of Azan, the son of Arcas, the fourth king of that country; and, as Evander was an Arcadian, it is very probable that he instituted these games in Italy after Those of his own country.

^d §. 98.

^e Val. Max. B. ii. c. 4.

^f Pausanias in Eliac. c. 10.

^g Id. in Arcad. c. 4.

of these ceremonies, from their great antiquity, were neglected, and forgotten by their posterity. However, those that are still practised, are sufficient proofs of the customs, formerly, in use among the Arcadians, of which we shall speak more at large in another place. The Arcadians are said, also, to have been the first, who brought into Italy the use of ¹⁰⁵ Greek letters, which had, lately, appeared among them, and instrumental music, performed on the Lyre, and those instruments, called the ¹⁰⁶ Trigon, and the Lydian: For

¹⁰⁵. Γραμμάτων Ελληνικῶν χρῆσιν. This subject will be treated at large in the forty first annotation on the fourth book. In the mean time, it is not possible for me to pass by the translation le Jay has given us of this passage: His brethren of Trevoux will, I believe, find great difficulty to interpret away the absurdity of it: These are his words: *On dit qu'ils ont apporté les premiers en Italie l'usage de la langue Grecque, qui pour eux mesmes estoit alors toute nouvelle.* Nothing can be plainer than that our author says the Arcadians brought *the Greek letters*, and not *the Greek language*, into Italy. Has he not said often enough that the Aborigines, who were Greeks, came into Italy many generations before Evander, and that the Pelasgi, who were, also, Greeks of Peloponnesus, came into Italy some generations before Evander? And, yet, if we believe le Jay, none of these Greeks brought their language into Italy; because, I suppose, these Greeks could not speak Greek: Nay, the

Arcadians themselves under Evander, according to him, had but just learned their language, before they came into Italy. I wish I knew what language these Greeks spoke before they learned Greek. What would Dionysius have said, could it have been possible for him to know that his judicious, learned, and elegant history would, one day, be, thus wretchedly, mangled by a man, who has been celebrated with all the power of partial eloquence for his translation of it?

¹⁰⁶. Τρίγωνα καὶ Λυδοί. The first of these musical instruments is mentioned by Pollux: So that, we have reason to look upon this as the true reading. As to the other, Casaubon refers us to the following verse of Ion, mentioned by ^h Athenaeus, and says no more of it:

Λυδὸς τε μαγαδὶς αὐλὸς ἰγχεῖσθω βοῆς.

I am the more inclined to think Λυδὸς the name of this instrument, because ⁱ Athenaeus says, in another place, that the Peloponnesians were taught music

^h B. xiv. c. 8.

ⁱ Ib. c. 5:

the shepherd's pipe was the only musical invention then in use. They are said, also, to have instituted laws; to have brought mankind over from the savageness, which, then, generally, prevailed, to a sense of humanity; and likewise, to have introduced arts, and sciences, and many other things conducive to the public good: And, for these reasons, they were very much cherished by those, who had received them. This was the second Greek nation, that came into Italy after the Pelasgi; and, living in common with the Aborigines, fixed their habitation in the best part of Rome.

XXXIV. A few years after the Arcadians, another colony of Greeks came into Italy, under the command of Hercules, then returned from the conquest of Spain, and of those parts, that extend to the western ocean; some of his followers, desiring Hercules to dismiss them from his service, remained in this country; and built a town on a hill, proper for that purpose, distant from Pallantium about three stadia. This is now called the Capitoline hill, but, by the men of that time, the Saturnian, and, in Greek, it may be called the Cronian, hill. The greatest part of those, who staid behind, were Peloponnesians, Pheneatae, and Epeii of Elis, who were, no longer, desirous to return home, because their country

by the Phrygians, and Lydians, who followed Pelops into Peloponnesus. As to the music expressed by these instruments, it would be a vain thing to inquire into it; because the musicians, in all ages, have been great innovators, and were, ever, inventing

new instruments, and new tastes; which made Anaxilas say that music, like Africa, was every year, producing some new monster:

Ἡ μουσική, δ' ὥσπερ Λιβύη, πρὸς τῶν θένων,
ἀεὶ τι καινὸν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν τέλει θήγει.

had

had been laid waste in the war against Hercules. Some Trojans, likewise, were mixed with these, who, in the reign of Laomedon, had been taken prisoners at Ilium, when Hercules made himself master of that city. And I am of opinion that all the rest of the army, also, who were either tired out with labor, or weary with wandering, having obtained a dismissal, remained here. Some think this hill had, anciently, the same name, as I have said, and that the Epei were very well pleased with the situation in memory of the Cronian hill in Elis, which stands in the Pisaeon country, near the river Alpheus; and which the Elei look upon as consecrated to Saturn; and, assembling together at certain times, they honour it with sacrifices, and other marks of reverence. But ¹⁰⁷Euxenus, an ancient poet, and some other Italian mythologists, are of opinion that the name was given to the place by the Pisaei themselves, from its likeness to their Cronian hill; that the Epeii, together with Hercules, erected the altar to Saturn, which remains, to this day,

¹⁰⁷ Εὐξένος. I think Lapus was in the right in reading Εἰνός instead of Εὐξένος, though I find ^kVossius is of another opinion. However, I do not only think that Ennius was the ancient poet here meant by our author, but that the following passage in Ennius is the very place he alludes to;

*Saturnius illi
Nomen erat, de quo late Saturnia terra.*

All authors agree that Saturnus reigned in Italy; and that, in his reign, his subjects enjoyed great prosperity,

which gave occasion to the poets to call that æra the golden age:

*Aureaque, ut perhibent, illo sub rege sacre
Saccula; sic placidâ populos in pace regebat,*

says ¹Virgil, who, every where, shews he was, perfectly, versed in the antiquities of his country. It is no wonder, therefore, that the subjects of Saturnus, in gratitude for the happiness they enjoyed under his beneficent government, should give his name to their country.

^k De hist. Græc. B. iii. p. 368.

¹ Aeneid B. viii. v. 324.

at the foot of the hill near the ascent, that leads from the Forum to the Capitol; and that they instituted the sacrifice, which the Romans, even at this time, perform after the manner of the Greeks. But, from the best conjectures I have been able to make, I find that, even before the arrival of Hercules in Italy, this place was consecrated to Saturn, and called, by the people of the country, the Saturnian hill; and all the rest of the coast, which is, now, called Italy, was consecrated to this god, and, by the inhabitants, called Saturnia, as may be seen in the Sibylline books, and other oracles delivered by the gods: And, in many parts of the country, there are temples dedicated to this god, and many cities bear the same name, by which the whole coast was known at that time: And several places are called by the name of that god, particularly rocks, and eminences.

XXXV. But, in process of time, it was called Italy, from Italus, ¹⁰⁸ a man of great power; who, according to Antiochus, the Syracusan, being both a wise and good prince, and, having prevailed on some of his neighbours by his eloquence, and subdued the rest by force, he made himself

¹⁰⁸. Επ' ἀνδρος δυνάμει. Both the Latin translators have rendered επι in this place, as if it signified *in the time*, or *under the reign*, as επι Αλεξάνδρου, *in Alexander's reign*; and, to express this sense of the preposition, they have both said, *sub viro prepotente*. But they ought to have considered that Dionysius often imitates Herodotus in the use of this word, who almost always

writes επι for απο. They have, also, misread M * * *, who, in his marginal note, says, *ou sous le regne d'un prince*. The Latin translators might have considered how ^m Virgil has expressed himself in speaking of the same thing:

*nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.*

^m Aeneid. B. iii. v. 165.

master of all that country, which lies between the ¹⁰⁹ Lametum and Scylletic bays; which part, he says, was the first, that was called Italy from Italus. After he had possessed himself of this tract, and had many subjects under his command, he, immediately, aimed at subduing those nations, that lay contiguous, and united many cities under his government; he says, also, that Italus was an Oenotrian. But Hellanicus, the Lesbian, says, that, when Hercules was driving Geryon's cows to Argos, and, already, in Italy, a calf left the herd; and, running away, wandered over all that coast; and that it swam over the intermediate streight, and went into Sicily; that Hercules, following the calf, inquired of the inhabitants wherever he came, if they had seen it; and that they, understanding but little Greek, and, from the description he gave them of the animal, calling it by the name of ¹¹⁰ Vitulus, by which it is still known, he, from that animal, called all the country the calf had wandered over, Vitalia; and he adds, that it is no wonder the name has been changed by time, since the like alteration has, also, happened to

¹⁰⁹ Τῆ τε Ναπητινῆ καὶ τῆ Σκυλλήτινῆ.
^a Cluver, plainly, shews that we must read Λαμηλίτινῆ and Σκυλλήτινῆ: The first gulph, here mentioned by our author, begins at the promontory, anciently, called Lametum, or Lampetes, from a neighbouring city, that was called by both these names: This promontory, he says, is now called *Capo Sovano*; and, from thence, the κόλπος Λαμηλίτινῆς, now called, *Golfo di S. Eufemia*, extends to another foreland,

called, *Portus Herculis*. Here the Scylletic gulph begins, and reaches to the promontory, anciently, called Scyllaeum, now, *Coda della Volpe*.

¹¹⁰ Οὐρίχλον. Timaeus, according to ^o Varro, says that, in ancient Greece, bulls were called Ἰταλοί: *Graecia enim antiqua (ut scribit Timaeus) tauros vocabat Ἰταλός*. Our author had great reason to reject this etymology of Hellanicus, and to conclude that Italy received its name from Italus.

^a In Ital. Ant. B. iv. p. 1290, and 1294.

^o Varro de re rust. B. ii. c. 5.

many

many Greek names. But, whether, as Antiochus says, the country took this name from a commander, which, perhaps, is the most probable; or, according to Hellanicus, from the calf, yet, this, at least, is manifest from both their accounts, that, in Hercules time, or very little before, it was called Italia: For, before this, the Greeks called it Hesperia, and Ausonia, and the people of the country, Saturnia, as I said before.

XXXVI. There is another fable related by the inhabitants, that, before Jupiter's reign, Saturn was king of this country, and that the celebrated age in his reign, ¹¹¹abounding in the produce of every season, was enjoyed by none more than by them. And, indeed, if any one, setting aside the fabulous part of this account, will examine the merit of any particular country, from which mankind, immediately after their birth, received the greatest enjoyments, whether they sprung from the earth, according to the ancient tradition, or were formed by any other means, he will find none more beneficent to them than this. For, if we compare one country with another of the same extent, in my opinion, Italy is the best, not only of Europe, but even of all others. Though I am not ignorant, that I shall not be believed by many, when they reflect on Egypt, Libya, Babylonia, and many other ¹¹²fruitful countries. But I do not confine the

¹¹¹. Βίος ἀπασι δαψιλῆς, ὅποσους ὥραι φέρειν. Thus has le Jay translated this passage; *ces Siecles si connus, et si fertunex, pendant lesquels toutes les saisons de l'année produisoient une égale abon-*

dance. It is hard to say which is most extraordinary, such an age, or such a translation.

¹¹². Χωροὶ εὐδαίμονες. If, by *felicitas*, the Latin translators meant *fertility*, richness

richness of the soil to one sort of fruits; neither am I fond of living in a place, where there are, only, fat arable lands, and nothing, or little else, useful: But I look upon that country, as the best, which is the most self-sufficient, and, generally, stands least in need of foreign commodities: Now, I am persuaded that Italy enjoys this universal fertility, and plenty of every thing useful beyond any other country in the world.

XXXVII. ¹¹³ For it contains a great deal of good arable land, without wanting wood, like a corn-country: On the

which I much doubt, they have rendered *ευδαίμονες* properly. It is plain Le Jay did not think they took the word in that sense; because he has translated it, *lieux si célèbres par les délices qu'on y goute*. That *ευδαίμων*, when applied to a country, or to land, signifies *fertil*, will not be doubted by any one, who has read the best Greek authors, particularly, the poets; and this sense of the word, the Latin writers have, from them, given to *felix*; a remarkable instance of which we have in Virgil; who, in describing the fertility of valleys, derives the cause of that fertility from the waters, which, in falling from the neighbouring hills, convey into those valleys a fertilising soil; a circumstance which all our farmers are very well acquainted with:

*At quae pinguis humus, dulciq̃ue uligine lacta,
Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,
Qualem saepe cavā montis convalle solemus
Despicere: huc summis liquuntur rupibus amnes,
Felicemque trahunt limum.*

Upon which, Servius says very well, *id est, fertilem*. The other French translator has rendered it very properly. But, if there could be any doubt whether our author used the word in this sense, that doubt would be cleared up by what he says in the next sentence.

¹¹³ Οὐ γὰρ ἀργίας ἔχει ἀγαθὰς, etc. This description of Italy is very much laboured: The thoughts are so just, and the expressions so close, that I am apt to believe it cost our author some pains: I am sure it cost me a great deal to translate it; neither can I say I have satisfied myself; much less, I fear, have I satisfied the learned reader, after he has compared it with the original. The Latin translators have given the sense of it, and that is all. Le Jay has made a florid period, and given us something like the author's sense in very good language. The other French translator has given the whole sense; but as he has made three periods of one, the closeness of the

† Virgil, Georg. B. ii. v. 184.

other side, the soil is proper for all sorts of trees, without being reduced to a scarcity of corn, like a wood-land ; or, by yielding plenty of both, rendered unfit for pasture : Neither can it be said that it is rich in corn, wood, and pasture, yet unpleasant to live in ; but abounds, as I may say, in all sorts of delights, and advantages. To what corn-country, ¹¹⁴ watered, not with rivers, but with rains from Heaven, do the plains of Campania yield ; in which I have seen land, that bears, even, ¹¹⁵ three crops in a year,

description is lost in the length of it. The reader will observe that I have extended the signification of πολυκαρπος to *wood*, as well as *corn*, in order to make this part as comprehensive as the other, which our author, certainly, designed.

¹¹⁴ Αρδομενης. Thus I read it, after the Vatican manuscript, instead of αρδομενα. The Latin translators, who had never seen this manuscript, are to be excused : But the French translators, who both translated, as they themselves say, from Hudson's edition, in which the readings of this manuscript are all along set down at the foot of every page, will not, I believe, be, so easily, excused for having preferred a reading that, visibly, takes off from the merit of Campania, which our author is here commending. In the first place, there is scarce any country, which is not a fen, or recovered from a fen, like Holland, that is watered with more rivers, than Campania. And secondly, I desire the reader's opinion, whether our author would have omitted this circumstance so favorable to the country he recommends,

and have given it to Those with which he compares it. Every one who has travelled in the summer through hot countries, that are not well watered with rivers, must remember how the corn languished, the grass was burnt up, and the cattle pined for want both of food, and water. With these countries, therefore, our author compares Campania, and asks very justly ; To what corn-countries, that are watered, only with rains, and not with rivers, do the plains of Campania yield ?

¹¹⁵ Τρικαρπες αρουρες. No English farmer would believe that any land could bear three crops in a year ; and yet there are no farmers in the world, who understand agriculture better, or practise it with greater success. However, ^a Strabo says the same thing, nay more, of the Campanian plains : For he says that some of them, even bear a fourth crop of cabbages, and other things of that nature. If Campania is so fertile, how comes it to pass that we, frequently, send corn thither ? —The soil is not changed, but the government is.

^a B. v. p. 372.

bringing,

bringing, fucceffively, to perfection the winter, fummer, and autumnal grain? To what olive-grounds are Thofe of the Mefapii, the Daunii, the Sabines, and many others, inferior? To what vineyards, Thofe of Tyrrhenia, Alba, and Falernus; where the foil is, wonderfully, kind to vines, and, with the leaft labor, produces plenty of the fineft grapes? Befides the land, that is cultivated, Italy abounds in pastures for fheep, and goats; yet more extenfive, and more wonderful are Thofe affigned to horfes, and neat cattle: For, not only the marfh, and meadow grafs, which is very plentiful, but the infinite quantity of That, growing in ¹¹⁶ uncultivated places, on which the cattle feed in fummer, by being dewy, and moift, preserves them, always, in good condition. But, above all thefe things, the woods, growing upon precipices, in vallies, and on uncultivated hills, are moft worthy of admiration; from which, the inhabitants are, abundantly, fupplied with ¹¹⁷ fine timber for the building of fhips, and for all other works. Neither are any of thefe materials hard to be come at, or at a diftance from common ufe, but eafy

^{116.} Των δε οργαδων. To this word the two Latin translators, and M* * * (for le Jay has left it out) have given the fenfe of *cultivated lands*, which, I think, it will not bear in this place; becaufe the grafs, growing on arable lands, in fo hot a climate as That of Italy, can never be called, with any propriety, *δροσερα και κατάρρυλος*, *dewy and moift*; but That growing in uncultivated places under the fhade of bufhes, and trees, may, very well, be called fo. And I fhall produce a very great authority to fhew that *οργας*

finifies *uncultivated places overgrown with bufhes and trees*. Οργας καλείται τα λεχυωδη και ορεινα χωρια, και ΟΥΚ ΕΠΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ. Οθεν και η Μεγαρικη οργας προσωνομαθη, τοιαυτη τις εσα, περι ης επλεμηςαν Αθηναιοι Μεγαρευσι. Harpocraton; who quotes Demosthenes, περι συνταξεως; where it is plain that he ufes the word in this fenfe.

^{117.} Και καλης ναυπηγησιμυ. Casaubon has obferved that *υλης* is wanting to complete the fenfe: But I think it may, very well, be underftood.

to be employed, and all ready at hand; which is owing to the multitude of rivers, that water all that coast; and make the carriage, and exchange of every thing the country produces, very convenient. Springs, also, of hot waters have been discovered in many places, affording most pleasant baths, and of sovereign use in chronical distempers. There are ¹¹⁸ mines of all sorts, plenty of wild beasts for hunting, and variety of sea-fish; besides innumerable other things, some useful, and others worthy of admiration: But the most advantageous of all, is the happy temper of the air, suiting itself to every season: So that, neither the formation of fruits, nor the constitution of animals are, in the least, injured by excessive cold, or heat.

XXXVIII. It is no wonder, therefore, that the ancients looked upon this country, as consecrated to Saturn, since they esteemed this god to be the ¹¹⁹ giver, and accomplisher of all happiness; whether he ought to be called Cronos, with the Greeks, or Saturnius, with the Romans: But, by which

¹¹⁸ Μεταλλα παντοδαπα. It is well known that μεταλλον, in Greek, and *metallum* in Latin, signify both *the mine*, and *the metal*. The French translators have taken the word in the last sense; I have taken it in the first.

¹¹⁹ Πασης ευδαιμονιας δοτρια και πληρωτην. M * * * asks, how this agrees with the poets, and astrologers, who thought that Saturn, and the planet, which bears his name, were the cause of evil. To this I answer, that our author was neither a poet, nor an astrologer, but an historian; who, with great reason, thinks himself obliged

to inform his readers of the traditions, which prevailed among the people, whose history he writes. I have, in a former note, shewn that Saturn was a king of Italy, under whose reign his subjects enjoyed so great a degree of happiness, that their posterity looked upon that æra, as the golden age. We must, certainly, read Cronos in the first part of the following sentence, and Saturnius in the last; because our author told us, a little before, that Cronos was called by the people of Italy, *Saturnius*.

name

name soever he is called, he comprehends universal nature : It is no wonder, I say, if the ancients, seeing this country abounding with universal plenty, and every charm mankind are fond of ; and, judging those places the most proper to be consecrated both to divine and human natures, which are most agreeable to them, dedicated the mountains and woods to Pan ; the meadows and green lawns to the nymphs ; the shores, and islands to the sea-gods ; and all other places, that were most agreeable to each deity. It is said, also, that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as it was practised at Carthage, while that city subsisted ; and among the Celti, at this day, and other western nations : And, that ¹²⁰ Hercules, desiring to abolish the use of this sacrifice, erected the altar upon the Saturnian hill, and instituted a sacrifice of unstained victims burning on a pure fire. And, lest the inhabitants should make it a matter of conscience to neglect the sacrifices of their country, he directed them to appease the anger of the god, by making images, resembling the men they used to tie hand and foot,

¹²⁰· *Ἡρακλεῖα δέ*, etc. * Plutarch, also, attributes this institution to Hercules, who, by this means, put an end to that detestable custom of sacrificing human victims ; and adds, that the Romans called these pageants, *Argivi* ; either because the Barbarians, who lived in those parts, called all the Greeks, *Argivi*, and put as many of them to death in this manner, as they could take ; or, because the Arcadians, under Evander, retaining their ancient

enmity, against their neighbours, the *Argivi*, called those pageants by that name. If any thing can be ridiculous in cruelty, the method of sacrificing human victims by the *Albani* must be so. * Strabo says, that the high-priest of Albania, a country near the Caspian sea, pampered a man during a whole year ; and, having anointed him with precious oil, he sacrificed him, with other victims, to the moon, who, it seems, was their favorite goddess.

¹ In Rom. Quæst.

² B. ii. p. 768.

and

and throw into the Tiber ; and, dressing them in the same manner, to throw them into the river, instead of men ; to the end that, if any scruple remained in their minds, it might be removed, the resemblance of the ancient tragical scene being still preserved. This ceremony the Romans perform, even, to this day, a little after the vernal æquinox, on the ides of May ; which day they account the middle of the month : On which, after the usual sacrifices, the pontifs, who are the most considerable of their order, together with the virgins, who have the care of the perpetual fire, the prætors, and such of the citizens as are allowed to assist at these rites, throw, from the holy bridge, into the river Tiber, thirty pageants, resembling men, which they call Argivi. But, concerning the sacrifices, and the other rites, which the Roman people perform, according to the manner both of the Greeks, and of their own country, we shall speak in another place. At present, it seems requisite to give a more particular account of the arrival of Hercules in Italy, and to omit nothing worthy of notice that he performed there.

XXXIX. The relations, concerning this god, are, partly fabulous, and, partly true. The fabulous account of his arrival, is this ; that Hercules, being commanded by Eurystheus, among other labors, to drive Geryon's cows from Erythea to Argos, performed the work ; and, having passed through many places of Italy in his return home, came, also, into that part of the country of the Aborigines, which lies near Pallantium : Where, finding a great deal of fine pasture for his cows, he let them graze ; and, being
oppressed

oppressed with labor, laid himself down to sleep. In the mean time, a robber of that country, whose name was Cacus, happened to see the cows feeding without a keeper, and longed to have them: But, seeing Hercules lie there asleep, he imagined he could not drive them all away without being discovered; and, at the same time, saw the thing would be attended with great difficulty: So, he secreted a few of them in a cave hard by, in which he lived, dragging each of them thither by the tail, ¹²¹ contrary to the natural gait of animals. This might have concealed all proof of the theft, as the way he dragged them, appeared contrary

121. Εμπαλιν της καλᾶ φύσιν τοῖς ζώοις πορείας. M * * * has thought fit to leave out these words, and the reason he gives for it, is, that the phrase is useless, and would be inexcusable in a Latin author; but may be excused in Dionysius by reason of the copiousness of the Greek language; and his diffused style. But I can no more agree with him in the excuse he makes for our author, than in the fault he imputes to him. For, in my opinion, the copiousness of a language can be no excuse to a writer for introducing useless phrases. But I, greatly, suspect that the Latin translation of Sylburgius, and not the Greek text, gave that gentleman reason to think this phrase useless. Sylburgius has rendered *εμπαλιν*, *aversas*, and then adds, *contra solitum animalium incessum*. After M * * * had translated *aversas*, *à reculons*, I do not wonder he looked upon what follows as not deserving to be translated.

But I doubt not to convince the reader that *εμπαλιν* does not signify *à reculons*; and that it is not an adverb, but a preposition in this place, and, elegantly, joined with a genitive case, and governs *της πορείας*: If it does not, I would fain know what does. I say, then, that *εμπαλιν* here signifies *contrary*, which I shall prove from a similar phrase in Herodotus, who tells us, that he inquired of the Egyptian priests, what might occasion the Nile to overflow its banks in the summer, and to run low in the winter; and, by what power, that river was of a nature *contrary* to That of other rivers. Ἰσορῶν αὐτὸς ἤντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ΕΜΠΑΛΙΝ πεφυκεναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. Both " Livy, and " Virgil relate this adventure of Cacus, the first with all the elegance of an historian, and the other with all the power of poetry.

† In Euterp. c. 19. " B. i. c. 7. " B. viii. §. 194.

to the traces of their feet. But Hercules, arising from sleep soon after; and, having counted the cows, and found how many were missing, he was, for some time, at a loss to guess whither they were gone; and, supposing them to have strayed from pasture, he sought them all over the country: But, not finding them, he came to the cave, and, though he was so far ¹²² deceived by the traces, as not to rely much on their being there, he determined, nevertheless, to search the place. But Cacus stood before the door, and, when Hercules inquired after the cows, denied he had seen them; and, when he desired to search the cave, would not suffer him to do it; but called upon his neighbours for assistance, complaining of the violence offered to him by a stranger. Upon this, Hercules found himself in great perplexity; however, he thought of an expedient, which was to drive the rest of the cows to the cave. When those within heard the well known voice, and perceived the smell, of their companions, they bellowed to them again, and their voice discovered the theft. Cacus, therefore, when his robbery was thus brought to light, put himself upon his defence, and called out to his fellow-shepherds. But, Hercules, in a rage, killed him with his club, and drove out the cows; when, finding the cave a convenient receptacle for thieves, he demolished it, and ¹²³ buried the robber under its ruins. Then, having purified himself in the river from

¹²². Διαρρινωμενος· Εξαπαλωμενος. Suidas; who quotes this very passage to support that sense of the word.

¹²³. Επικαλ' ασκαπει τω κλωπι. I have

followed the Vatican manuscript, because I do not think it very probable that Hercules should demolish this cave with a shepherd's crook.

the murder, he erected an altar near the place to Jupiter the discoverer, which is now at Rome, near the gate Trigemina, and sacrificed a calf to the god, in acknowledgment for his having found his cows. This sacrifice the Romans perform, even, at this day; in which, they observe all the ceremonies of the Greeks, in the manner he instituted them.

XL. When the Aborigines, and the Arcadians, who lived at Pallantium, were informed of the death of Cacus, and saw Hercules, they thought themselves exceeding happy, in being rid of the former, whom they detested for his robberies; and were struck with admiration at the sight of the latter, whom they looked upon as something divine: The poorer sort, cutting branches of laurel, which grows there in great plenty, crowned both him, and themselves with it: Their kings, also, came, and desired Hercules to be their guest. But, when he informed them of his name, his extraction, and his achievements, they recommended both their country, and themselves to his friendship. And Evander, who had long before, learned from Themis, that it was ordained by fate, that Hercules, the son of Jupiter, and Alcmena, changing his mortal nature, should become immortal by his virtue, as soon as he knew who he was, resolved to be the first in rendering Hercules propitious to him, by paying him divine honors; and, through haste, erected an extemporary altar, near which, he sacrificed an unreclaimed heifer, having first communicated the oracle to

Hercules, and desired him to ¹²⁴ begin the sacrifice. Hercules, admiring their hospitality, entertained the people with a feast, having sacrificed some of the cows, and set apart the tenths of the rest of his booty; and, to their kings, he gave a large country belonging to the Ligures, and to some others of their neighbours, the command of which they very much desired, and, from which he had, before, expelled some ¹²⁵ lawless persons. It is said, also, that he desired the inhabitants, since they were the first, who had acknowledged his divinity, that they would perpetuate the honors, they

¹²⁴ Των ιερων καταρχεσθαι. I have translated this, generally, *to begin the sacrifice*; but that is not sufficient to let the reader into the sense of the word καταρχεσθαι, which is thus explained by Hesychius καταρχεσθαι τῶν ιερῶν, τῶν τριχων αποσπασαι: It seems, this ceremony was not unknown to Homer; who, in speaking of the sacrifice preparatory to the single combat between Paris, and Menelaus, says of Agamemnon,

Αρνων εκ κεφαλων ταμνε τριχας ^w.

But this is, more fully, explained by Virgil in the sacrifice performed by the infernal priests,

*Et, summas carpens media inter cornua setas,
Igibus impesuit sacris libamina prima^x.*

¹²⁵ Παρὰνομοι τινες ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐκβαλῶν ὁ θρωπευς. I was wondering how M^{*.*} came to render this passage, *il en chassa les anciens habitants, qui n'ayant ni loix ni police menaient une vie aussi d'égale que leur taille étoit enorme*: I could not conceive, I say, how the Greek text

could lead him to inform us, that this country was inhabited by a race of giants; when, casting my eye on this passage, as translated by Sylburgius, I found he had rendered it thus; *expulsis prius inde viris quibusdam immanibus*: So that, he has translated the Latin translation; but with this misfortune, that he has applied *immanis* to the size of these men, as well as to their behaviour, which word, I am persuaded, Sylburgius designed to apply only to the latter: And yet this gentleman has thought fit to conclude his preface with this remarkable period; which, by the way, visibly squints at le Jay's translation; *j'espere au moins qu'on ne me convaincra pas d'avoir traduit sur les versions Latines sans consulter le texte Grec*. It is certain that, upon this occasion, he cannot be *convicted* of translating the Latin version, because he has mistaken it; but it is as certain that he never *consulted the Greek text*; if he had, he would not have imagined that *παρὰνομοι ἀνθρώποι* could signify *men of an enormous size*.

^w Iliad. τ. γ'. 273.

^x Aeneid. vi. γ'. 245.

had

had paid him, by offering up, every year, an unreclaimed heifer, and ¹²⁶ performing the sacrifice with Greek ceremonies; and, that he taught them those rites, to the end their offerings might, always, be acceptable to him, chusing two noble families for that ministry: And that those, who were, then, instructed in the Greek discipline, were the Potitii, and Pinarii, whose descendants continued, a long time, in the administration of these sacrifices, performing them in the manner he had appointed; the Potitii presiding at the sacrifice, and taking the first part of the ¹²⁷ burnt-offering, while the Pinarii were excluded from tasting the intrails, and admitted, only, to the second rank in those ceremonies, which were to be performed by both of them; and it is said, that this disgrace was fixed upon them, for having been late in their attendance; since, being ordered to be present, early, in the morning, they did not come till the intrails were eaten. Now, the posterity of these families have, no longer, the superintendance over these sacrifices; but ¹²⁸ slaves, purchased with the public money, perform them

^{126.} Αγισευοίτες. Τα της θυσίας επίτελεσαι. Suidas. Le Jay has inverted the sense of this whole period: For, contrary to the express words of the text, he has made the Arcadians desire Hercules to perpetuate the honors they had paid him, and to do every thing else, which, in the text, Hercules desires them to do.

^{127.} Εμπύρα, τα καιόμενα ιερά. Hesychius; whom Portus has, also, quoted upon this occasion.

^{128.} Αλλα παίδες εκ της δημοτικῆς ωνήτοι δρωσιν αὐτοῖς. Παις τασσεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ δαλχ. Hesychius. But this signification of the word *παίδες* is so common in all Greek authors, that it was, almost, unnecessary to support it by a quotation. After the example of the Greeks, the Romans gave this sense, also, to the word *pueri*, many instances of which are to be found in their best writers. ^y Cicero says to Atticus, *puer festivus anagnostes noster Sositheus decesserat*,

in their room. For what reasons, this custom was changed, and how the god manifested himself concerning this change of the priests, I shall relate when I come to that part of the history. The altar, on which Hercules offered up the tenths, is called by the Romans, ara ¹²⁹ maxima, *the greatest altar*: It stands near the market, called Boarium, and is held in the greatest veneration by the inhabitants: For, upon that altar, oaths are taken, and agreements made by those, who are desirous to transact any thing unalterably; and the tenths of different things are there, frequently, offered up, pursuant to vows. However, the structure of it is much inferior to its reputation. In many other places, also, in Italy, temples are dedicated to this god, and altars erected to him in cities,

meque plus quam servi mors debere videbatur, commoverat. I am, therefore, surpris'd that Sylburgius should correct his own translation, unless he there means to correct this error in Gelenius, and substitute *pueri*, in the room of *se. v.*; which shews he did not take *pueri* in the sense I have mentioned. Livy, in speaking of this very affair of the Potitii, calls the men who officiated in their room, *servi publici*; which signifies, literally, *παῖδες ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας ἀντίοι*. But this is not all: For I observe that the faults, and merits of the Latin, communicate themselves to the French, translators; Sylburgius, by substituting *pueri* to *servi* has misled M*** who has rendered it, *de jeunes gens*; and Portus, by saying *servi*, has conducted his translator, le Jay, to the true sense of the word:

For he has translated it, *des esclaves*. Our author says he designs, afterwards, to give an account of the consequences, that attended this substituting of slaves to officiate in the room of the Potitii; as nothing of this kind appears in the eleven books, that remain, it may, in some degree, be supplied by ² Livy, who says their whole family became extinct; *tradito servis publicis solenni familiae ministerio, genus omne Potitiorum interiit*: So their religious prejudices taught them to think.

¹²⁹ Μεγίστος. This circumstance, also, is taken notice of by ^a Virgil; who, in speaking of Hercules, when he was in Italy, makes Evander say to Aeneas:

*Hanc aram Iuco statuit; quae maxima semper
Dicitur nobis, et erit quae maxima semper.*

² B. i. c. 7. ^a Aeneid. B. viii. v. 271.

and highways, there being scarce any part of Italy, in which this god is not honoured. And this is the fabulous tradition concerning him.

XLI. But That, which comes nearer to the truth, and which many, who have written the history of his actions, have imbraced, is as follows: That Hercules, being the greatest commander of his age, and, at the head of a considerable army, marched over all the tract, that lies on this side of the ocean, destroying all such ¹³⁰ monarchies, as

¹³⁰ Τυραννίς βαρεία και λυπηρά τοις αρχομένοις. I observe that all the translators have rendered Τυραννίς *Tyranny*, without considering that the word in Greek is not, always, taken in a bad sense, and signifies no more than the government of a single person, that is, monarchy: And, I think, it is plain enough that our author understood it in this sense here; otherwise, he would not have said that Hercules destroyed such tyrannies, as were βαρεῖαι και λυπηραὶ τοις αρχομένοις, *grievous and oppressive to their subjects*; because all tyrannies are so in their own nature. It has been observed by many writers, and, particularly, by the scholiast of Sophocles in the argument of Oedipus, the tyrant, that this word is of a later date than the age of Homer, and Hesiod, who never make use of it. It is certain that the ^b former, in speaking of Echetus, the most wicked of all men, calls him a king, and not a tyrant; Εἰς Ἐχέτιον βασιλέα, βροτῶν δηλημονῶ πάντων.

In the following verses of ^c Euripides, which Caesar had so often in his mouth,

τυραννίς must be taken in the sense I have here given it;

Εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρεὶ, τυραννίδος περὶ
Καλλίστον ἀδικεῖν, τ' ἄλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεὼν.

This is said by Eteocles to his mother Jocasta, who had, in vain, persuaded him to resign the crown to his brother pursuant to their agreement. It is well known that ^d Cicero has translated these verses, which, he says, Caesar was often repeating: This translation will prove, much better than I can, that the word ought to be taken in the sense I am contending for,

*Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

But I cannot omit the reflection which Cicero makes upon this sentiment. *Capitalis Eteocles*, says he, *vel potius Euripides, quæ id unum, quod omnium sceleratissimum fuerat, exceperit*. This was spoken like a Roman, to whom the very name of a king was odious. But, notwithstanding his authority, and That of all his countrymen, it is very probable that, if Rome had been governed by a limited monarchy, she had never felt a tyranny.

^b Odyss. Σ. γ. 84.

^c In Phoen. γ. 527.

^d De Officiis, B. iii. c. 21.

were

were grievous and oppressive to the subject, and such commonwealths, as insulted, and injured the neighbouring states, mankind living, at that time, in a savage manner, and putting strangers to death without any regard to justice; and, in their room, he constituted monarchies, limited by law, and well-ordered commonwealths, and introduced customs full of humanity, and universal compassion: Besides this, he mingled with Greek and Barbarous nations, as well those living on the sea-coast, as those inhabiting the inland country, who, till then, conversed with diffidence, and a distant behaviour; built cities in desert places; turned the course of rivers, that overflowed the country; cut roads through inaccessible mountains; and contrived other means, by which every land, and sea might lie open to the use of all mankind. But he came not into Italy alone, or driving a herd of cows; for, neither is this country in the road from Spain to Argos, neither would so great honors have been paid to him, merely, for passing through it: But, having, already, conquered Spain, he came hither, at the head of a great army, in order to subdue, and reign over the inhabitants of this country: And was obliged to stay there the longer, both for want of his fleet, which was detained by stormy weather; and, because all the nations of Italy did not, willingly, submit to him. For, besides other Barbarians, the Ligures, a numerous and warlike people, seated in the passages of the Alps, endeavoured to oppose, by arms, his entrance into Italy: Upon which occasion, a very great battle

battle was fought by the Greeks, who lost all their ¹³¹ weapons in the fight. This war is taken notice of by Aeschylus, one of the ancient poets, in his Prometheus released : For, there, Prometheus is introduced foretelling to Hercules every thing, that was to befall him in his expedition against Geryon ; and giving him an account of the difficulties he was to encounter in the war with the Ligures ; the verses are these : “ You
 “ will meet with the intrepid army of the Ligures ; where,
 “ warlike though you are, you will not find fault with the
 “ engagement : For it is decreed that, even, your weapons
 “ shall fail you.”

¹³¹. Των βελων. Βελος, in Greek, like *telum*, in Latin, signifies *a weapon*, generally. Βελος, μαχαίρα, ακις. Hefychius. Notwithstanding this, both the French translators have thought fit to render it *des flèches, arrows*, as if Hercules had commanded an army of Indians. The tragedy of Aeschylus, out of which our author cites the following verses, is lost. * Strabo, in describing the coast of Languedoc, and Provence, says the ground, where this battle was fought, lies between Marseilles, and the mouth, or rather mouths of the Rhone ; and adds several other verses of Aeschylus to those quoted by our author. It seems this spot, then, was, and now is, full of stones, which Prometheus tells Hercules should be sent down from Heaven to supply his army with weapons, after their own had failed them. As these verses are written with a spirit peculiar to Aeschylus, parti-

cularly, that part, which mentions the cloud fraught with a shower of stones ; and, as Strabo is the only author, that I know of, in whom they are to be found, I shall transcribe them for the satisfaction of the learned reader :

Ενλαυθ' ἐλεοῦται δ' ἄ τιν' ἐκ γαίης λίθον
 ἱξείς, ἐπεὶ πᾶς χωρὸς ἐστὶ μαλθακός.
 Ἴσων δ' ἀμνηχικινία σ' ὁ Ζεὺς, σικλήρει,
 Νεβελὴν δ' ὑπερσχωὺν νιφάδι σφοδρῶν πείρων
 Ὑπερσκιον θεσπέσι χθοναί, εἰς ἐπεΐα σὺ
 Βαλὼν δῆλως εἰς ἀδίας Λίγυ' ἐράλιν.

I remember to have seen this stony field in Provence, as I went from Marseilles to Arles : The people of the country call it in their language, which is very different from French, *las craux*. But a man of learning at Aix told me, the proper name of it was *Le champ Herculien* ; which shews that the memory of this tradition is still preserved.

* B. iv. p. 276.

XLII. After Hercules had defeated this people, and gained the pass, some delivered up their cities to him of their own accord, particularly, those, who were of Greek extraction, or had not forces equal to his; but the greatest part of them were reduced by war, and sieges. Among those subdued by battle, was this Cacus, so much celebrated by the Roman fables; a very barbarous prince, reigning over a savage people: He, they say, opposed Hercules, trusting to the fastnesses, from whence, he annoyed the neighbouring people; and, as soon as he heard that Hercules lay incamped in a plain not far off, he furnished himself like a robber, and set upon him on a sudden; and, the army being asleep, he made himself master of all their ¹³² cattle, which he found unguarded, and drove them away. Afterwards, being besieged by the Greeks, and his forts being taken by storm, he was killed after a stout resistance: His castles being demolished, the country round them was divided among the ¹³³ followers of Hercules, the Arcadians under Evander, and Faunus, king of the Aborigines. And there is room to believe that the Epei, the Arcadians, who

¹³² Λείας. Λείη, ἡ τῶν θρεμμαίων ἀγέλη. Hesychius. I am sensible that he says it signifies also, any *booty taken in war*; and that this is the sense, in which many authors use the word. But, as it, particularly, signifies a booty consisting of cattle, and, as our author has added *ἀπηλάσας*, I think the word cannot be applied, upon this occasion, to any other. For which reason, *butin* in M * * * does not seem to me a proper translation of Λεία.

¹³³ Καὶ αὖτε ἄλλοι. There seems to be something wanting here to complete the sense: If we read *καὶ ἄλλοι*, I think it will be clear enough. The reader will remember that the Trojans, mentioned in the next sentence, were those, who, as our author, before, told us, had been taken prisoners by Hercules, when he took Troy, and, after that, attended him in his expedition to Spain: For Aeneas, and his Trojans were not yet arrived in Italy.

came

came from Pheneus, and the Trojans, who all staid behind, were left to guard the country. For, among other actions, which Hercules performed, well becoming the general of an army, none was more worthy of admiration than his employing, for some time, in his expeditions, those he drew out of the cities he had taken; and, after they had, cheerfully, assisted him in his wars, settling them in the conquered countries, and bestowing on them the riches he had gained from others. These actions, they say, rendered the name of Hercules famous in Italy, and not his passage through it, which was attended with nothing worthy of veneration.

XLIII. Some say, that he left, even, two sons, by two women, in the places now inhabited by the Romans: One of his sons was Palas, whom he had by the daughter of Evander; whose name, they say, was Launa; the other, Latinus, whose mother was a certain northern girl, whom he brought with him as an hostage, given to him by her father, and preserved, for some time, untouched; but, while he was on his voyage to Italy, falling in love with her, he got her with child: And, when he was preparing to go to Argos, he married her to Faunus, king of the Aborigines: And, for this reason, Latinus is, generally, looked upon as the son of Faunus, not of Hercules. Palas, they say, died before he arrived to puberty; but Latinus, when he came to be a man, succeeded his father in the kingdom of the Aborigines; and, being killed in a battle against his neighbours, the Rutili, without leaving any male issue, the government devolved on

Aeneas, the son of Anchises, his son-in-law. But these things happened at other periods of time.

XLIV. After Hercules had settled every thing in Italy according to his desire, and his naval forces were arrived in safety from Spain, he offered up to the gods the tenths of his booty, and built a ¹³⁴ small town of the same name with

¹³⁴ Πολιχνην επωνυμον αυτης κτισας. This is the unfortunate town, that was so many hundred years, afterwards, destroyed by that fatal eruption of mount Vesuvius, in which Pliny the elder perished. The particulars of which, as they were seen, and felt at Misenum, are described by his ^fnephew in his letter to Tacitus. This horrible conflagration is mentioned by Suetonius in his life of Titus, in whose reign it happened, and described in all its dreadful circumstances by ^e Xiphilinus, the abstracter of Dion Cassius. Some learned men have maintained, that the eruption of Vesuvius, by which Herculaneum was destroyed, happened in the last year of the reign of Titus: But, though Suetonius has not mentioned the particular year, yet it is certain, that it happened in the first of his reign. We know both by ^h Suetonius, and Xiphilinus, that he reigned two years, two months, and twenty days; and, by the latter, that the great fire, which consumed a vast Number of public, and private buildings at Rome, happened the year after this eruption of mount Vesuvius, while Titus was absent, and making a progress through Campania to comfort, and relieve his afflicted subjects. The

year following, he died on the ides of September, in the consulship of Flavius, and Pollio. But I suspect that either Xiphilinus, or his transcriber has mistaken the name of the first consul: For, in the *Fastis Consulares*, he is called M. Plautius Silvanus, and his colleague, M. Annius Verus Pollio, who were consuls the 834th year of Rome, which was the year Titus died. These circumstances, I believe, will convince the reader, that the great eruption of Vesuvius must have happened in the first year of his reign. Whatever diversity of opinions there might, formerly, have been concerning the situation of Herculaneum, there can be none now, since the discoveries made by his Sicilian majesty's order: For, it, plainly, appears by the temple of Hercules, his statues, and many inscriptions there found, that this subterraneous town was the ancient Herculaneum. I have heard it said, and, most heartily, wish it may be true, that, among the many curious monuments of antiquity, there discovered, several manuscripts of the ancient authors have been found; nay, I have heard it asserted, that an entire Livy is among them; and why may we not hope, one day, to see the nine last books of

^f Pliny, B. vi. Epist. 16.

^e p. 225.

^h Sueton. Life of Titus, c. 11.

himself,

himself, in the place where his fleet lay at anchor (which, being now inhabited by the Romans, and lying in the midway between Pompeii, and Naples, has, at all times, secure havens) and having gained glory, worthy of ¹³⁵ emulation, and received divine honors from all the inhabitants of Italy, he set sail for Sicily. Those, who were left by him, both as guards, and inhabitants, of Italy, and were settled on the Saturnian hill, lived, for some time, under a separate government. But, not long after, joining with the Aborigines in their manner of living, their laws, and their religion, as the Arcadians, and, before them, the Pelasgi, had done; and, partaking of the same ¹³⁶ form of government, they came to

our author? If such manuscripts have been found, and his Sicilian majesty should think fit to make them public, I will venture to affirm that he will, from that time, be looked upon as a common benefactor to mankind; and his name will be celebrated as long as those great authors, thus restored by him to life, shall be admired.

¹³⁵ Ζηλος. This is a very significant word in Greek, and not easy to be translated into English: The reason is, that, in Greek, it is used in a greater latitude than our language will allow. For, though we say, *such a one deserved emulation*, we cannot say, *he gained emulation*, which the Greeks can; for which, no reason can be given, but that there is a humor in all languages, which must be complied with. I cannot omit the fine definition given by Suidas of the word ζήλος, though I think it too philosophical for a gram-

marian. It is, says he, αγαθὸς τινος ἐπιθυμία φθόνος τινος χάρις ἐλγισμένη τῇ ψυχῇ. Le Jay shews he saw the difficulty of rendering this word, by leaving it out. The other French translator, has, in my opinion, said with great propriety, *après avoir donné de si beaux exemples de vertu*.

¹³⁶ Πόλεως τε τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖς Ἀβοριγίνσι κοινονησάντες. I have given to πόλις, in this place, the sense of πολιτεία, as it is, often, used by the best authors, particularly, by ⁱ Aristotle in this passage, φανερόν τοι νυν ὅτι ἡ ΠΟΛΙΣ καὶ ἐστὶ κοινωνία τοπικῇ. And, in this sense, the Latin authors, after the example of the Greeks, have used the word *civitas*, as ^k Cicero calls monarchy *regale civitatis genus*. For this reason, it is impossible to know in what sense the Latin translators have used that word in rendering this passage; but the French translator, le Jay, whose lan-

ⁱ Περὶ πολιτ. B. iii. c. 6.

^k De Leg. B. iii. c. 15.

be looked upon as the same nation. So much I thought proper to say concerning the expedition of Hercules, and the Peloponnesians, who remained in Italy. The second generation, and about the fifty fifth year, after the departure of Hercules, as the Romans themselves say, Latinus, the son of Hercules, and the supposed son of Faunus, was king of the Aborigines, and in the thirty fifth year of his reign.

XLV. At that time, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had fled from Troy after it was taken, landed at ¹³⁷ Laurentum, upon the coast of the Aborigines, lying on the Tyrrhene sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber: And, having received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation, and every thing else they desired, they built a town on a hill, not far from the sea, and called it ¹³⁸ Lavinium. Soon

guage leaves no room for that doubt, makes all these nations live in the same city, though Dionysius has, already, described the particular parts of the country inhabited by each of them.

¹³⁷ Λωρενιον. M*** says that Laurentum is, now, called *San-Lorenzo*. But ¹ Cluver says that those, who call this town by that name, are mistaken; the modern name of it being *Paterno*. The same translator has rendered these words, ἐπὶ τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγῳ κείμενον, *sur les côtes de la Tyrrhenie*, when it is well known that Tyrrhenia lay on the west of the Tiber, and Laurentum on the east of it, between Ostia, and the river Numicius. But, if, by *la Tyrrhenie*, he means the *Tyrrhene sea*, he has expressed himself ill, even, in

his own language; for he should have said *de la mer Tyrrhénienne*.

¹³⁸ Λαβινιον. The hill, on which the Trojans built ^m Lavinium, is three Roman miles from the sea; and, on this hill, were the springs, that fed the river ⁿ Numicius,

haec fontis stagna Numici.

These springs, and the cavern from whence they flowed, were, afterwards, consecrated by the Romans, to a goddess, called *Anna Perenna*, in whose honor there was a festival instituted; the chearfulness of which ^o Ovid says he was so well pleased with, that he thought it deserved to be related. After he has described this festival, he tells us who this *Anna Perenna* was,

¹In Ital. Ant. B. iii. p. 883.

^o Fastr. B. iii. §. 523.

^m Cluver, in Ital. Ant. p. 893.

ⁿ Virgil, Aen. vii. §. 150.

after

after this, they changed their ancient name, and were, to-

and how she came to be thus distinguished: It seems, she was no other than *Anna*, the sister of the unfortunate Dido, her confidant in her amour with Aeneas, and a person, whom every one, who reads the fourth book of Virgil, must wish well to. After the tragical end of her sister, Iarba, a Numidian prince, whose addresses Dido had rejected, took Carthage, and sent poor Anna to seek her fortune: The first place she took refuge in, was the island of Malta, where Battus, who was then king of the place, as Ovid says, received her very courteously; but, being threatened by Pygmalion, her implacable brother, he was forced to dismiss her. She then went to Italy; and, at her landing, found her old friend Aeneas, who, with Achates, was, then, walking by the sea side. They were both much surprised at this unexpected meeting. However, Aeneas, after some awkward excuses for his cruel usage of her sister, takes her home, and recommends her to his wife Lavinia: But she, growing jealous of her, Anna was, again, forced to fly; and, in her flight, the river Numicius fell in love with her, and made the partner of his watery bed. After this, she says to those, who were sent in search of her,

*placidi sum nympba Numici,
Anna perennelatens, Anna Perenna vocor.*

But Anna's honors do not end here: For she has, since, had the good fortune to be canonized; and there is, at this instant, a chapel erected to her upon the same spot under the title of

Santa Petronella, which is no great deviation from *Anna Perenna*. As this place was held in great veneration by the old Romans, their successors would, by no means, lose the benefit of that veneration; but chose rather, to direct it to another object, by the same kind of composition, as they have changed the destination of the Pantheon at Rome, and dedicated the same temple to all the saints, which their predecessors had dedicated to all the gods. And I am persuaded that the same reason, which induced them to erect a chapel upon a spot of ground consecrated by the old Romans, induced them, also, to coin the name of *Petronella*, in order to approach as near to the others in the name of the person to be worshiped, as they had done in the place where that worship had been paid: And the reason, that convinces me of this is, because *Santa Petronella* is as fictitious a person as her predecessor, *Anna Perenna*; and deserves as much to be unnoticed: For, if the reader will trouble himself to look into her life, among other absurdities, he will find, that she is said, without any authority from scripture, to have been St. Peter's daughter, and to have died at Rome on the last of May in the 98th year of Christ, in the reign of Domitian; when it is well known that Domitian himself died in the 96th year of Christ; and that ⁸ Nerva, his successor, after a reign of one year, four months, and nine days, was dead, and ¹ Trajan, his adopted son, had succeeded to the empire before the last day of May in the year 98.

¹ Fastr. B. iii. §. 653. ⁸ Xiph. in Nerva, p. 242. ¹ Petav. Ret. Temp. B. v. c. 4 and 7.

gether with the Aborigines, called Latines, from the king of that country: And, leaving Lavinium, they, in conjunction with the inhabitants of those parts, built a larger city, which they furrounded with a wall, and called it Alba: From whence they went, and built many other cities also, called the cities of the ancient Latines; of which, the greatest part are inhabited, even, to this day. Sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, they sent out a colony to Pallantium, and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians, and the Arcadians were, first, settled, and where there were still left some remains of the ancient people; there they built, and encompassed Pallantium with a wall, which then, first, received the form of a city: This city they called Rome, from Romulus, who was the leader of the colony, and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas. But, concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, since some historians have been ignorant of it, and others have related it in a different manner, I shall treat with accuracy, and make use of the histories of those writers, both Greek, and Roman, who are most credited. This is the account given of him.

XLVI. Troy being taken by the Greeks, either by the stratagem of the wooden horse, as Homer sings, or, by the treachery of the Antenoridae, or, by any other means, the greatest part of the Trojans, and of their allies, then in the city, were slain in their beds: For, it seems, this misfortune happened to them in the night, when they were not upon their guard. But Aeneas, and his Trojan forces, which he had brought from the city of Dardanus, and Ophrynum, to
the

the assistance of the Ilienſes, and, as many others, as had early notice of the calamity, while the Greeks were taking the lower town, fled together to the ſtrongest part of Pergamus, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the citadel, which was fortified with a ſeparate wall, and, in which, were depoſited the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, together with a large quantity of money, as in a ſafe place, and here, alſo, was the flower of their army : There they repulſed the enemy, who were endeavouring to force their way into the citadel; and, ſallying out, privately, through the narrow paſſages, with which they were well acquainted, they ſecured the retreat of thoſe, who were eſcaping from the taking of the city : The number of whom was greater than That of the priſoners. By this diſpoſition, Aeneas checked the firſt fury of the enemy, who deſigned to put all ¹³⁹ the citizens to the ſword, and prevented them from taking the whole city by ſtorm. But, conſidering what was, reaſonably, to be expected, that it would be impoſſible to preſerve a city, the greateſt part of which was, already, in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, he thought of this expedient; which was, to abandon the citadel to them, and ſave the people, the holy things belonging to the religion of their country, and all the effects they could carry away with them.

¹³⁹ Ολην διαχειροσάσαι την πολιν. Here πολιν is taken for πολῖται, according to that almoſt proverbial expreſſion, πολιν, ανδρες, & τειχη. And, in this ſenſe, Sylburgius has rendered this paſſage, which le Jay has thought fit to leave out. And no body, I be-

lieve, will imagine that, by διαχειροσάσαι την πολιν, and καὶ ἀλλήθηναι το αἶμα, in the next ſentence, our author means the ſame thing. The former, therefore, plainly, relates to the deſtruction of the citizens, and the latter to the taking of the city.

Having

Having thus resolved, he, first, sent out the children, and the women, with the ¹⁴⁰ old men, and all such, whose condition required much time to make their escape, with orders to take the road, that leads to Ida, while the Greeks, intent on taking the citadel, would never think of pursuing the people, who were escaping out of the city. One part of the forces he appointed to convoy those he had sent away, to the end that their flight might be as secure, and as little troublesome, as the ¹⁴¹ present conjuncture would admit: These were ordered to take possession of the strongest part of mount Ida: With the rest, who were the choicest men, he staid upon the walls of the citadel, and, while the enemy were diverted from the pursuit by assaulting the walls, he rendered the retreat of those he had, before, sent out, the less difficult: But Neoptolemus, with his men, having gained the ascent to part of the citadel, and all the Greeks supporting him, he abandoned the place; and, opening ¹⁴² the gates, through which the others had escaped, he marched away with the rest in good order, carrying with him, in the best chariots, his father, and the gods of his country, with his wife, and children, and such other persons, and ¹⁴³ things, as were most valuable.

¹⁴⁰ Stephens finds fault with *κατα-
γρηαια*. I cannot, indeed, say that I
ever met with the word before, but
καταγρηασκω, and *καταγρηω* are common
enough.

¹⁴¹ *Εκ των ενοντων*. I can, by no
means, approve of *e praesente calami-
tate fuga*, in Sylburgius, and much less,
of le Jay's leaving out these words.
This Greek expression is so common

in all good authors, that I think it
needless to bring any authorities to
support the sense I have given to it.

¹⁴² *Τας φυγαδας πυλας*. It was not
possible to translate this poetical ex-
pression literally. And, indeed, all
the translators have been so modest as
not to attempt it.

¹⁴³ *Χρημα*. See the 71st annotation.

XLVII. In the mean time, the Greeks took the town by storm; and, being intent on plunder, gave those, who fled, an opportunity of escaping with great security. Aeneas, and his people, overtook their companions on the road; and, being, now, all together, they posted themselves on the strongest part of mount Ida. They were joined not only by the inhabitants of Dardanus, who, seeing a great and unusual fire break out at Troy, deserted their town, and all went thither, except those, who, under Elymus, and Aegeus, having prepared some ships, had left it before; but, also, by all the inhabitants of Ophrynum, and of the other Trojan cities, who were desirous to preserve their liberty: And, in a very short time, the numbers of the Trojan forces, were, very much, increased. Those, who, with Aeneas, had, thus, escaped from the taking of the city, were, during their stay here, in hopes of returning home, as soon as the enemy should sail away. But the Greeks, having reduced to slavery the ¹⁴⁴ inhabitants both of the city, and of the neighbourhood, and demolished the strong places, were preparing to attack those, also, who were posted on the mountains: But the Trojans, sending heralds to treat of a peace, and desiring they would not reduce them to the necessity of making war, they called a council, and made peace with them upon the following terms: That Aeneas, and his people should transport themselves with all the ¹⁴⁵ effects they had

¹⁴⁴. Την πολιν. Here, Πολις is, again, taken for πολῖαι.

¹⁴⁵. Τα χρηματια. All the translators have rendered χρηματια properly in this

place. I cannot say so much of their manner of translating καὶ τὰς ἐμολογιας in the next sentence; which, I think, they have misplaced, I mean the Latin

saved in their flight, out of the territory of Troy within a limited time, and deliver up to the Greeks the places of strength : And that, after they had left the country in pursuance of these terms, the Greeks should allow them a safe-conduct by sea, and land throughout all their dominions. Aeneas, having accepted these conditions, which he looked upon as the best the present conjuncture would admit of, sent away Ascanius, his eldest son, with some of the allies, the greatest part of whom were Phrygians, to the ¹⁴⁶ Dasyclitic country, in which lies the Ascanian lake, he having been invited by the inhabitants to reign over them, where he staid not long : For ¹⁴⁷ Scamandrius, and the other Hectoridae, who had been dismissed out of Greece by Neoptolemus, coming to him, he returned to Troy in order to restore them to their paternal kingdom. And this is all the account, that is given of Ascanius. As for Aeneas, after his fleet was ready, he embarked with the rest of his

translators only, for both the French translators have left out those words. The others have applied *καὶ αὖ τας ὁμολογίας τοῦ ασφαλειαῖν*, when they, plainly, relate to *απισσι*, which they, immediately, follow ; and, by this wrong application of the words, they have weakened the sense at least, and disjointed the period. Le Jay has, not only, left out these words, as I said, but has translated the rest of this sentence in so cavalier a manner, that I cannot forbear transcribing his words ; *Que les Grecs de leur costé faciliteroient la sortie d'Enée, et lui presteroient main-forte sur terre et sur mer où ils estoient*

également puissants. All the translators have rendered *ἐκ τῶν ἐνορίων*, in the next sentence, in the sense I contend for in the 141st annotation.

^{146.} *Δασκυλίην γῆν.* ¹ This country is in Bithynia, as is, also, the Ascanian lake, near to which stood Nicaea, the capital of those parts.

^{147.} *Σκαμανδρίος.* He is, more generally, known by the name of Astyanax ; but Homer says that Hector, his father, gave him That of Scamandrius :

Τον γ' Ἐκὼρ καλεῖσκει Σκαμανδρίην, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυνακί' ².

¹ Strabo. B. xii. p. 861.

² Il. Z. ὅ. 402.

sons,

sons; and his father, taking with him the ¹⁴⁸images of his gods; and, crossing the Hellespont, sailed to the next peninsula, which lies before ¹⁴⁹Europia, and is called Pallene. This country was ¹⁵⁰inhabited by a Thracian people, named

¹⁴⁸· Και του παλῆρα και τα ἔδη των θεων. I have, before, observed, and shall, often, have occasion to observe, that Virgil, and our author followed the same historians in many things relating to Aeneas: The former has used almost the same words in speaking of this imbarkation of his hero,

feror exul in altum

Cum sociis, natoque, penatibus, et magnis diis ¹.

I am surprised that Dionysius made Aeneas forget his wife, particularly, as he had told us before that he carried her, as well as his children, and his gods out of Troy. Virgil, indeed, had a very good reason to dispose of Creusa before Aeneas set sail, because she would, most certainly, have been a very inconvenient person both in his amour with Dido, and in his addresses to Lavinia.

¹⁴⁹· Η προκειῖται μὲν τῆς Ευρωπῆς. So this word must be read as Vossius, quoted by Hudson upon this occasion, has, plainly, proved. This country, he says, was called Europia from Europus, a town of Macedon, mentioned by many geographers, which was the capital of it. The peninsula, called Pallene, was, at the time our author speaks of, inhabited by a Thracian people, called Thrusaeans, who are supposed to be the same Herodotus means, when he speaks of a country lying near the Thermean gulph, which he calls

¹ Aeneid. B. iii. γ. 11.

Κροσσαιη. The same author says that the fleet of Xerxes, when they were sailing to Greece, made the promontory of Pallene, called Canastraeum, and received ships, and men, from the cities of Pallene, which, he says, was, formerly, called, "Phlegra. These cities he enumerates: Their names are, Potidaea, Aphytis, Neapolis, Aega, Therambos, Sciona, Mendas, and Sana. Vossius finds fault with our author for using such expressions, upon this occasion, as might induce his readers to think he meant the Thracian Chersonesus instead of That called Pallene. But Vossius ought to have considered that Dionysius says he takes this account from Hellanicus, and did not allow himself to alter any part of his relation. So that, if there is any word in it, that may mislead the reader, and there is but one, which is ἐγγιστα, it must be placed to the account of Hellanicus, and not to That of our author.

¹⁵⁰· ἔθνος δ' εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῇ. Thus we must read this sentence, with the Vatican manuscript. Αὐτῇ, in the vulgar editions, is scarce sense: For, if it can be supposed to relate to Pallene, it is a very strange way of speaking to say αὐτῇ εἶχεν ἔθνος, instead of ἔθνος εἶχεν αὐτὴν. But, in order, to enter into the accuracy of the Vatican manuscript, we must consider that εἶχεν, in this place, signifies *to inhabit*, in which

¹ In Polyh. c. 123.

Crusaci, who were in alliance with the Trojans, and had assisted them, during the war, with greater alacrity than any of their confederates.

XLVIII. This, therefore, is the most credible account, concerning the flight of Aeneas, which is taken from Hel-
lanicus, one of the ancient writers, in his history of the
Trojan affairs: There are different accounts given of the
same things by some others also, which I look upon as less
probable than this. But, let every reader judge as he thinks
proper. Sophocles, the tragedy writer, in his drama, called
Laocoon, represents Aeneas, just before the taking of the
city, removing with his family to Ida, in obedience to the
orders of his father Anchises, who remembered the injunc-
tions of Venus; and, concluded from the prodigies, which
had, lately, happened to the Laocoontidae, that the ruin of
the city was not far off. His iambics, which are spoken by
another person, are as follows: “ Now Aeneas, the son of
“ the goddess, is at the gates, bearing his father on his
“ shoulders, whose back, struck with thunder, distills on
“ his linen garment: He carries with him, ¹⁵¹ on chariots,

sense, it is taken by the best authors.
Εχων, οικων. Hesychius. And this use of
the word the Latin writers have bor-
rowed from the Greeks;

*Quare agite, ei, primo lacti cum lumine solis,
Quae loca, quae habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis,
Vestigemus*”;

says Aeneas in Virgil, just after he
landed in Italy.

¹⁵¹ Κυκλει δε πασαν οικειων περιπληθιαν.
I am obliged to depart from all the
translators, both French and Latin,
in rendering this verse. And, notwith-
standing my great veneration for
Casaubon, who has taken great pains
to correct it, I think the verse, as it
stands in all the editions, carries with
it a very obvious sense. Had Casau-
bon attended a little more to the force

^w Aeneid. B. vii. v. 130.

“ all

“all his family: There follow a multitude, but, not so many, as you desire, and those who wish well to this Phrygian colony.” But ¹⁵² Menecrates, the Xanthian, says, that Aeneas betrayed the city to the Greeks, from his enmity to Alexander; and that, upon the strength of this merit, he was allowed, by the Greeks, to save his family. His account, which begins from the funeral of Achilles, is delivered in these terms: “The Greeks were oppressed with grief, and thought the army had lost its head:

of the word κυκλει, he would not have thought it necessary to alter it to κυκλοι, which has obliged him, also, to alter the whole structure of the verse. Κυκλειν signifies *to carry on chariots*, which our author has, himself, explained by telling us that Sophocles represents Aeneas ανασκευαζομενον: And this is the signification Hesychius, whose authority is often quoted by Casaubon, gives to the word. Κυκλησομεν, εφ' αμαξων κολισμεν. Neither can I agree with * Plutarch in reading μοις for νωις, because μοις, which signifies *a tent*, is below the dignity of tragedy. This tradition, that Anchises was struck with thunder, is followed by Virgil, who makes him say to his son, when he was pressing his father to accompany him in his flight,

*Imprudens inavisus ulcisci, et inutilis armis
Demoror; en quo me dicunt patet, atque hominum rex
Fulminis afflavit ventis, et contigit igni.*

I cannot conceive what le Jay could, possibly, mean by translating the verse before us in this manner, *su robe de*

pourpre reluit de la lumiere qui l'environne. This has not the least pretence to a translation, and may be applied to any other verse in Sophocles, as well as to this. The ignorance we are in concerning the person in this drama, who speaks these verses, and the person, to whom they are addressed, makes it impossible to translate them with any tolerable beauty: So that, it is hoped the reader will content himself with a literal version of them.

¹⁵² Μενεκράτης ο Ξανθιος, Κεφαλων Γεργηθιος, Ηγησιππος. The ² first of these historians is seldom mentioned, and all we know of him is that he treated of the affairs of Lycia. The second is as little known. ^a Strabo says he was born in a town near Cuma, called αι Γεργηθες. He writ of the Trojan affairs. Hegesippus is more known by this passage of our author than by any thing else we can find concerning him. As to Hellanicus, mentioned a little before, see the 66th annotation.

* Περι αρετ. και κακ.

† Aeneid. B. ii. v. 647.

‡ Vossius de Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 387.

^a B. xiii. p. 882.

“How—

“ However, they solemnized his funeral, and made war
 “ upon all the country, till Ilium was taken by the
 “ treachery of Aeneas, who delivered it up to them. For
 “ Aeneas, being disregarded by Alexander, and excluded
 “ from the honours of the priesthood, ruined Priamus;
 “ and, having done this, he became one of the Greeks.”
 Others say, that he resided, at that time, at the sea port,
 where the Trojan ships lay: And others, that he had been
 sent, with a body of forces, into Phrygia by Priamus, upon
 some military expedition. Some give a more fabulous account
 of his departure. But, let it be, as every one thinks.

XLIX. What happened after his departure creates still a
 greater doubt in most people: For, some, after they have
 brought him as far as Thrace, say he died there: Of which
 number are Cephalo Gergithius, and Hegefippus, who writ
 concerning Pallene, both ancient historians, and of great
 authority. Others convey him, from Thrace, to Arcadia,
 and say he lived in the Arcadian Orchomenus, and, in a
 place, which, though in the midland country, yet, by reason
 of the fens, and a river, is called Νῆσος, *an island*: And,
 that the town, called ¹⁵³ Cappyae, was built by Aeneas, and
 the Trojans, and took its name from Capys, a Trojan.

¹⁵³ Καπυαί. This town is called
 by the same name in ^b Strabo, who
 says that it was reported to have been
 built by Aeneas, and called Capuae,
 from Capys; and that it stood near
 Mantinea in Arcadia. It appears, by

many passages in Virgil, that Capys
 was one of the companions of Aeneas;
 and ^c Virgil, also, says that Capua in
 Italy received its name from him:

Et Capys: hinc nomen Campanae ducitur urbi.

^b B. xiii. p. 905. ^c Aeneid. B. x. v. 145.

Arifthus,

¹⁵⁴ Arifthus, who has written of the affairs of Arcadia, and, others, give this account. Some affirm, that, indeed, he came hither; but that he died in Italy, and not here, as many relate, particularly, Agathyllus, an Arcadian, the poet, who, in an elegy, fays thus: “He came
“into Arcadia, and, in Nefus, married his two daughters
“Codone, and Anthemone: But he himfelf haftened to the
“Hefperian land, where he begot Romulus.” The arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans in Italy, is attested by all the Romans, and confirmed by the ceremonies, obferved by them, both in their facrifices, and feftivals; by the ¹⁵⁵ Sibyl’s books, the Pythian oracles, and many other things; which none ought to reject, as contrived for the fake of embellishment. Many monuments, alfo, evident to this day, are fubfifting, even among the Greeks, on thofe coafts, where they landed, and among thofe people, with whom they

¹⁵⁴ Αριθης, Αγαθυλλος. Ariaethus, or Arifthus is fcarce known but by this paffage of Dionyfius; to which, alfo, Agathyllus is obliged for the little we know of him.

¹⁵⁵ Σιβυλλης τε λογια, και χρησμοι πυθικοι. ^d Thucydides makes the fame diftinction between prophecies in profe, and oracles in verfe, when he fpeaks of the ominous figns, that ushered in the Peloponnefian war; πολλα μιν λογια ελεγχο, πολλα δε χρησμολογουηδον: Upon which, the Greek fcholiaft, very properly, obferves, λογια εσι τα πασα τα θεα λεγομενα καταλογαδην· χρησμοι δε οτινες εμμελως λεγονται, εμφορεμενων των λεγοντων. This reafon, if there was

no other, would convince us that the Sibyl’s books were in profe. As for Thofe in Greek hexameter verfe, which have been, often, quoted by men of more zeal than learning, they are now known to be pious frauds: For the author of them differs from all other prophets, not only in foretelling things, that are paff, but, alfo, in being, perfectly, free from obfcurity. The great Scaliger never mentions him without giving him this, or the like appellation, *pseudosibyllinus hariolus*. As for the Pythian oracles, it is well known they were delivered in verfe, at leaft, as long as they were in credit enough to maintain a poet.

^d B. ii. c. 2.

staid, when storms, or contrary winds detained them in their harbours: In mentioning which, though they are many, I shall be as short as possible. They, first, went to Thrace, and landed on the peninsula, called ¹⁵⁶ Pallene: It was inhabited, as I have said, by Barbarians, named Crusaci, where they found a safe retreat. There they staid the winter season, and built a temple to Venus upon one of the promontories, and also a city, called ¹⁵⁷ Aenea, where they left all those, who, from fatigue, were not able to bear the sea, or chose to remain there, as in a country they were, for the future, to look upon as their own. This city subsisted to the time of the Macedonian empire under the successors of Alexander; but was destroyed in the reign of Cassander, when ¹⁵⁸ Thessalonica was building: And the inhabitants of Aenea, with many others, removed to the new-built city.

L. From Pallene, the Trojans sailed to Delos, Anius being, then, king of that island: Here many monuments

¹⁵⁶ Παλλήνη. M. * * * says, in his note upon this passage, that this peninsula was in Macedon, and, entirely, different from That of Thrace called, also, Pallene; but that is a mistake; this is the same peninsula, which, formerly, belonged to the Thracians, and, afterwards, to the Macedonians. That gentleman did not, I believe, observe that our author, before, gave a summary account of Aeneas's voyage, and now enters into a detail of it.

¹⁵⁷ Πόλιν Αινειαν. This town is

called by ^c Livy, in one place, *Aenia*, and, in another, *Aenea*; where, ^f he says, an annual sacrifice was performed to Aeneas, the founder of it.

¹⁵⁸ Θεσσαλονίκη. ^g Strabo says, also, that the inhabitants of Aenea, and of the neighbouring villages, were removed to Thessalonica by Cassander, who gave to his new-built city the name of his wife: She was daughter to Philip, and sister to Alexander the great. This town is, now, called *Saloniki*.

^c B. xlv. c. 10.

^f B. xl. c. 4.

^g Epit. of Strabo. B. vii. p. 51.

of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, were to be seen, while this island was inhabited, and ¹⁵⁹ flourished. Then, being arrived at Cythera, another island, lying off Peloponnesus, they built a temple there to Venus. While they were on their voyage from ¹⁶⁰ Cythera, and not far from Peloponnesus, one of Aeneas's companions, by name, Cinaethus, died, whom they buried upon one of the promontories, which, from him, is, to this day, called ¹⁶¹ Cinaethion. And, having renewed their affinity with the Arcadians, concerning which I shall treat afterwards, and staid a short time in these places, where they left some of their people, they came to ¹⁶² Zacynthus. The Zacynthii, also, received them in a friendly manner on account of their consanguinity (For Dardanus, the son of Jupiter, and Electra, the daughter of Atlas, had, as they say, by Battea, two sons, Zacynthus,

¹⁵⁹ Ηνθεα. Portus, and Sylburgius have, very justly, observed that ηνικα, or οτε is wanting before ηνθεα to complete the sense. The reader will remember that ^h Virgil, also, carries Aeneas to Delos, where Anius, then, reigned,

Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phocique sacerdos.

This, I imagine, Virgil designed as a compliment to his patron Augustus, who, like Julius Caesar, was pontifex maximus, a dignity, which all his successors enjoyed till ⁱ Gratian was so very wise as not to accept it, which many emperors have since had sufficient cause to lament. It was, no doubt, a very wise institution, not that

high-priests should be kings, but that kings should be high-priests, that is, the heads of their churches. The island of Delos is so much celebrated both by the poets, and historians of old, and of so little consequence now, that both these are reasons for me to say no more of it than that the modern Greeks, in their half Barbarous language, call it *'Sdilous*.

¹⁶⁰ Κυθηρα. This island is, now, called *Cerigo*.

¹⁶¹ Κιναιθιον. ^k Strabo, also, mentions this place as lying near Taenaron, a promontory of Laconia.

¹⁶² Ες Ζακυνθον. This island is now called *Zante*.

^h Aeneid. B. iii. v. 80.

ⁱ Zozimus, B. iv. p. 250. Edit. of Oxf.

^k B. viii. p. 552.

and Erichthonius ; of whom one was the ancestor of Aeneas, and Zacynthus the founder of the island) In memory, therefore, of this consanguinity, and by reason of the kindness of the inhabitants, they staid here some time ; and, being, also, detained by stormy weather, they offered up a sacrifice to Venus, in a temple, built by themselves ; which, to this day, the Zacynthii perform in common, and, also, celebrate games, consisting, among other exercises, of a course to be run by young men, in which, he, who comes first to the temple, gains the prize : This is called the course of Aeneas, and Venus, and statues are erected there to both of them. From thence, ¹⁶³ standing out to sea, they came to Leucas, the place being, yet, in the possession of the Acarnanes. Here, also, they built a temple to Venus, which stands in the little island, that lies between Dioryctus, and the city : It is called the temple of the Aenean Venus. From thence, they sailed to ¹⁶⁴ Actium, their fleet lying at

¹⁶³· Εχειθεν δε πελαγιον ποιησαμενοι τον πλυν. This sentence is, sadly, translated by M. * * *. *De là ayant levé l'ancre ils prirent terre à Leucade.* I do imagine that Aeneas, and his people, could scarce have sailed, if they had not weighed anchor ; but, what becomes of πελαγιος ? They were to sail from Zante to the island of Leucadia, now called, *Santa Maura*, and had their choice either to steer their course between Cephalenia, now called, *Cefalognà*, and the continent, where the streight is full of little islands ; or to stand out to sea, and leave Cephalenia

to the east : They chose the latter ; and this is, what our author calls, very properly, πελαγιος πλους. In this sense, the word is used by ¹Thucydides, who, speaking of the Lacedaemonian squadron, that sailed from the cape Malea to attack Melos, says, *πλευσαι εν αι νηες απο Μαλεας παλαγιοι*, which Hobbes has, with his usual accuracy, translated in the following manner, *These gallies holding their course from Malea through the main sea.*

¹⁶⁴· Ακτιον. This town is now called *Figolo*, and stands at the mouth of the Ambracian gulph, known, now, by

¹ B. viii. c. 39.

anchor off a promontory of the Ambracian bay. After that, they came to Ambracia, of which city ¹⁶⁵ Ambrax, was, then, king: He was the son of Dexamenus, the son of Hercules: And monuments of their arrival are left in both places; at Actium, the temple of the Aenean Venus, and, near to it, That of the great gods; both which remain to this day; and, in Ambracia, a temple of the same goddess, and a chapel, dedicated to the memory of Aeneas, near the little theatre, in which there is a small ancient statue, said to be of Aeneas, that was honoured with sacrifices by the priestesses, called by them, *Αμφιπολοι*.

LI. From Ambracia, Anchises with the fleet, sailing near the shore, came to ¹⁶⁶ Buthrotum, a sea-port of Epirus.

the name of *golfo de Larta*. Opposite to Actium, Augustus built a town, which he called Nicopolis, in memory of the signal victory he obtained off that place, by the conduct of Agrippa, against his infatuated rival, Marc Antony. Ambracia retains its old name with a small variation, being, now, called *Ambrakia*.

¹⁶⁵ *Αμβραξ ὁ Δεξαμενὸς τῶν Ἡρακλέους*. I find, by a note in Hudson, that Palmerius, after taking great pains to find out all the sons of Hercules, says there is no such man as Dexamenus among them; for which reason, he is of opinion, that this Dexamenus is the person, who was so much celebrated for his magnificent entertainment of Hercules.

¹⁶⁶ *Βυθρότιον*. Aeneas, in Virgil, pursues the same course; and, having sailed within sight of Zacynthus, and

of several islands lying near the continent, particularly, Ithaca, which had produced Ulysses, that formidable enemy to the Trojans, he arrives at Buthrotum, now, *Butrinto*; where he finds Helenus in possession of the kingdom of Epirus. But Virgil describes this voyage of Aeneas so much better than I can, that I shall lay it before the reader in his own words ^m:

*Jam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa Zacynthos,
Dulichiumque, Sameque, et Neritos ardua saxa.
Effugimus scopulos Ithacae Laërtia regna,
Et terram aliricem sacri execramur Ulyssis,
Mœx et Leucatae nimboſa cacumina montis,
Et formidatus nautis aperitur Apollo.*

ⁿ *Litoraſque Epiri legimus, portuſque ſubimus
Chaonio, et celfam Buthroti aſcendimus urbem.
Hic incredibilis rerum ſuma occupat aures,
Priamidem Helenum Graias regnare per urbes,
Conjugio Aecidae Pyrrhi ſcriptiſque potitum.*

^m Aeneid. B. iii. ſ. 270.

ⁿ ſ. 292.

But Aeneas, with the ablest men of the army, in two days, marched to Dodona, to consult the oracle: There they found the Trojans, who had come thither with Helenus: And, having received answers concerning their colony, and, among other Trojan offerings, dedicated to the god brazen cups (some of which are still extant, and, by their inscriptions, which are very ancient, shew by whom they were given) they joined their fleet, after a march of about four days. The arrival of the Trojans at Buthrotum is made manifest by a hill, called Troy, where they, formerly, incamped. From Buthrotum, they sailed close to the shore, and came to a haven, which was, then, called the haven of Anchises, but, now, its name is more ¹⁶⁷ obscure; where also, they built a temple to Venus; and, then, crossed the Ionian sea, having for guides in their navigation, some, who accompanied them of their own accord, and took with them Patron, the Thurian, and his men. The greatest part of whom, after the army was, safely, arrived in Italy, returned home: But Patron, with some of his friends, being prevailed on by Aeneas to engage in the colony, staid with

The oracle of Dodona is much celebrated by the poets, and historians in all ages; and, for that reason, it will be a lasting monument both of the knavery of the priests, and the folly of the people.

¹⁶⁷ Νυν δὲ ἀσάθεσσαν ἐχούσαν ονομασίαν. Casaubon has, with great learning, and sagacity, shewn that this haven, the

name of which, our author says, was become obscure, was not *Cassiope*, but *Anchesmus*; which he confirms by a passage in one of Cicero's letters to Atticus, where he says, *Brundisium venimus vii. kal. Decemb. usi tui felicitate navigandi. Ita belle nobis flavit ab Epiro lenissimus Anchesmites.*

° B. vii. Epist. 2.

them.

them. These, according to some, inhabited ¹⁶⁸ Alontium, a town of Sicily. In memory of this kindness, the Romans, afterwards, bestowed Leucas, and ¹⁶⁹ Anaëtorium upon the Acarnanes, which they had taken from the Corinthians; and the former desiring to reinstate the ¹⁷⁰ Oeniadae, they gave them leave to do it, and, also, to enjoy the produce of the islands, called the ¹⁷¹ Echinades, in common with the Aetoli. But, to return to Aeneas: His people did not all go ashore at the same part of Italy, but most of them landed at the ¹⁷² cape Iapygia, which was, then, called the

¹⁶⁸. Εν Αλοντίω. This town stands on the north of Sicily, not far from the sea, near the river Chydas, and is now called *Alontio*. ^r Cicero accuses Verres of having robbed the inhabitants of all their wrought plate.

¹⁶⁹. Ανακτοριον. ^q This town stands near to the Ambracian gulph, not far from the temple of Apollo at Actium. It is, now, called *Vonizza*.

¹⁷⁰. Ονιάδας. Near the mouth of the river Achelous, lay a country, that was called, as ^r Strabo says, *Paracheloitis*, by its being often overflowed by that river; which confounded the boundaries of the lands belonging to the Acarnanes, and their neighbours, the Aetolians; and this produced frequent wars between those two nations. It is said that Hercules, by raising banks, put a stop to this inundation of the river, and introduced plenty into a country, that, before, was, generally, covered with water; which gave occasion to the fable of Amalthea's horn.

This service Hercules did to the country in favor of Oeneus, who was king of it; and whose daughter Deïanira he had married. From Oeneus, the people were called Oeniadae.

¹⁷¹. Εχινάδας. These are small islands lying at the mouth of the Achelous. ^s Pliny makes them nine. ^t Thucydides, and, after him, ^u Strabo were of opinion that these islands would, one day, be joined to the continent by the mud, continually, brought down by the Achelous, which, the former says, is a large, and turbid river. It is said that this has happened to all these islands, but three, which are, now, called, *Cursolari*, or *Cuzzolari*.

¹⁷². Λεξαν Ιαπυγίαν. Thus Casaubon reads it instead of *λεξαν Ιαπυγίας*, which he, very properly, supports by the authority of ^v Thucydides, who calls this promontory by that name. I find, also, that ^x Strabo calls it *λεξαν Ιαπυγία*. It is, now, called, *Capo di S. Maria di Leuca*.

^r Fourth Oration against Verres. ^q Strabo, B. x. p. 691. ^t B. x. p. 703. ^s B. iv. c. 12.
^u B. ii. c. 102. ^v B. x. p. 703. ^w B. vi. c. 44. ^x B. ii. p. 185.

¹⁷³ Salentine cape : The rest disembarked at a place, called ¹⁷⁴ Minervium, where Aeneas himself landed in Italy. This is a promontory, that forms a harbour in the summer, which, from that time, is called the haven of Venus : After this, they sailed along the shore to the streight, having Italy on one hand, and left in these places, also, some traces of their arrival ; among others, a brazen patera in the temple of Juno, on which is inscribed, in ancient characters, the name of Aeneas, who dedicated it to the goddess.

LII. When they came near Sicily, whether they had any design of landing there, or were forced from their course by tempests, which are common in these seas, they disembarked at that part of the island, which is called ¹⁷⁵ Drepana : Here,

¹⁷³ Η τὸς Σαλεντίνος ἐλεγεία. We are obliged to the Vatican manuscript for this correction. The south west part of this peninsula was inhabited by the Salentini, whose territories ¹ Strabo says, included the promontory Iapygia. For which reason, it is called by ² Pliny *Salentinum promontorium*.

¹⁷⁴ Ἀθηναίων. This temple of Minerva is mentioned by many ancient authors. It stood to the north of the ^a cape Iapygia, and was called by the Romans, *Castrum Minervae*, *Ara Minervae*, and *Minervium*, and, now, *Castro*. Here, also, Aeneas lands in ^b Virgil ;

portusque patescit

*Jam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervae:
Vela legunt secii, et proras ad litora torquent.*

¹⁷⁵ Δρεπανα. A town on the south west part of Sicily, not far from Lily-

baeum : It is now called *Trápani*. This town stands in a peninsula, the south side of which forms a fine port. Drepanum received its name from its figure, which, being curved, was thought to resemble a scythe, in Greek, *δρεπανον* ; which figure gave name, also, to Messana, another city in Sicily, which was called Zancle, from *ζαγκλη*, another Greek word for a scythe. In Drepanum, Aeneas, as ^d Virgil says, loses his father Anchises, and, for this reason he calls it, *a melancholy coast* ;

*Hinc Drepani me portus et illaetabilis ora
Accipit.*

Here, also, he finds his countryman Acestes, called, by the historians, Aegestus ; and here was the coast, where his brother Eryx had reigned.

¹ B. vi. p. 425.

^b Aeneid. B. iii. v. 530.

² B. iii. c. 13.

^c Cluver, Sicil. Antiq. B. ii. p. 236.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. p. 1240.

^d Aeneid. B. iii. v. 707.

they

they found the Trojans, who, with Elymus, and Aegeſtus, had left Troy before them; and who, being ¹⁷⁶ favoured both by fortune, and the winds, and, at the ſame time, not over burthened with baggage, had a quick paſſage to Sicily, and were ſettled near the river ¹⁷⁷ Crimeſus, in the country of the Sicani, who, out of friendſhip, had beſtowed the land upon them by reaſon of their relation to Aegeſtus, who had been born, and bred in Sicily by the following accident: One of his anceſtors, a man of diſtinction, and of Trojan extraction, being upon ill terms with Laomedon, the king, ſeized him for ſome reaſon, and put him to death, and, with him, all his male children, leſt he ſhould ſuffer ſome miſchief from them; but, thinking it unbecoming him to put his daughters to death, as they were yet virgins,

¹⁷⁶ Οἱ τυχῆς τε καὶ πνευμάτων κρείσ λα-
βομένοι. I cannot perſuade myſelf that
our author deſigned κρείς as an epithet
both for τυχῆς, and πνευμάτων, though I
find the Latin translators have applied
it to both; and ſo would Ovid, no
doubt, if he had tranſlated it, as any
one may gueſs, by the following diſtich,
which, is, pretty much, in the ſame
taſte, and which I have heard much
admired:

Demophoon ventis, et verba, et vela dedijit:
Vela queror reditu, verba carere fide.^c

This is the language of a witty poet,
not of a loveſick girl, who would have
expreſſed herſelf with leſs wit, and
more paſſion. If I have applied the
word *favoured* both to fortune, and the
winds, it is becauſe *favourable*, in our

language, is applicable to both in a
figurative ſenſe: But κρείς, when ap-
plied to fortune, is in the figurative;
and, when to the wind, in a literal ſenſe.
But this epigrammatic way of writing
is much below the dignity of hiſtory,
and no author deſpites it more than
Dionyſius. The only difficulty is, that
τυχῆς, without this epithet, may be
thought too general, and not to ſignify
good fortune: But this difficulty will
be removed, if we conſider the word,
as explained by Heſychius. Τυχῆς,
εὐτυχία.

¹⁷⁷ Κριμαῖον. This river, is, ſome-
times, called Κριμαῖος, and, by ^f Plu-
tarch, Κριμηῖος: It falls into the ſea
not far from Lilybaeum, on the ſouth
weſt coaſt of Sicily, and is, now, called
Balici.

^c Phyll. to Demoph. γ. 25. ^f Life of Timol.

and

and unsafe to suffer them to marry any of the Trojans, he delivered them to some merchants, with orders to carry them to the most distant country: They were attended in their voyage by a noble youth, who was in love with one of the two virgins, whom he married as soon as she arrived in Sicily; and, during their stay among the Siceli, they had a son, whose name was Aegeftus; and who, having learned the manners, and language of the inhabitants, after the death of his parents, Priamus being, then, king of Troy, obtained leave to return home; and, having assisted him in the war with the Greeks, ¹⁷⁸ while these were employed in taking the city, he sailed back again to Sicily, being accompanied, in his flight, by Elymus, with the three ships, which Achilles had with him, when he plundered the Trojan cities, and which, by their striking upon some hidden rocks, he had lost. Aeneas, finding these men here, shewed them great kindness, and built two cities for them, called ¹⁷⁹ Aegefta,

¹⁷⁸· Αλίσκομενης της πόλεως. I think *la ville étant sur le point d'être prise*, in M. ***, does not express the author's sense; and submit it to him, whether *pendant qu'on prénoit la ville* would not be a closer translation of it in his language.

¹⁷⁹· Αἰγεσαν και Ελυμα. The first of these towns was, afterwards, called *Segefta*, by the Romans, and looked upon by them to have been founded by Aeneas. ^ε Cicero says the inhabitants could prove this: For which reason, they esteemed themselves as united to the Romans, not only, by a

perpetual alliance, and friendship, but, also, by consanguinity. This town stood near the river Simois, after it had been joined by the Scamander, both Trojan names, and the ruins of its sea port are still to be seen at a place which ^h Cluver says is, now, called *Castel à mare*. This place lies on the south west coast of Sicily. But this great geographer, very unjustly, censures ⁱ Virgil for making Ilioneus say to Dido,

*sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes,
Armaque, Trojanoque a sanguine clarus Acestes,*

^ε Against Verres, fourth oration.

^h Sic. Antiq. p. 265.

ⁱ Aeneid. B. i. v. 549.

and

and Eryx, where he left some part of his army; which, I imagine, he did by choice, to the end that those, who were tired with fatigue, or, otherwise, disliking the sea, might enjoy rest, and a safe retreat: But some write, that the loss of part of his fleet, which was burnt by some of the women, who were dissatisfied with wandering, obliged him to leave those behind, who belonged to the ships, that were burnt;

before Aeneas had ever been in that island: For, says he, the poet brings him thither after the death of Dido. From whence, he concludes that Virgil, very much, forgot himself, when he spoke of the arrival of Aeneas at Drepanum in Sicily. But, if Cluver had considered the series of Virgil's narration with a little more attention, he would not have passed this censure on him. Aeneas lands at Drepanum, where he loses his father; from thence, he sets sail for Italy; but is driven, by a tempest, on the coast of Africa near Carthage: And ^h Virgil begins his narration with his hero's sailing from Sicily.

*Vix è conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
Vela dabant lacti.*

Ilioneus, therefore, very properly, mentions Sicily, and Acestes in his speech to Dido: And it must be supposed that Aeneas, during his first stay in Sicily, had seen Acestes; because, when he came to that coast the second time, Virgil makes Acestes surprised at the arrival of his allies, who, he imagined, were in Italy, and ⁱ congratulating them *on their return*,

^h Aeneid. B. i. §. 34.

ⁱ Aeneid. B. v. §. 35.

^k §. 40.

^l Aeneid. B. v. §. 750.

^m B. vi. c. 2.

*Et procul excelsa miratus vertice montis
Adventum sociasque rates, occurrit Acestes,*

^k *Gratatur reduces.*

It is plain, therefore, that Aeneas had been in Sicily before he went to Carthage, and saw Dido. While he was there the second time, he built Aegesta; and, having left the women there, and those of his people, who were not ambitious of a great name, he sailed to Italy with the rest, who were few in number, but eager for action^l;

*Transcribunt urbi matres, populumque volentem
Deponunt, animos nil magnae laudis egentes.
Ipsi transstra novant,
Exigui numero, sed bello vivida virtus.*

Every reader, who admires Virgil, will excuse this digression in justification of him. Concerning the other town, called, Ελυμα, by our author, Cluver, very justly, contends that we should read Ερυμα, which he supports by the authority of ^m Thucydides, who says that Ερυξ and Εγεστα were two cities belonging to the Elymi. Here Cluver fights with the arms of geography, in which he was better exercised than in Those of criticism.

and, for that reason, could fail no longer with their companions.

LIII. There are many monuments of the arrival of Aeneas, and the Trojans, in Sicily ; but the most remarkable are the altar of the Aenean Venus, placed on the summit of mount Eryx ; and, a temple, dedicated to Aeneas, in Aegefta ; the first being erected by Aeneas himself, to his mother ; and the temple, by those left there by the fleet, who consecrated it to the memory of their deliverer. The Trojans, therefore, who came hither with Elymus, and Aegeftus, remained in these places, and continued to be called Elymi ; for Elymus was the first in dignity, as being of the royal family, from whom they all took their name. Aeneas, and his companions, leaving Sicily, crossed the Tyrrhene sea, and came, first, to a port of Italy, called ¹⁸⁰ Palinurus, which, they say, took its name from one of the pilots of Aeneas, who died there. After that, they came to an island, which they called ¹⁸¹ Leucosia, from a woman, who was a relation to Aeneas, and died at that place. From thence, they came to an anchor in a deep and beautiful haven of the Opici, which, from ¹⁸² Misenus, a man of figure, who, also, died there, they

¹⁸⁰. Παλινύρης. When ⁿ Virgil said,

Aeternumque locus Palinori nomen habebit.

he spoke like a prophet, as well as a poet ; for this place is still called *Palinuro*, and the cape, *Capo di Palinuro*.

¹⁸¹. Λευκωσία. This is the name all authors give to this little rocky island, called, now, *la Licca*.

¹⁸². Μίσενος. Misenus, the trumpeter of Aeneas, who was thrown into the sea here by his rival, Triton, is much celebrated by Virgil. Our countryman, Dryden, who was a man of great learning, and very capable both of tasting, and expressing the beauties of poetry, is transported with the last of the two following verses, which, they

ⁿ Aeneid. B. vi. §. 381.

called

called by his name : And, coming to the island, ¹⁸³ Prochyta, and to the promontory, ¹⁸⁴ Caieta, they named these places in the same manner, desiring they should serve as monuments of the women who died there ; of whom one, is said to have been a relation of Aeneas, and, the other, his nurse. At last, they arrived at Laurentum in Italy ; where, coming to the end of their wandering, they threw up an intrenchment ; and the place, where they incamped, is, from that time, called ¹⁸⁵ Troy : It is distant from the sea about four

say, ° Virgil added, while he was reciting the Aeneid to Augustus,

*Misenum Aeoliden : quo non praestantior alter
Aere cire viros, Martemque accendere cantus.*

This cape is, still, called *Capo Miseno*. I have not followed the Vatican manuscript, where this haven is called *λιμὴν κακός* ; because, if it had been *a bad haven*, it would not have been the constant station of the Roman fleet, provided for the security of the Tyrrhene sea ; which it, certainly, was, as may be seen in many ancient authors, particularly, in the letter, mentioned in a former note, which Pliny the younger writ to Tacitus, giving him an account of his uncle's death.

¹⁸³ Πρωχίτη. A little island lying off cape Misenum, now, called *Procida*, and *Procida*.

¹⁸⁴ Αἰγαιήνη Κασίη. Thus Casaubon has, very judiciously, corrected this passage : But I wish he had left out *καίηνη*, which, I think, can have no place here. For I do not see why Aeneas, when he was sailing along this

coast, could be said to have come to this promontory *by chance* any more than to any other. Caieta, still, retains its name with a small variation, it being, now, called *Gaeta*. Here, again, Virgil has followed the same historians with our author, and says, this place received its name from the nurse of Aeneas, who died here.

*Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aenea nutrix,
Aeternam moriens fumam, Caieta, dedisti.* 9.

¹⁸⁵ Τροία. 1 Livy gives the same account. *Ab Sicilia classe Laurentum agrum tenuisse : Troja et huic loco nomen est.* The place, where Aeneas formed his camp, must have been between the lake of Ostia, and the east side of the Tiber. Our author says he was under a necessity of making this digression concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, because many historians asserted that Aeneas never came thither at all. This assertion many modern authors of great reputation have revived, and and written, professedly, on that subject. For which reason, I shall follow

° Preface to Fresnoy's Art of painting.
1 E. i. c. 1.

1 Aeneid. B. vi. 5. 164.

9 Aeneid. B. vii. 5. 1.

stidia. I was under a necessity of relating these things, and of making this digression; since some historians affirm that Aeneas did not, even, come into Italy with the Trojans; and some, that it was another Aeneas, not the son of Anchises, and Venus; others, that it was Ascanius, the son of Aeneas; and others, that they were some other persons. There are, who pretend, that Aeneas, the son of Venus, after he had settled a colony of his people in Italy, returned home, was king of Troy, and, dying, left his kingdom to Ascanius, his son, whose posterity enjoyed it for a long time: These are, in my opinion, deceived, by mistaking the sense of Homer's verses. For, in the Iliad, he represents Neptune, foretelling the future splendor of Aeneas, and his posterity, in this manner;

¹⁸⁶ *On great Aeneas shall devolve the reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain.*

Pope.

the example of our author, and, also, make a digression, to answer the objections of these writers. But, I easily, foresee that a dissertation of this kind, in which many things must be answered, and many established, will be much too long to be inserted among the notes; I shall, therefore, give it a place by itself at the end of this book.

^{186.} Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας. I have given Pope's translation of these verses, which I shall always observe, when any verses of Homer are quoted in the course of this work. For a poet must be translated by a poet; and his translation of the Iliad will be admired as long as

the English language shall be understood. He has a long note upon these verses, in which he takes notice of the explication our author gives of them in the passage, now, before us; and, upon the whole, treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, as a chimera, invented both by Virgil, and our author, to compliment Augustus. But, I shall consider his reasons at large, as also, Those alledged by Bochart in his letter to Segrais, to which he refers. I hope no critic will find fault with his translation of these verses, because he has left out the word *Trojans*, which is the very point in dispute; since, as Homer

Thus,

Thus, supposing that Homer knew these men reigned in Phrygia, they invented the return of Aeneas, as if it were not possible that, if they lived in Italy, they should reign over Trojans. But, it was not impossible that he should reign over those Trojans he had carried with him, though settled in another country. However, other reasons, also, may be given for this mistake.

LIV. But if this creates a difficulty, that the sepulchre of Aeneas is said to be, and is shewn, in many places, it being impossible for the same person to be buried in more than one; let them consider that this difficulty is common to many, particularly to men of illustrious fortunes, and wandering lives; and let me inform them that, though only one place received their bodies, yet, their monuments were erected in many, through the gratitude of those, who had received some benefits from them; particularly, if any of their family, still, remained, or any city had been built by them, or if their residence, among any of those people, had been long, and distinguished by instances of humanity: All which agree with the ¹⁸⁷ account, we have received, of this hero. For, having preserved Troy, when it was taken, from utter

had, in the preceding verse, mentioned Priam, the kingdom, that was to devolve on Aeneas, must be understood to be That of the Trojans. We find, by [†] Strabo, that some read these verses in this manner:

Νυν δε οἱ Αἰνείας βίη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ ἀναξεί.
meaning the Romans. And, in this

manner, [†] Virgil has adapted them to his system.

*Hic dominus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris,
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis.*

¹⁸⁷. Μυθολογεύμενα. See the end of the 37th annotation. All the translators have adhered to the vulgar sense of the word, without considering the absurdity, that, visibly, results from it.

^{*} B. xiii. p. 966. [†] Aeneid. B. iii. v. 97.

destruction, and sent away the Trojan allies safe to Bebrycia ; left his son Ascanius to reign in Phrygia ; built a city of the same name with himself in Pallene ; married his daughters in Arcadia ; left part of his army in Sicily ; and, during his residence in many other parts, visibly, behaved himself with great humanity, he acquired the voluntary affection of those people, and, for that reason, was honoured, after his death, with temples, and monuments in many places : What cause, then, can be assigned for the monuments erected to him in Italy, if he never reigned in those parts, resided there, or was, entirely, unknown to the inhabitants ? But this point shall be, again, discussed, and made manifest, as often as the occasion shall require it.

LV. The reason why the Trojan fleet failed no further into Europe, is to be attributed to the oracles, which were fulfilled in these parts, and to the will of Heaven, many ways, revealed to them. For, while their fleet lay at anchor off Laurentum, and they were incamped near the shore, first, the men, being oppressed with thirst, and there being no water in the place, (what I say, I had from the inhabitants) springs of the sweetest water were seen rising out of the earth spontaneously, of which all the army drank, and the place was overflowed, till the stream ran down to the sea from the springs, which, at this time, are not so high as to overflow ; but there is a little water, contained in a hollow place, which the inhabitants say is consecrated to the sun ; and, near it, two altars are to be seen, one to the east, the other to the west ; both of Trojan structure ; upon which,

which, they say, Aeneas offered up his first sacrifice to the god in acknowledgement for the water. After that, while they were at dinner upon the ground, many of them strewed parsley under their victuals, instead of a table; but, others say, they made use of wheaten cakes, that they might eat with greater cleanliness: When all the victuals, that were laid before them, were eaten, one of them eat of the parsley, or cakes, that were laid under their victuals, and then another; and one of Aeneas's sons, as it is said, or, some other of the company, happened to say, Behold, we have eaten even the table! As soon as they heard this, they all cried out, ¹⁸⁸ with joy, that the first part of the oracle was, now, fulfilled. For, a certain oracle had been delivered to them, as some say, in Dodona; but, as others write, in Erythrae, a town near mount Ida, where lived a ¹⁸⁹ Sibyl of that coun-

¹⁸⁸. Αἰεθοευσενσαν· Θορυβεῖν does not, always, signify *to act disorderly*, as it is generally, supposed: It, sometimes, signifies, *to applaud*: A remarkable instance of which we find in Demosthenes; ταῦτα ἀκασαίτες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ Θορυβεῖντες ὡς οὐθὺς λεγέσθαι.

¹⁸⁹. Σιβυλλᾶ. This Erythraean Sibyl is much celebrated by many authors, both ancient and modern, who have abused their leisure in transmitting the impostures of one age to the credulity of the next. Of all the etymologies of the word Sibylla, That, given by Servius, seems to come nearest the truth; * he says the name is derived from Σίος βελλῆ, *the decree of Jupiter*, of which, it seems, these ladies were

the interpreters. It is certain, that, in the Aeolic, or Doric dialect, σίος is δίος; from whence came the oath, so much used by the Lacedaemonians, μα τῷ Σίῳ; by which they meant the two brother gods, Castor, and Pollux. This very extraordinary prophecy, that the Trojans were to rest from their labors in the place, where they should eat their tables, † Virgil, who would omit no tradition, which had any thing marvellous in it, puts into the mouth of the Harpy, who, we find, was, also, a prophetess,

*Sed non ante datam cingetis moribus urbem,
Quam vos dira fames nostraeque injuria caech:
Ambesas subigat malis confundere mensas.*

* Philip. 2^d.

† On the third book, Aeneid. v. 452.

‡ Aeneid. B. iii. v. 255.

try.

try, a prophetic nymph, who ordered them to sail westward till they came to a place, where they should eat the tables: And, when they found this had happened, they should follow a quadruped, as their guide; and, wherever the animal, spent with fatigue, laid itself down, there they should build a city. Calling to mind, therefore, this prophecy, some, by the order of Aeneas, brought to the place, appointed by him, the images of the gods out of the ship; others prepared ¹⁹⁰ pedestals, and altars for them; and the women with shouts, and dancing, accompanied the images: And Aeneas, with his companions, when the sacrifice was ready, stood round the altar with crowns on their heads.

LVI. While these were offering up their prayers, the sow, which was the destined victim, being big with young, and near her time, when the priests were ¹⁹¹ beginning the immolation, broke loose, and, flying from those who held her, ran up into the country. Aeneas, understanding this was, certainly, the guide the oracle had pointed out, followed it, with a few of his people, at a small distance, fearing lest,

This prophecy, which seemed to threaten so dreadful a famine, ^y he solves, also, in the same harmless manner with our author;

*Heus! etiam mensas consumimus, inquit Iulus.
Nec plura alludens: ea vox audita laborum
Prima tulit finem.*

¹⁹⁰ Βαθρα. This is the proper Greek word for *pedestals*; and, in this sense, it is used by ^z Herodotus, who, speaking of the persons sent from Athens

to Aegina to bring away the statues of Damia, and Auxesia, says they endeavoured to take them from their pedestals, τα αγαλματια ταυτα πειραν εκ των βαθρων εξανασπαν. Le Jay seems not to have liked the word; for which reason, he has left it out. The other French translator has said *des marche-pieds*, which is not the term in his language. Why not *des piédestaux*?

¹⁹¹ Καταρχομενων. See the 124th annotation.

^y Aeneid. B. vii. *℥*. 116.

^z In Terpsich. c. 85.

being

disturbed by her pursuers, she might be frightened from the course fate had prescribed to her. The sow, having gone about four and twenty stadia from the sea, ran up a hill, where, being tired, she lay down. But Aeneas (for the oracles seemed, now, to be fulfilled) observing the land to be barren, and at a distance from the sea, where, even, the road was unsafe, found himself in great perplexity whether they ought, in obedience to the oracle, to settle there, where they were to lead a life of perpetual misery, without any enjoyment, or go further, in search of a better soil. While he was in this consideration, accusing the gods, on a sudden, they say, he heard a voice, which came from a wood, the person, who uttered it, not appearing, by which he was commanded to stay there, and build a city, immediately; and not, by giving way to the uncertainty of his present opinion that he was going to settle in a barren country, to reject his future, and, in a manner, present happiness: For, it was decreed, that, issuing forth from this barren and small habitation, he should, in process of time, acquire a spacious and fertile country; and that his children, and posterity should be masters of a vast empire, which should last for many ages; that, for the present, therefore, this city should be a retreat for the Trojans; but that, after as many years, as the sow should bring forth young ones, another large and flourishing city should be built by his posterity. It is said, that Aeneas, hearing this, and looking upon the voice as something divine, did, as the god had commanded. But, others say, that, while he was oppressed with anxiety, and

had so far abandoned himself to grief, as neither to come into the camp, nor take any nourishment, but laying himself down to rest that night, where it overtook him, a great and wonderful phantom appeared to him in ¹⁹² his sleep, in the shape of one of his household gods, and gave him the advice, just before, mentioned. Which of these accounts is the truest, the gods, only, know. The next day, it is said, the sow brought forth ¹⁹³ thirty young ones; and that, according to the oracle, as many years after, another city was built by the Trojans, concerning which I shall speak in a proper place.

LVII. Aeneas sacrificed the sow, with her young, to his household gods, in the place, where, now, stands the ¹⁹⁴ wooden hut, which the Lavinienſes look upon as holy, and preserve it inaccessible to all but themselves: Then, ordering the Trojans to remove their camp to the hill, he placed the images of his gods in the best part of it; and, immediately, began to build the town with the greatest alacrity; and, going down to the country round him, took

¹⁹² ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΝ. This word is, here, taken adverbially, as in the following verse of ^a Homer:

ΚΛΥΪΕ, ΦΙΛΟΙ, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΜΟΙ ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΥ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΟΝΕΙΡΟΣ.

¹⁹³ Τριακοντὰ λεγέσθαι χοίρας, etc. This prophecy, ^b Virgil, who, like our author, had, no doubt, met with it in the old Roman historians, makes the river Tiber deliver to Aeneas;

*Jamque tibi, ne vana putes hæc fingere somnum,
Litoris ingens inventa sub ilicibus sus,
Triginta caputæ foetus enixa, jacebit;
Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.*

^a Il. §. 56.

*Hic locus urbis erit, requies ca certa laborum:
Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albani.*

¹⁹⁴ Καλίας. I know this word, sometimes, signifies *a chapel*, but, oftener, *a wooden hut*, from καλον, wood. Portus, and M. *** have given it the former sense; le Jay has said *une petite retraite*, which is something like the sense. Sylburgius is the only one, who has rendered it properly, *casa lignea*. If it had been a chapel, our author needed not to have said that it was looked upon as holy.

^b Aeneid. B. viii. 5. 42.

from

from thence such things, as were of use to him in building, the loss of which was likely to be the most grievous to the owners, such as iron, timber, and instruments of agriculture. In the mean time, Latinus, who was, then, king of the country, being at war with a neighbouring people, called the Rutuli; and, having fought some battles with ill success, received an account of what had passed, in the most terrifying manner, as, that all his coast was laid waste by a foreign army; and, if he did not, immediately, put a stop to their depredations, the war, with his neighbours, would become more grievous to him. Latinus was struck with this news; and, laying aside all thoughts of the present war, he marched against the Trojans with a great army: But, seeing them armed after the Grecian manner, drawn up in good order, and prepared to receive him with resolution, he did not think it prudent to hazard an immediate engagement; since he saw no probability of defeating them at the first onset,¹⁹⁵ as he had expected, when he first marched out against them: But, incamping on a hill, he found it convenient to recover his troops from their present fatigue, which, from the length of their march, and the eagerness of the pursuit, was very great: And he resolved, after he had passed the night there, to attack the enemy by break of day. Having taken this resolution, a certain genius of the place, appearing to him in his sleep, ordered him to receive the Greeks, as cohabitants with his own subjects; adding that their ar-

¹⁹⁵ Καθ' ἣν ἐπ' ἐδεξάν. The Vatican manuscript has, wonderfully, restored this sentence, which is very imperfect in all the editions.

rival would be attended with a great advantage to him, and a common benefit to the Aborigines. The same night, Aeneas's household gods, appearing to him, advised him to persuade Latinus to grant them a settlement, of his own accord, in that part of the country they desired, and, to use the Greek forces, rather as allies, than as enemies. However, the dream hindered both of them from beginning an engagement. As soon as it was day, and the armies were drawn up in order of battle, heralds came to the commanders from both, desiring that these might have a conference together; which was complied with.

LVIII. And, first, Latinus complained “ of the sudden
 “ war, they had made upon his subjects, without any pre-
 “ vious declaration; and desired Aeneas would let him know
 “ who he was, and what he meant by ¹⁹⁶plundering the
 “ country, without any provocation, since he could not be
 “ ignorant that all, who are attacked, have a right to repel
 “ the invader: And, that, when he might have obtained, in
 “ a friendly manner, and by the consent of the inhabitants,
 “ whatever he could, reasonably, desire, he had chosen to
 “ take it by force, contrary to the right of all nations, and
 “ with greater dishonor, than credit to himself.” After
 he had said this, Aeneas answered; “ We are natives of

¹⁹⁶ Ἀγει καὶ Φερεῖ τὰ χωρία. The Latin translators have rendered this, very properly, by *agere et ferre*, which, like many other Latin expressions, is, originally, derived from the Greek. *Des actes d'hostilité qu'on avoit exercez,* in le Jay, I think is scarce strong

enough. Neither do I think that *piller ses terres*, in the other French translator, though better far than the other, expresses *αγειν καὶ φερειν* so well as the expression our language has supplied me with.

“ Troy,

“Troy, a city famous among the ¹⁹⁷ Greeks; of which

¹⁹⁷ ΕΝ ΕΛΛΗΣΙ. M. ***, in his note upon this passage, blames our author, violently, for making Aeneas call the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, which name, he says, the people of Greece were not known by till many ages after the Trojan war; and, even, not so early as in That, in which Homer lived, who never calls all the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, but only gives that name to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, who followed Achilles to Troy. I have read what ^c Thucydides, and ^d Strabo have said upon this subject; but I do not think the arguments, alledged by the latter, so conclusive as others, that may be drawn from chronology, to prove that the Greeks, in general, were known by the name of ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ many years, nay, some ages, not only, before Homer, but, even, before the Trojan war. But I must, previously, observe that, if the censure, thrown upon our author by that gentleman, is well grounded, Virgil is, also, included in it; since he calls Achaemenides, *Graius*, in the same period of time, in which, Aeneas, in our author, calls the Greeks ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ^e;

Confertum tegmen spinis: at caetera Graius.

I am very sensible, that ^f Homer, when he says,

Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν Φθίῳ, καὶ Ἐλλάδα καλλιγυναικα,
Μυρμιδόνος δ' ἐκαστῆς, καὶ Ἑλλήνες, καὶ Ἀχαιοί,

means only the inhabitants of Thessaly; but I am not so clear that, when he ^g says,

Αἰεὶ τε κλῆος ἔσται κατ' Ἑλλάδα, καὶ μὲν Ἀργεὺς,
he means any particular country, or city of Thessaly; because, when he

speaks of the city of Argos, that was built by Pelasgus in Thessaly, he distinguishes it by the name of Πελασγικὸν Ἀργεὺς, as ^h

ὅσοι το Πελασγικὸν Ἀργεὺς ἐναιον.

in which, he has been followed by the geographers. But I shall leave conjectures to those, who want arguments. I have undertaken to prove that the general name of the Greeks was ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ many years before the Trojan war; and, consequently, that our author was guilty of no anachronism, nor deserved censure for calling them so. In the sixth epocha of the Parian marble, the time is mentioned, when Hellen, the son of Deucalion, reigned in Phthiotis; and the Greeks, who had, till then, been known by the name of Γραικοί, were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ. The year, there set down, is 1257. In the 25th epocha, the taking of Troy is mentioned, and the year, set down, is 945. If, therefore, from 1257, we deduct 945, it will be found that the people of Greece were called ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, 312 years before the taking of Troy. This is confirmed by the most celebrated chronologers; who all agree that Troy was taken in the 3530th year of the Julian period, 1184 years before Christ; and that the flood, in the time of Deucalion, happened 1529 years before ^k Christ, and in the 3185th year of the Julian period: So that, the interval, between the flood of Deucalion, the father of Hellen, and the taking of Troy, must, according to them, consist of 345 years.

^c B. i. c. 3.

^d B. viii. p. 568.

^e Aeneid. B. iii. v. 594.

^f Iliad. B. v. 498.

^g Odyss. α. v. 344.

^h Iliad. ε. v. 681.

ⁱ Usher, p. 26.

^k Petavius, B. i. c. 11. and 7.

“being

“ being deprived by the Achaeans, after a ten years war,
 “ we wander up and down, through the want both of a
 “ city, and a country, where we may live for the future ; and
 “ are come hither, in obedience to the commands of the
 “ gods : The oracles assuring us that this land alone is re-
 “ served for us, as the haven of our wandering. We have,
 “ ¹⁹⁸ lately, taken from the country those things we wanted,
 “ with greater regard, indeed, to our ¹⁹⁹ unfortunate situation,
 “ than to decency, which we very much condemn : But we
 “ will compensate them with many good services, in yielding
 “ to you our persons, and our minds, well disciplined against
 “ dangers, to employ them as you think proper, in preserving
 “ your country from the inroads of enemies, and in assisting

¹⁹⁸. ΝΕΩΣΙ. This word must, certainly, have been misplaced by the transcribers ; and I make no doubt but our author writes *εποριζομεθα μεν νεωσι*, etc. to which *αμειψομεθα δε*, in the next sentence, answers very fully.

¹⁹⁹. Δυσυχεσερον μαλλον η ευπρεπεσερον. This is opposed to *αισχιον μαλλον η καλλιον*, with which Latinus had reproached Aeneas. But here is an uncommon expression, that, very well, deserved the observation of the commentators ; and, that is, the use of *μαλλον* with a comparative : However, I have met with it in the best writers ; one instance of which I shall quote from Demosthenes, with whose manner of writing our author shews, by his critical works, that he was, perfectly well, acquainted. That great orator reproaches the Athenians with having

made it dangerous to give them good advice ; the consequence of which, he tells them, will be, that, whoever gave them such advice, would, not only, suffer, unjustly, himself without doing them any service, but, also, render it, for the future, still more dangerous to propose such things to them, as were most for their advantage, ¹ *αλλα και εις το λοιπον ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ει η νυν το τα βελτισα λεγειν ΦΟΒΕΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ποιησαι*. It is very extraordinary that the Latin writers should imitate the Greeks in this uncommon manner of speaking ; but so it is, and many instances might be given of this also ; I shall content myself with one from ^m Justin, who, speaking of Lycurgus, says, *non in-ventione earum (legum) magis quam ex-emplo clarior*.

¹ Olynth. i.

^m B. iii. c. 2.

“ you

“ you, with alacrity, to conquer theirs. We, humbly, intreat
 “ you not to resent what we have done, assuring yourselves,
 “ that we did it not through contempt, but necessity : And
 “ ²⁰⁰ every thing, that is involuntary, deserves forgiveness :
 “ So that, you ²⁰¹ ought not to take any resolution to the
 “ prejudice of us, who are your suppliants : If you should,
 “ we must beg the tutelary gods, and genius’s of this country
 “ to forgive us what we are, even, compelled to do ; and
 “ endeavour to defend ourselves against you, who are the
 “ aggressors in this war ; which will not be the first, nor the
 “ greatest we have been ²⁰² engaged in. When Latinus
 heard this, he made answer ; “ I can assure you, I have
 “ great benevolence towards the Greek nation, in general ;
 “ and the inevitable calamities of mankind give me a real
 “ concern : I should be very solicitous for your preservation,
 “ if I were convinced that you came hither in search of a
 “ habitation ; and, that, ²⁰³ contented with a share of the
 “ land, and injoying what is given you, in a friendly manner,

²⁰⁰. Ἀπαν δε συγνωμης αξιον το ακυσιον.
 Our author, often, adopts the ethics of
 “ Aristotle, who says, εν μεν τοις εκυσιοις
 επαινων, και ψογων γινομενων, εν δε τοις
 ακυσιοις συγνωμης.

²⁰¹. Και δε υμας, etc. The Latin
 translators, and commentators have
 been, very much, puzzled to clear up
 this period : I imagine none of them
 had seen the Vatican manuscript.

²⁰². Απολαυσαιμεν. Απολαυει, ουκ επι
 των ηδεων των μενον, αλλα και επι των
 εναντιων τατιστα. Suidas.

²⁰³. Εν αποχρησει τε γης μοιρας. I
 have never met with αποχρησις, or
 αποχρωσις, as the Vatican manuscript
 has it, in any author, or lexicon, in
 this sense ; for which reason, I shall
 venture to make a small alteration in
 the text, or, rather to restore it, as, I
 believe, our author writ it, αποχρησο-
 μενοι τε γης μοιρα : Every one, who has
 read Herodorus, must have found
 αποχρασται, more than once, made use
 of to signify what is meant here, that
 is, *to be contented*.

“ B. iii. c. 1.

“ you

“ you will not endeavour, by force, to deprive me of the
“ sovereignty; and, if the assurances you give me, are real,
“ I desire to give, and take sureties, which will preserve our
“ league inviolate.”

LIX. Aeneas, having accepted this proposal, a treaty was made between the two nations, and confirmed by oath, to this effect; that the Aborigines should grant to the Trojans as much land as they desired, that is, the space of about forty stadia round the hill; that the Trojans should assist the Aborigines in the war they were then engaged in, and join them with their forces, upon every other occasion, when summoned; and that both nations should aid one another, to the utmost of their power, as well with their assistance, as advice. After they had concluded this treaty, and secured the performance of it, by delivering their children as hostages, they marched, with joint forces, against the cities of the Rutuli: And, having soon subdued all opposition there, they went to the town of the Trojans, which was half finished; and, hastening the work with one mind, they fortified the town with a wall. This town Aeneas called Lavinium, as the Romans themselves say, from the daughter of Latinus, whose name, according to them, was Lavinia; but, as some Greek historians have asserted, from the daughter of Anius, king of Delos, whose name was, also, Lavinia; and who, dying of sickness, while the first city was building, and being buried in the place where she died, the city was so called, in memory of her. She is said, also, to have embarked with the Trojans, and to have been given by
her

her father to Aeneas, at his desire, as a prophetess, and a wise woman. While Lavinium was building, these prodigies are said to have happened to the Trojans. A fire breaking out, spontaneously, in an adjoining wood, a wolf, they say, brought some fuel in his mouth, and threw it upon the fire; and an eagle, flying thither, fanned the flame with the motion of his wings: In opposition to these, a fox, having moistened his tail in a river, endeavoured to extinguish the fire; and, sometimes, those, that were kindling it, prevailed; and, sometimes, the fox, that was trying to put it out: And, at last, the former got the better, and the other went away, unable to do any thing further. Which, Aeneas, observing, said, this colony would become famous, be worthy of admiration, and very much celebrated; but, in its increase, would be envied by, and grievous to, its neighbours: However, that it would overcome its adversaries; the favor of Heaven being more powerful to support it, than the envy of men to oppose it. These were the evident signs of the incidents, that were to happen to this city: Of which there are monuments, now, standing in the market-place of the Lavinienſes; these are brazen images of the animals, which have been preserved for many ages.

LX. After the city of the Trojans was built, both nations were, extremely, desirous of injoying the mutual benefit of their new alliance: And their kings set the example, and mixed the dignity of the native and foreign families by a contract of marriage, Latinus giving his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas: After which, the rest, also, had the same in-

clination with their kings ; and, by a swift union of their customs, their laws, and religious ceremonies ; by intermarriages, and a communication of the rights of their cities ; by mingling all together, and by calling themselves Latines, from Latinus, king of the Aborigines, they adhered so firmly to their league, that no time has, yet, severed them from one another. The nations, therefore, which were gathered together under one form of government, and from whom the Roman people derive their origin, before the city they, now, inhabit, was built, are these : First, the Aborigines, who drove the Siceli out of these parts, and were Greeks, originally, of Peloponnesus, the same, who, with Oenotrus, removed from the country, now, called Arcadia, according to my opinion : Then, the Pelasgi, who came from ²⁰⁴ Haemonia, as it was, then, called, now, Thef-

²⁰⁴· Αἰμονίας· See the 51st annotation. I do not think that a translator is under the same obligation with regard to his author, as the lawyers seem to think themselves under in relation to their clients ; that is, that he is to defend him right, or wrong. Dionysius is going to prove that the Trojans were, originally, Greeks, in which he is justified by historians of the best authority ; but I doubt much whether that will justify him in saying, as he did a few pages before, that the Trojans were armed after the manner of the Greeks ; and, much less, in making Evander tell Aeneas that he had a great affection for all the Greeks, even, after the latter had informed him that they were Trojans. I do not, indeed, re-

member any passage in Homer, which shews that the Greeks, and Trojans were armed after a different manner ; but he describes them as going to the charge under very different circumstances ; the first advancing with a confused noise, like cranes going to make war upon the Pygmies ; and the other in silence breathing ardor, and a resolution to support one another ° ;

Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγὴ τ', ἐνοπὴ τ' ἴσαν, ὀρνίθες ὡς.
Οἱ δ' ἄρα ἴσαν σιγῇ μέντε πνεονίης Ἀχαιοί,
Ὡς θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλέξεμεν ἀλλήλοισι.

I believe no general would desire that his men should go on to an attack with a truer spirit than Homer has here described.

faly: Thirdly, those, who came over into Italy with Evander, from the city of Pallantium: After these, the Epei, and Pheneatae; who were part of the Peloponnesian army, commanded by Hercules, with whom some Trojans, also, were mixed: And, last of all, the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, had escaped from Ilium, Dardanum, and the other Trojan cities.

LXI. That the Trojans were a nation, truly Greek, which, formerly, came from Peloponnesus, has been, long since, asserted by some authors, and shall be, briefly, related by me also. The account concerning them is this. Atlas was the first king of the country, now, called Arcadia, who lived near the mountain, called ²⁰⁵ Thaumafius: This man had seven daughters, said to be placed among the stars, by the name of the Plëiades; one of whom Jupiter married, and had by her two sons, ²⁰⁶ Jafius, and Dardanus: Jafius lived unmarried: But Dardanus married Chryses, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had two sons, Idæus, and Dimas, who, succeeding Atlas in the kingdom, reigned some time in Arcadia. Afterwards, a great deluge happening in Arcadia, the plains were overflowed, and, for a long time, incapable of being tilled. The people (for, as they lived upon the

²⁰⁵ Θαυμασιον ορος. This is shewn by Glareanus to be the true reading, because Pausanias speaks of a mountain of that name in Arcadia. This mountain, I find, ^p Pausanias says stood near the river Molossus; and on the top of it, there was a cavern consecrated to Rhea, into which none but

her priestesses were suffered to enter.

²⁰⁶ Ιασίων. This must be the true reading; which is confirmed by ^q Virgil.

hinc Dardanus ortus,

Iasusque pater.

He is, also, called Ιασίων by ^r Strabo.

^f In Arcad. c. 36.

^q Aeneid. B. iii. v. 167.

^r Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

mountains, they laboured under a great scarcity of provisions) considering that the land, that remained, would not be sufficient for the support of them all, they divided themselves into two parts; one of which staid in Arcadia, and created Dimas, the son of Dardanus, their king; the other, left Peloponnesus on board a numerous fleet; and, sailing along the coast of Europe, they came to a gulph, called ²⁰⁷ Melas, and happened to land on a certain island of Thracia, but I am not able to say whether it was, before, inhabited, or desert: They called this island, Samothrace, a name, compounded of the name of a man, and of That of the place; for it belongs to Thrace, and the founder of it was Samon, the son of Mercury, and of a nymph of Cyllene, called Rhene: Here, they staid not long, because they found themselves under great difficulties with regard to their support, as having a barren land, and a boisterous sea to contend with; but, leaving some few of their people there, the greatest part of them, removing again, went to Asia, Dardanus being the leader of their colony, (for Jasius died in the island, being struck with thunder, for desiring to go to bed with Ceres) and, disembarking in the streight, now, called the Hellespont, they settled in that country, which was, afterwards, named Phrygia. Idacus, the son of Dardanus, with part of the army, inhabited the mountains, which, from

²⁰⁷ Εἰς τὸν Μελαρρὸν κόλπον. The gulph Melas lies on the north west of the Thracian Chersonesus: And the island of Samothrace, now called *Samandrecki*, is at the entrance of this gulph, op-

posite to the mouth of the Hebrus, known, now, by the name of *la Marisa*.

² Strabo gives the same account of Dardanus, and Jasion, and adds that Samothrace was, before, called Samos.

³ Epit. B. vii. p. 511.

him,

him, are called the Idaean mountains, where he built a temple to the mother of the gods, and instituted mysteries and ceremonies, which are observed, to this day, throughout all Phrygia; and Dardanus built a city of the same name with himself, in a country, now, called Troas, Teucrus, who was king of it, giving him the land, from whom, that country was, anciently, named Teucris. Many authors say, and, particularly, Phanodemus, who writ the Attic antiquities, that this man came into Asia, from Attica, where he was chief of the division, called ²⁰⁸ Xypete; and of this they bring many proofs: They add that, being master of a large and fertile country, and but, thinly, peopled, he was glad to see Dardanus, and the Greeks, who came with him, in hopes both of their assistance in his wars against the Barbarians, and that the land might not be uncultivated.

²⁰⁸. *Ξυπέτης*. This is, certainly, the true reading, and the name of this division of the tribe of Cecropis, as we find in Harpocration; though it is otherwise in all the editions, and manuscripts, and, also, in Suidas, who calls this division of that tribe, *Ξυπέται*. But there is a passage in Strabo, which, though faulty in another respect, will lead us to the true reading in this. Strabo speaks there of this very migration of Teucer from Attica to Asia; and says, *ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφίχθαι τινὰ Τευκρὸν φασιν ἐκ δήμου Τρωῶν, ὅς τιν' ὁ Ξυπέτων λεγέσθαι*. Casaubon, in his note upon this passage of Strabo, was sensible that the word *Τρωῶν* was more

than suspicious; and, therefore, changed it into *Τίνας*; and, to support his correction, quotes this very passage of our author, which he has accommodated to the words of Strabo, as he took them, and made our author say *δήμῳ Ξυπέτωνος*, supposing that *Ξυπέται*, in the former, was the name of this division of the tribe of Cecropis: But that great man was mistaken in this, as we have seen by Harpocration; who, in *Ξυπέταιωνες*, says, also, that this was the name of the individuals of that division. Phanodemus, whom our author quotes upon this occasion, is, often, cited by other authors, but that is all we know of him.

¹ B. xiii. p. 901.

LXII. But, it is, now, requisite to shew how Aeneas was descended; which I shall do, also, in few words. Dardanus, after the death of Chryses, the daughter of Palas, by whom he had his two first sons, married Batea, the daughter of Teucrus; and, by her, had Erichthonius, who is said to have been the most fortunate of all men, having inherited both the kingdom of his father, and That of his grandfather by his mother's side. Of Erichthonius, and Callirhoe, the daughter of Scamandrus, was born Tros, from whom the nation has received its name; of Tros, and Acallaris, the daughter of Eumedes, Assaracus; of him, and Lytodora, the daughter of Laomedon, Capys; of Capys, and a nymph, said to have been a Naïd, Anchises; of Anchises, and Venus, Aeneas. Thus, I have shewn that the royal family of the Trojans, were, originally, Greeks.

LXIII. Concerning the time, when Lavinium was built, there are different opinions; but the most probable seems to be That, which ²⁰⁹ places it in the second year after the departure of the Trojans from Troy: For ²¹⁰ Ilium was

²⁰⁹ Φεροντες αυτην. Casaubon has shewn, from very good authorities, that Φερεν is a term, particularly used by chronologers, in the sense our author has given it in this place.

²¹⁰ Ιλιον μεν γαρ ηλω τελευτωιος ηδη τω εαρος. Thus, I am confident this passage ought to be read, contrary to the opinion of Portus, and of Dodwell, who contend for Θερος, in which they are followed by M. * * *; and, also, contrary to the opinion of Sylburgius, who, would have it ενιωις, which read-

ing le Jay has followed. However, I have the satisfaction of finding myself supported in reading εαρος against these great authorities, by a much greater, I mean That of Casaubon, and Petavius. But, before I give my reasons for reading εαρος instead of Θερος, I must take notice of the glaring absurdity in saying, with M. * * *, that Troy was taken on the twelfth of June *towards the end of summer*. It is well known that the year of the Greeks was lunisolar, and that the Athenians, whose

taken

taken at the end of the spring, seventeen days before the summer solstice, and the eighth of the ending month Thargelion, according to the computation of the Athenians; there still remaining twenty days, after the solstice, to complete that year. The first seven and thirty days after the taking of Troy, I imagine, the Greeks employed in regulating the affairs of the city, in receiving embassies from those, who had withdrawn themselves, and in concluding a

computation our author says he follows, by the direction of Solon, assigned twenty nine, and thirty days, alternately, to their twelve months; by which, it happened, that there was, every year, a deficiency of eleven days between their year, and the solar year^v: To supply this deficiency, Meton, afterwards, found out the cycle of intercalating seven months in nineteen years. Solon, also, introduced, among the Athenians, the method of counting the ten last days of the month backwards, and called the thirtieth day *ἐν καὶ νεα*, *the old and new*: The reason of which, I imagine to have been, because the new moon becoming visible only in the evening of that day, part of it was thought to belong to the old month, and part of it to the new. Dionysius says that Troy was taken on the eighth day of the ending month Thargelion, that is, the twenty third; seventeen days before the summer solstice, after which, there wanted twenty days to complete that year. Let us, now, see how this account agrees with the course of the sun, and moon, that memorable year. The new moon, and, consequently, the first day of the Attic

month Thargelion, fell out, that year, on the twenty first of May, and the summer solstice on the twenty eighth of June^w: So that, the twenty third of Thargelion was the twelfth of June, which, as our author says, was seventeen days, that is, inclusively, before the summer solstice: And, from the twenty eighth of June, to the nineteenth of July, on which day, the new moon of their month Hecatombæon fell out, there are twenty days, which he, also, says, remained to complete the year: For, it must be observed that the Athenians began their year on the first new moon after the summer solstice. The æra of the taking of Troy being, thus determined, it will be no difficult matter to find the number of years from that æra, to this present year 1755. Dionysius will tell us from Cato that Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy: From thence, to the birth of Christ, are 753 years; to which, if we add 1755, there will be found 2940 years from the twelfth of June, on which Troy was taken, to the twelfth of June of this present year.

^v Sir Isaac Newton. Chron. p. 75 and 76.

^w Petavius, B. ii. c. 10. part iii.

treaty with them. The next year, which was the first after the taking of the city, the Trojans, setting sail about the autumnal equinox, crossed the Hellespont; and, landing in Thrace, passed the winter season there; during which, they received the fugitives, who were, continually, flocking to them, and prepared every thing, that was necessary for their voyage: And, leaving Thrace, in the beginning of the spring, they sailed as far as Sicily. While they staid there, that year was accomplished; and they passed the second winter in assisting the Elymi to build cities in Sicily. They set sail from that island, as soon as the season would allow it; and, crossing the Tyrrhene sea, arrived, at last, at Laurentum, on the coast of the Aborigines, in the middle of the summer: And, having received the ground from them, they built Lavinium; the second year from the taking of Troy, being, now, completed. And this is my opinion concerning these events.

LXIV. Aeneas, having, sufficiently, furnished the city, with temples, and other ornaments, of which the greatest part remain, even, to this day, he, the next year, which was the third after his departure from Troy, reigned over the Trojans only: But the fourth year, Latinus being dead, he succeeded him in his kingdom also; not only in consideration of his near alliance to him, Lavinia being sole ²¹¹ heiress,

²¹¹· *Επικληρος*. The sense of this word is, very well, explained by *ἱεραποcration*. *Επικληρος μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ κληρῷ οὐρανῇ καὶ ἀλελειμμένη, μὴ οὐτος*

αὐτῇ ἀδελφῇ· ἡ δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπικληρῶς. In this sense, also, * Virgil makes Drances say to Turnus,
Si adeò dotalis regia corai est.

* *Aeneid*. B. xi. *l.* 369.

after the death of Latinus, but, also, by reason of his being general of the army, in the war against their neighbours: For the Rutuli had, again, revolted from Latinus, and made choice of a certain deserter for their leader, who was a relation of Amata, the wife of Latinus, and whose name was Turnus. This man, exasperated at the father-in-law of Aeneas, for marrying his daughter to a stranger, in prejudice to his relations, and, being incited by ²¹² Amata, and encouraged by others, went over to the Rutuli with the forces he commanded. The war being begun upon these complaints, and a sharp battle ensuing, Latinus, Turnus, and many others were slain. However, Aeneas, and his people, gained the victory: Upon which, Aeneas succeeded his father-in-law in his kingdom: And, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, in the fourth, he lost his life in a battle: For the Rutuli, raising an army composed of the joint forces of all their cities, marched against him; and, with them, Mezentius, king of the Tyrrhenians, who thought his own country in danger. For the great increase of the Grecian power had, long since, given him offence: And a severe battle being fought, not far from Lavinium, and many slain on both sides, the armies were parted by the coming on of the night, and the body of Aeneas, nowhere, appearing, some concluded that he was translated among the gods, and others, that he perished in the river,

²¹² *Ἀματὴ Τυρρός*. This passage shews that Amata, and Turnus, in Virgil, are not imaginary persons, but taken

from the Roman historians, whose works are, now, lost.

near which the battle was fought: And the Latines built a chapel to him with this inscription: “²¹³ To the father, “ and god of this country, who presides over the waters of “ the river Numicius.” But some say this chapel was erected, by Aeneas, to Anchises, who died the year before this war: It is a small mound, surrounded with trees, regularly, planted, and deserves to be seen.

LXV. Aeneas having left this life, about the seventh year after the taking of Troy, Euryleon, who, in the flight, had changed his name to That of Ascanius, succeeded him in the government of the Latines: As for the Trojans, they were, at that time, besieged, the forces of the enemy increasing daily; and the Latines were unable to assist those, who were shut up in Lavinium. Ascanius, therefore, first, invited the enemy to a friendly and reasonable accommodation: But they, paying no regard to him, he was reduced to the necessity of suffering them to put an end to the war upon their own terms. But the king of the Tyrrhenians, among other intolerable conditions, which he imposed upon them, as upon a people, already, become his slaves, commanding them to carry to the Tyrrhenians, every year, all the wine, the country of the Latines produced, they looked upon this, as a thing not to be borne, and, by the advice of

²¹³ Πάτερ, etc. Livy speaks, also, of this apotheosis, or canonization of Aeneas; *Stat. q. l. quem unque cum dii jus fasque est, super Numicium flumen, Jovem Indigentem appellant.* It was, it seems, the fashion for these gentlemen,

who were canonized, to change their names; as the popes, who call themselves Christ's viceregents, generally, change their names upon their elevation to the papacy.

Afcanius, voted the fruit of the vine to be facred to Jupiter ; then, exhorting one another to fight bravely, and praying the gods to affift them in their dangerous enterprife, they pitched upon a dark night, and fallied out of the city : And, immediately, attacked that part of the enemy's camp, which lay neareft to the city, and, being defigned as an advanced poft to cover the reft of the army, was ftroingly fituated, and defended by the choicelt youth of the Tyrrhenians, who were commanded by Laufus, the fon of Mezentius : Their attack, being unforefcen, they, eafily, made themfelves mafters of the place : While they were employed in taking this poft, the reft of the army, that lay incamped on the plains, feeing an unfeafonable light, and, hearing the groans of thofe, who were killing, left the flat country, and fled to the mountains : Upon this occafion, there was a great hurry, and tumult, their army marching away in the night, and expecting the enemy would, every minute, fall upon them, while they were in diforder, and their ranks broken. The Latines, after they had taken the place by ftorm, and heard the reft of the army was in diforder, preffed upon them, killing, and purfuing ; while the enemy were fo far from endeavouring to defend themfelves, that it was not, even, poffible for them to know the evils they were furrounded with ; but, through confufion, and irrefolution, fome were forced down the precipices, and dafhed to pieces ; while others, ingaging themfelves in unpaflable vallies, were taken prifoners : But moft of them, through ignorance, treated one another, in the dark, like enemies ; and the greateft de-

struction of them was occasioned by mutual slaughter. In the mean time, Mezentius, with a few of his men, possessed himself of a hill; and, being informed of the death of his son, and of the numbers he had lost; and, finding how untenable the place was, in which he had shut himself up, having no other resource, he sent heralds to Lavinium to treat of a peace: And Ascanius, advising the Latines to ²¹⁴ use their fortune with moderation, he obtained liberty to retire in safety with his forces, in consequence of the treaty they concluded; and, from that time, laying aside all enmity to the Latines, he continued their constant friend.

LXVI. The thirtieth year after the building of Lavinium, Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, according to the oracle, given to his father, built another city, and transferred both the inhabitants of Lavinium, and the other Latines, who were desirous of a better habitation, to his new-built city, which he called ²¹⁵ Alba, which word signifies, in Greek, Λευκη,

²¹⁴ Ταμινεῖσθαι τὴν τύχην. This is a very happy expression, and used, more than once, by our author. There is a passage in the eighth book of this history, which is quoted by ² Suidas not so much, I dare say, for the sentiment, which most deserves it, as for the expression; Σωφρονων εἰν ἀνθρώπων, ὅταν εὐπρατίην δεκῶσι, ταμινεῖσθαι τὰς τύχας: ὅταν δ' εἰς ταπεινάς, καὶ φεῦδας ἐλθῶσι, μὴθ' ὑπομένειν ἀγενεές. As this is translated in its proper place, I shall only give the sense of it here; *It is the part of wise men, when in prosperity, to use it with moderation; and, when in*

adversity, to submit to nothing, that is mean.

²¹⁵ Ἀλβᾶ. It is, generally, thought that *Alba longa* stood in the same place, where *Albano* now stands; and, what is more extraordinary, ³ Cluver says that the inhabitants of Albano were so fully persuaded of this, that they placed over the gate, that leads to Rome, a stone, on which was represented the sow with her thirty young ones. However, this great geographer has, plainly, proved from Livy, Cicero, and our author, that *Alba longa* stood two Roman miles to the east of

² c. 48.

³ Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 201.

White: And, to distinguish it from another city of the same name, an epithet was added to it, taken from its figure; and it is, now, called *Alba longa*, a name compounded of both, that is, *Λευκη μακρα*. This city is, now uninhabited. For, when Tullus Hostilius was king of the Romans, she, seeming to contend with her colony for the sovereignty, was demolished; and Rome, having destroyed her mother-city, received its citizens. But these things happened in after-times. Alba stood between a mountain, and a lake, which served as fortifications to the city, and rendered it difficult to be taken: For the mountain is extremely strong and high; and the lake, deep and large, which, when the sluices are opened, is received by the level, the inhabitants having it in their power to husband the water, as they think proper. The plains, below the city, are beautiful to the eye, and rich in the produce of all sorts of fruits, in no degree inferior to the rest of Italy, particularly, of what they call the Alban wine, which is sweet, and of a beautiful color; and, except the Falernian wine, certainly, excels all others.

LXVII. While the city was building, a great prodigy is said to have happened: For a temple with a sanctuary having been built for the images of the gods, which Aeneas had

it. The Alban lake, and mountain make a considerable figure in the Roman history, the former having been the subject of a prophecy, uttered by a Veian captive, and confirmed by no less an authority than the Delphic oracle, that the Romans should never take^b Veii, till they had let out the water of the Alban lake. The Alban mountain was famous for the *Feriae latinae* instituted by Tarquinius Superbus, and celebrated in the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, that stood on the top of it.

^b Livy, B. v. c. 15.

brought

brought with him from Troas, and placed in Lavinium, and the statues having been removed, from the temple at Lavinium, into this sanctuary, the doors being then, particularly, well shut, and the walls, and roof unhurt, the statues changed their station, the following night, and were found upon their old pedestals. And, being brought thither again, with supplicatory and propitiatory sacrifices, they returned, in like manner, to the same place. Upon this, the people were, for some time, in doubt what they should do, being unwilling either to live separately from the gods of their fathers, or to return to their old habitation: At last, they found out an expedient, which seemed, well enough, to answer both these purposes; this was, to let the images remain where they were, and to send back some of their ²¹⁶ own people from Alba, to Lavinium, to live there, and take care of them. Those, who were sent to Lavinium, to perform this holy office, were six hundred; they removed thither with their families, and Acgeſtus was appointed their chief. The Romans call these gods, Penates: Some, who translate the word into the Greek language, render it Πατρῶες, *The gods of their fathers*; others, Γενεθλίες, *The gods, who preside over births*; and others, Κησιες, *The givers of riches*; Μυχίες, *Gods of the sanctuary*; and Εξκίες, *Gods of the inclosure*: Each of these has, probably, given them their name from

²¹⁶ Εποικες. This word is used in the same sense by ^c Thucydides, where he says that the Athenians, having ejected the inhabitants of Aegina, sent some of their own people to inhabit

the island; αὐτῶν πεμψάντες εποικες. Upon which word, the Greek scholiast makes the following observation: Αποικαι μὲν, οἱ ἐν ἐρημῷ τόπῳ πεμπομενοι οικησαι· εποικαι δὲ, οἱ εἰς πόλεις, ὡς περ νυν.

^c B. ii. c. 27.

some

some one of their functions: However, they all seem, in some degree, to express the same thing. Concerning their figure, and appearance, Timaeus, the historian, gives this account; that the holy things, preserved in the sanctuaries at Lavinium, are iron and brazen *Caducei*, and a vessel of Trojan earth: This, he says, he learned from the inhabitants. For my part, I cannot think it right, in me, to give an account of those things, which it is lawful neither for all to see, nor to hear from those, who have seen them. And I must blame every man, who is desirous of inquiring after, or of knowing, more than the laws allow.

LXVIII. But the things which I myself know, by having seen them, and concerning which, no scruple forbids me to write, are as follows. They shew you a temple at Rome not far from the Forum in the street, that leads, the nearest way, to the *Carinae*; which is small, and darkened by the height of the adjacent buildings: This place, is called, by the Romans, in their own language, *Veliae*; in this temple, are the images of Trojan gods, exposed to public view, with this inscription, ²¹⁷ ΔΕΜΑΣ, which signifies *Penates*: For,

²¹⁷ Δεμας. This is the reading of all the editions, but, certainly, not the true one. Scaliger, in his notes upon the Chronicon of Eusebius, number 617, takes notice of this inscription; and, in order to explain it, says that there must have been a Π of such a shape as to resemble a Δ. But he does not say what kind of a Π this was; neither is there among the many ancient alphabets he has exhibited, any

Π that bears the least resemblance to a Δ. And I am persuaded that, if Scaliger had seen the Venetian and Vatican manuscripts, he would have rejected this reading, instead of endeavouring to explain it. It must be observed that *Penates* is a Latin word, and derived, as we know from Cicero, either from *penus*, or *penitus*: So that, all attempts to reconcile this Greek inscription with *Penates* must

² De Nat. Deor. B. ii. c. 27.

according

according to my opinion, the letter Θ, being not, yet, found out, the ancients expressed its power, by the letter Δ. These are two youths, in a fitting posture, each of them holding a spear; they are pieces of ancient workmanship. We have seen many other statues, also, of these gods in ancient temples; and, in all of them, they represented two youths in military habits. It is lawful to see these, and to hear what others say concerning them; and to write what ²¹⁸ Callistratus,

be vain. Besides, as the following words, now, stand in all the editions, Dionysius is made to say that the letter Π, not being, as yet, found out, the ancients expressed its power by the letter Δ; when he, no doubt, knew, and certain it is, that the Π, as well as the Δ, was among the sixteen, or, as others say, the seventeen letters brought into Greece, from Phoenicia, by Cadmus. The Venetian manuscript, in Hudson's notes, has Δεμας, on the margin of which was written, as he says, ἀντὶ τῆς Θεμας· τὰ Δ ἀντὶ τῆς Θ παλαιως. This is, further, explained by the Vatican manuscript, which has Θεμις, and the following sentence stands thus; τὰ Θηλα μηπὲρ γραμμαῖος εὐρεῖμεν τὴν ἐκεῖναι δὴλαν δύναμιν τοῦ δελτα; which I have made no difficulty of following in the text: For, whether the inscription was Δεμας or Θεμις, the reason, alledged by both the manuscripts, is just. Since the letter Θ was not, in reality, one of the Cadmean letters, but invented, long after, by Simonides, together with the two other aspirate letters Φ and Χ; which is so true, that, before the invention of these three let-

ters, the Greeks ^e made use of the aspirate Η after Τ, Π and Κ; and writ, for example, ΤΗΥΕΛΛΑ, ΠΗΥΛΛΟΝ, ΚΗΥΥΣΟΣ, in which they have been followed by the Romans, as I shall shew in another ^f place. The Carinae was a street in Rome, called so, as Servius says, from the resemblance of the houses to the keels of ships; which, however, may be much doubted. I agree, intirely, with Casaubon, in reading οὐελιαί, and shall add to the reasons, given by him, to support that reading, which may be seen in Hudson, that our ^g author himself calls this hill Οὐελία, where he says that Valerius Publicola built a house, which, from its situation, gave umbrage to the people: And ^h Livy, speaking of the same fact, says of Valerius *aedificabat in summâ Veliâ*.

²¹⁸ Καλλιστράτος, Σάτυρος, Αἰκλῆος. I know not that any other author has made mention of Callistratus, as the writer of the Samothracian history. ⁱ Satyrus is not much more known, unless he is the same with the biographer, who writ the life of Philip, the father of Alexander the great,

^e Mar. Victor.

^f See the 41st annot. on the fourth book.

^g B. v. c. 19.

^h B. ii. c. 7.

ⁱ Vossius Hist. Græc. B. iii. p. 410.

the author of the history of Samothrace, and Satyrus, who has collected the ancient fables, with many others, have related; among whom the poet, Arctinus, is the most ancient we know of. This, therefore, is the account they give: That Chryses, the daughter of Palas, when she was married to Dardanus, brought, for her dowry, the gifts of Minerva, that is, the Palladiums, and the²¹⁹ images of the great gods,

That of Demosthenes, and of several other eminent men. Suidas says that Arctinus was a Milesian, and a disciple of Homer; for which he quotes Artemon of Clazomenae.

²¹⁹ Τα ἱερά των θεων. Here is a difficulty, which the translators have either not seen, or have dissembled: It is certain that, when our author says that Chryses brought with her, as her dowry, besides the Palladiums, τα ἱερά των μεγάλων θεων, he means *the statues of the great gods*, which both the Latin translators have rendered *sacra magnorum decrum*, and the two French translators *les statues des grands dieux*: And it is as certain that, when our author says that Dardanus, when he went into Asia, left τα ἱερά των θεων in Samothrace, he does not mean the statues of the gods; but only the mysteries relating to their worship: And here, again, the Latin translators have said *sacra et mysteria*, which M. * * * has rendered *les mysteres des dieux et les choses saintes*: I wish I knew what he means by *les choses saintes*. They could not be the Palladiums, nor the statues of the gods: For, all these our author tells us, in the next sentence, Dardanus carried with him into Asia. Le

Jay, most assuredly, saw the difficulty of translating these words, and, to avoid it, has left them quite out. But this difficulty pursues him: For, a few lines after, our author says that Dardanus consulted the oracle *περι των ἱερων της φυλακης*: However, he resolves not to be troubled any more about it, and has, also, left out these words. The other French translator, has, most certainly, the merit of having attempted to translate them; and I am sorry, for that reason, that, *sur le soin qu'il devoit avoir du culte des dieux* cannot be allowed to express the sense of *περι των ἱερων της φυλακης*: It is, however, as well as *de asseruandis sacris* in Sylburgius, or *de sacrorum custodiâ* in Portus. It is plain that the oracle related to the preservation of these statues, upon which the fate of the town, he was going to build, and, afterwards, of Troy, was to depend. The oracle, that was delivered to Dardanus, is, if the authorities, our author quotes, have not misled him, of the highest antiquity; since it was given to him before he founded the kingdom of Troy, which happened in the 3234th year of the Julian^k period, about fifty years after the Israelites came out of

^k Petav. E. ii. c. 10. part iii. and B. i. c. 11. part i.

in whose mysteries she had been instructed: That, when the Arcadians, flying from the deluge, left Peloponnesus, and settled in the island of Thrace, Dardanus built there a temple to these gods, whose particular names he disclosed to none, and performed those ceremonies to them, which are observed, to this day, by the Samothraces: That, when he transported the greatest part of his people into Asia, he left the mysteries, belonging to these gods, and the ceremonies with those, who remained in the island; and carried with him the Palladiums, and the images of the gods: And that, upon consulting the oracle concerning his settlement, among other things he was informed of, he received this answer relating to the custody of the images of the gods; “Remember to establish, in the city, which you shall build, perpetual worship to the gods, and to honor them with

Egypt, and a little before the death of Joshua; and 296 years before that city was destroyed by the Greeks, in the reign of Priamus. It is very remarkable that this oracle is in very good hexameter verse, and the language, not at all, different from That of Homer, who writ above five hundred years after this period; nor from the language of those poets, who writ five hundred years after Homer. However, there is an expression in it, in rendering which the translators, I find, are divided: It is this, *σεβας αφθιλον αιει*, which Portus has translated *cultum incorruptum semper*, and Hudson has altered it to *cultum purum semper*.

Sylburgius has said much better *cultum perpetuum*, which is the sense; and le Jay, whom I, always, commend with pleasure, when I can do it with justice, has given it this sense; as the other French translator has, also, though more explicitly: This is the sense, in which ¹ Homer applies these words, *αφθιλον αιει*, more than once, to the scepter of Agamemnon,

Δεξαίλο οι σκηπτον παλαιοιον αφθιλον αιει.

Upon which the Greek scholiast makes this observation: Το μεν αφαντον επι εμψυχων οι φιλοσοφοι ταπεινι τε δε αφθιλον επι αψυχων.

¹ Iliad. β. ν. 186.

“ safe-

“safeguards, sacrifices, and choirs: For, while these venerable gifts of the daughter of Jupiter to your wife shall remain in your country, your city shall, for ever, be impregnable.”

LXIX. That, upon this, Dardanus left the images in the city, which he founded, and which received its name from him: That, Ilium, being, afterwards, built, the images were removed thither by his descendants; and that the Ilienses built a temple, and a sanctuary for them in the citadel, and preserved them with all possible care, looking upon them as sent from Heaven, and as the pledges of public safety: That, while the Greeks were employed in taking the lower city, Aeneas, being master of the citadel, took, out of the sanctuary, the images of the great gods, and the Palladium, which, yet, remained (for the other, Ulysses, and Diomedes, they say, coming into Ilium by night, stole away) and, carrying them with him out of the city, brought them into Italy. But Arctinus says that one Palladium was given by Jupiter to Dardanus, and that this remained in Ilium, hid in the sanctuary, till the city was taken: That, from this, a copy was made, in every respect, like the original, and exposed to the view of the public, on purpose to deceive those, who might have a design to steal it; and, that the Greeks, having formed this design, took that away. I say, therefore, upon the authority of the persons above mentioned, that the images, brought into Italy by Aeneas, were Those of the great gods, to whom the Samothracians, of all the Greeks,

pay the greatest worship, and the famous²²⁰ Palladium, which, they say, is kept by the holy virgins in the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire is, also, preserved: Concerning whom, I shall speak afterwards. There may be other things, besides these, which are kept secret from us, who are²²¹ not initiated. And so far concerning the Trojan gods.

LXX. Ascanius dying in the eight and thirtieth year of his reign, Silvius, his brother, succeeded him: He was born of Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, after the death of Aeneas, and, as they say, brought up on the mountains by the herdsmen. For, upon the accession of Ascanius to the kingdom, Lavinia, fearing lest the name of a step-mother, might draw upon her some severity from him, she, being,

²²⁰ Παλλὰδιον. Many authors have written of this famous Palladium, but none of them have taken so much pains to inform their readers of all the circumstances, relating to this solemn farce, as Dionysius. It seems, the pagan priests, early, understood the art of raising the veneration of their votaries by secreting the object of it. I find Herodian is quoted by the commentators, upon the occasion of this Palladium, for saying that, in the reign of Commodus, the temple of Vesta was burnt, and the Palladium exposed to public view for the first time. But ^m Tacitus, who is much more to be credited, says, in speaking of the public buildings, that were consumed by fire in Nero's time, *Aedesque Statoris Jovis vota Romulo, Numaeque regia, et delubrum Vestae cum penatibus populi Romani exusta.*

^m Annal. B. xv. c. 41.

²²¹ Βεβηλοις. This word is, very properly, rendered by the Latin translators *profanis*: But I think not so well by the French translators, *nous autres profanes*: I am sensible that, in their language, *des auteurs profanes* is said in opposition to *des auteurs sacrez*; but I leave it to them to consider whether they say *des gens profanes* in opposition to *des gens d'église*; for that is the sense of the word in this place, which is explained in Hesychius by ἀμυήσις. It is well known that ἕκασ, ἕκασ εἴτε βεβηλοις, which ⁿ Virgil has translated

procul, ô procul, este, profani.

were what they call *solennia verba*, and previous to their religious ceremonies. The explication Servius gives of *profani*, in this verse, agrees, exactly, with That of Hesychius, *qui non estis initiati.*

ⁿ Aeneid, B. vi. ʒ. 258.

then,

then, with child, put herself into the hands of one Tyrrhenus, who was superintendant of the king's swineherds, and whom she knew to have been, extremely, ²²² devoted to Latinus : He, carrying her into the desert woods, as one of the vulgar, and, taking care she was not seen by any one, who knew her, supported her, in a house he built in the wood, which was known but to few : And, when the child was born, he took care of it, and brought it up, calling it, from the wood, Silvius, that is, in Greek, Ὑλαίος : But, in process of time, finding the Latines made great search after the woman, and that the people accused Ascanius of having put her to death, he acquainted them with the whole matter, and produced the woman, and her son out of the wood. From this incident Silvius had his name, which, afterwards, became common to all his posterity. After the death of his brother, he succeeded him in the kingdom, though not without a contest with Iulus, the eldest son of Ascanius, who claimed a right to his father's kingdom. But the people rejected his claim ; to which they were induced by many considerations ; but, chiefly, by this, that his mother was sole heiress to the kingdom : And to Iulus, instead of the sovereignty, a certain holy power, and honor was given, preferable to the royal dignity, both for

²²² Προσηγορος· προσκυνήτης. Hesychius. This sense of the word will, I dare say, convince any one that neither *familiaris*, in the Latin translators ; *dans les bonnes graces de Latinus*, in le Jay ; nor *des plus fideles amis de Latinus*, in the other French translator, can

signify προσηγόρον Λαίινω. Besides, I am persuaded that the reader will not think the intimacy, they have created between the king, and the overseer of his swineherds, very agreeable to the rules of decency.

security,

security, and ease ; which²²³ his posterity enjoy, even, to this day, and are called Julii from him : This family became the most considerable, and, at the same time, the most illustrious of any we know of ; and has brought forth the greatest commanders, whose virtues have been so many proofs of their nobility. Concerning whom, we shall say what is requisite in another place.

LXXI. Silvius, having been in possession of the kingdom twenty nine years, was succeeded by Aeneas, his son, who reigned one and thirty years. After him, Latinus reigned fifty one : Then, Alba's thirty nine : After Alba, Capetus reigned twenty six ; then Capys twenty eight : After Capys, Calpetus held the kingdom thirteen years : Then Tiberinus reigned eight years : The last, it is said, was slain in a battle, that was fought near the river ; and, being carried along with the stream, gave his name to the river, which was, before, called Albula. Agrippa, the successor of Tiberinus, reigned one and forty years : After Agrippa, Alladius, a

²²³ Ην εἶς καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γένος ἐκέρπητο. This relates to Julius Caesar, and his adopted son, Augustus, who, were both *pontifices maximi*, as it is well known ; the last being invested with that dignity upon the death of Lepidus, in the consulship of Tiberius, and Quintilius Varus, which, in the *Fasti consulares*, is the 74th year of Rome. This I mention, because Torrentius, and Casaubon, in their notes upon Suetonius, for what reason I cannot guess, say that Augustus was created pontifex maximus in the year 711. M. * * *

has taken occasion, from this paragraph of our author, to say that he was paid by Augustus for writing his history. I own I see no reason for that suspicion. The warmth Dionysius expresses for the cause of liberty, throughout his work, does not look as if he was paid by an usurper. If, in describing the battle of ^P Actium, either he, or any other author had transformed the feather, on the cask of Augustus, into a blazing star, they might well be said to have been paid by that prince.

^o Dio. B. liv. p. 619.

^p See Boileau's Ode on the taking of Namur.

tyran-

²²⁴ tyrannical prince, and odious to the gods, reigned nineteen. He, in contempt of them, had contrived machines to imitate both thunderbolts, and the noise of thunder, with which he proposed to terrify mankind, as if he had been a god: But a storm, fraught with rain, and thunder, falling upon his house, and the lake, near which it stood, swelling, in an unusual manner, he was drowned with his whole family. And, now, when one part of the lake is low upon the retreat of the water, and the bottom calm, the ruins of porticoes, and other traces of a habitation appear. Aventinus, from whom one of the seven hills, that make part of the city of Rome, received its name, succeeded, and reigned thirty seven years: After him, Procas, three and twenty: Then, Amulius, having, unjustly, possessed himself of the kingdom, which belonged to Numitor, his elder brother, reigned two and forty years. But Amulius being put to death by Romulus, and Remus, the sons of a Vestal, as we shall, presently, relate, Numitor, the grandfather of the youths by the mother's side, resumed the sovereignty, which, by the laws, belonged to him. ²²⁵ The next year,

²²⁴ Τυραννικόν τι χεῖμα. This is Attic elegance, which our author was, perfectly, master of. Aristophanes, and, indeed, all the Attic writers, often, use this kind of expression: One passage of the former, I shall quote, because the observation of the ⁹ Greek scholiast upon it, will explain this Atticism;

το χεῖμα τῶν νυκτῶν, ὅσον
ἀπεξάλει.

ἔλος δὲ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἐπαγωγὴ χεῖματος· εἰς ἵππος σπανιον τι χεῖμα.

²²⁵ Τῷ δ' ἔξης εἰς τῆς Νομίωτος ἀρχῆς, etc. Dionysius is, upon this occasion, censured by Dodwell, as inconsistent with himself. As M. * * * has translated the reasons, given by Dodwell in support of this censure, though without saying a word from whence he had them, I shall endeavour to answer Dodwell, without taking notice of his

ἐν φ. ὕ. 2.

which

which was in the reign of Numitor, and the four hundred and thirty second after the taking of Troy, the Albans,

translator; and doubt not to prove that the reasons, alledged by Dodwell, are inconsistent with his own chronology. In the first place, I must observe that it is a bold attempt in modern chronologers, who are unprovided with the necessary materials, to censure the approved authors of antiquity, who had all these materials before them. Were it possible for our modern chronologers to have recourse to Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Cato, Eratosthenes, and many other authors, so often quoted by Dionysius, I see no reason why they should not be allowed to form as true a judgement of chronology, as Dionysius: But, when they are deprived of every one of these helps, and he had them all; when no author ever pretended to accuse him of the want either of diligence in consulting them, or of capacity in making use of them, I must think it very unreasonable to give more credit to our modern chronologers, under all these difficulties, than to him, with all those advantages. I will, indeed, allow, that where chronology depends upon astronomy, the modern chronologers have the advantage over the ancient; because, astronomy, is now, very much improved. This gave occasion to our great¹ Sir Isaac Newton to correct the chronology of the Greeks, by correcting the astronomy of Hipparchus, who, first, discovered the precession of the equinoxes; or, to speak more intelligibly, that the equinoxes had a motion backwards in respect to the fixed

stars. This discovery was important to astronomy, but fatal to ancient chronology: For, Hipparchus thought that the equinoxes went backwards one degree in about an hundred years; which gave occasion to the Greeks to place the Argonautic expedition three hundred years earlier than they would have done, had they known, what Sir Isaac Newton knew, that the equinoxes went back a degree in seventy two years. The reader will see that this error affects every other great aera, since the Argonautic expedition. But this does not belong to my subject. I am only to reason from historical facts, and to shew that Dionysius, in fixing the aera of the foundation of Rome, is consistent with himself; and, that the reasons alledged by Dodwell are not consistent with his own chronology. In order to establish these two points, I do not think it necessary to consider whether the aera of Cato, or that of Varro, is the best founded; because it is impossible for us to know the reasons, that induced either Varro to place the foundation of Rome in the third year of the sixth Olympiad; or Cato to place it two years later; that is, in the first year of the seventh. Our author has thought fit to follow Cato, for which, I dare say, he had good reasons; since he says that he published a treatise upon this subject, which is, now, lost. Before I go on, I cannot help taking notice that² Sir Isaac Newton has said that *Varro placed the building of Rome on the first year of the seventh*

¹ Chron. p. 25, and 94.

² Chron. p. 129.

having

having sent out a colony under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, built Rome the first year of the seventh

olympiad. I am persuaded that he would have corrected this small mistake, if he had lived to publish his chronology. But, to return to That of our author: He says, then, that Rome was built after the death of Amulius, and in the reign of Numitor, in the 432^d year from the destruction of Troy, and the first of the seventh olympiad, in which Daicles of Messene won the prize of the stadium, and Charops entered upon the first year of his decennial archonship. The first thing, here, to be considered is the number of years contained between the destruction of Troy, and the building of Rome. Dionysius has, already, told us that Troy was taken on the twenty third of the Attic month Thargelion, that is, the twelfth of our June: Consequently, the 432 years will not be completed till the twenty third of Thargelion in the year, in which the building of Rome was begun. Now, the day of the month, in which this happened, is very well known; because the Romans celebrated a festival on that day, called *Palilia*, or *Parilia*, in memory of that great event; which festival was celebrated on the eleventh of the calends of May, that is, the twenty first of April. Another thing to be considered in our author's chronology, is, that, when he speaks of the years, each of the Alban kings reigned, he computes according to the old Roman method; that is, he begins the year with the first of March. For Romulus, who had a mind to be thought the son of Mars, began the year with that month:

And, that this was the old Roman way of counting, appears from their calling June, which was the fifth month from the first of March, *Quintilis*, and August, *Sextilis*, and the following months, according to their place from that day, *September*, *October*, *November*, *December*. These things being premised, let us see how the number of years, attributed by our author to Aeneas, and to each of the Alban kings, agrees with his computation. The Trojans, he says, built Lavinium just after the expiration of the two first years after the taking of Troy: The third year, Aeneas reigned over the Trojans only; the fourth, he succeeded Latinus; and, having reigned three years after the death of Latinus, he died the fourth year. This same year, Ascanius succeeded him, and died in the thirty eighth year of his reign. Sylvius succeeded him, the same year, and reigned twenty nine; Aeneas, his son, thirty one; Latinus, fifty one; Albas, thirty nine; Capetus, twenty six; Capys, twenty eight; Calpetus, thirteen; Tiberinus, eight; Agrippas, forty one; Allades, nineteen; Aventinus, thirty seven; Procas, twenty three; and Amulius forty two. The reader will find that all these numbers, added together, will make four hundred thirty two. This year was a very busy year: For, on the fifteenth of the calends of March, the fifteenth of February, on which day, the Lupercalia were celebrated, Remus was taken; and, about the beginning of March, on the first day of which the Roman, not the Attic

olympiad, in which Daicles of Messene won the prize of the stadium, and the first year of the decennial archonship of Charops at Athens.

year, began, Amulius was slain : After whose death, Numitor succeeded ; and, having, as our author says, employed *a short time* to settle his government, he, *presently*, thought of founding a new kingdom for his grandsons, and of enabling them to build a new city. This city they began to build, accordingly, on the eleventh of the calends of May, the twenty first of April following ; which, the reader sees, was several weeks before the twenty third of Thargelion, on which day, every year, from the taking of Troy, was accomplished. After all these particulars are explained, I believe, I need not employ many words to answer the objections of Dodwell. The first he makes to the chronology of our author, is that Creon being the first annual archon, who was created such at Athens in the first year of the twenty fourth olympiad, it cannot be that either Charops, or any other, should have been in the first year of his decennial archonship in the first year of the seventh olympiad. I own I have not comprehension enough to see that this is a necessary consequence. For, though it is, generally, supposed that the seven decennial archons (of whom Charops was the first) governed ten years apiece, yet it is well known that our account of the decennial, is not so complete as That of the annual, archons ; and it might very well happen that Dionysius had a more complete

account of the decennial archons before him, when he writ this : If these, by any accident, governed only sixty eight years, instead of seventy, it will be found that Charops entered upon the first year of his decennial archonship in the first year of the seventh olympiad. It is well known that Creon was created the first annual archon the first year of the twenty fourth olympiad ; and, if, from twenty three olympiads, we deduct six for those elapsed before the building of Rome, the remaining seventeen will make just sixty eight years. But, I think, I have a stronger objection against his chronology, than this, or any other he has urged against That of Dionysius. He says that Rome must have been built in the 433^d year after the taking of Troy ; for which he quotes Solinus, and the author of the *Progenies Augusti*, under the name of Messala Corvinus. These, he thinks, are authors fit to be opposed to the authority of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The first was a grammarian, and a wretched transcriber of other authors, particularly, of Pliny ; and † Scaliger, in his notes on Eusebius, calls him, with great reason, *scriptorem levissimum* : The other is a fictitious writer, as every body knows, and Dodwell himself owns. But, even this system of Dodwell will not agree with his own chronological tables : For, by placing the building of Rome in the first year of Numitor,

LXXII. But, there being great disputes concerning both the time of the building of the city, and the founders of it, I thought it incumbent on me, also, not to give a cursory account of these things, as if they were, universally, agreed on. For Cephalaon, the Gergithian, a very ancient writer, says the city was built, ²²⁶ the second generation after the Trojan war, by those, who escaped from Troy with Aeneas: That the founder of it was Remus, who was the leader of the colony: That he was one of Aeneas's sons; and that Aeneas had four sons, Ascanius, Euryleon, Romulus, and

or, in other words, by allowing nothing in his tables to the reign of Numitor, he has made the total of the reigns to amount to 432 years, as they, certainly, do. From whence, he concludes that the forty second year of Amulius was the 432^d from the taking of Troy: In this I agree with him: Then, says he, the first of Numitor was the 433^d from the taking of Troy: This I deny: And, I believe, the reader, from what I have said, will anticipate my reasons for denying it. Amulius was slain, and Numitor succeeded him in the spring of this year: For, we find, by our author, that Amulius was not slain, till some time after the fifteenth of February; and that he was slain time enough for Numitor to succeed him, to settle his government, and send out Romulus and Remus so early, that they began to build Rome on the twenty first of April of this year 432. Now, we have, already, seen, from our author, that Troy was taken on the twenty third of Thargelion; consequently, the 432^d year from the taking of Troy did not

end till the return of the twenty third of Thargelion, which fell out several weeks after the twenty first of April. It will, therefore, necessarily, follow that Rome was built the 432^d year after the taking of Troy, as our author says, and not the 433^d, as Dodwell would have it. The reader will excuse a repetition, which I find I have been guilty of in this note. The necessity I was under, first, to state facts, and, then, to apply them, obliged me to it; and I chose rather to be prolix, than obscure.

^{226.} Δεύτερα γενεα. I cannot conceive how Portus came to translate this *anno secundo*, instead of *the second generation*, as the words, plainly, signify. But, as obvious as this mistake is in Portus, le Jay, his faithful follower, has translated him, and said *la seconde année*. This is a convincing proof, if this proof were wanting, to satisfy every one that le Jay, instead of translating Dionysius, has translated Portus. Hudson cannot be excused for not correcting this mistake in his edition.

Remus. ²²⁷ Demagoras, also, Agathyllus, and many others, agree with him in relation both to the time, and the leader of the colony. But the ²²⁸ author of the history of the priestesses in Argos, and of what passed under each of them, says that Aeneas, coming into Italy from the Molossi, after Ulysses, was the founder of the city, to which he gave the name of one of the Trojan women, who was called Rome; and that she, tired with wandering, and the rest of the Trojan women, by her instigation, set fire to the ships. In this, ²²⁹ Damastes, the Sigeian, and some others agree with him. But, ²³⁰ Aristotle, the philosopher, writes that some of the

²²⁷ Δημαγόρας και Αγαθύλλω. "It is not known whether the first of these was a poet, or an historian. The other was an Arcadian poet; and our author, as we shall see, cites some verses of his. Concerning Cephalon, see the 152^d annotation.

²²⁸ Ο δε τας ιερειας τας εν Αργει, και τα καθ' ελασην παραχθεις συνισταται. The author of this history is not mentioned by Dionysius: It is possible that it may be Hellanicus, concerning whom see the 66th and 67th annotations.

²²⁹ Δαμάστας ο Σιγειος. "This historian is said by our author to have lived a little before the Peloponnesian war. He was of Sigeum, a promontory, and a town of Troas, now, called, *Jenizzari*. Suidas says he writ two books concerning the parents, and ancestors of those, who warred at Troy, and a catalogue of nations, and cities; as also, concerning poets, and philo-

sophers, with many other things; and that he was a disciple of Hellanicus.

²³⁰ Αριστοτελης. As this account, taken from Aristotle, is in some of his works, that are lost, it is not possible to know whether * Plutarch, who tells this story, without saying from whom he had it, and makes these people, who came from Troy, to have been Trojans; or whether our author, who says they were Greeks, had most reason for his assertion: Though, by the sequel of the story, they must have been Greeks; since the Trojan women, who set fire to the fleet, were their prisoners. The promontory, formerly, called *Malea*, now, *Capo Malio*, belongs to Laconia, and forms the south east point of the ancient Peloponnesus, now, the Morea. We read of many ships being lost in doubling the cape; this dangerous sea is taken notice of by † Virgil,

Maleaeque sequacibus undis.

† Voss. Hist. Graec. B. iii. p. 351. * Περὶ χηρεων. Θερων. † Γεναικ. αρε. ‡ Aeneid. B. v. †. 193.

Greeks,

Greeks, in their return from Troy, while they were doubling the cape of Malca, were overtaken with a violent storm; and, being, for some time, driven out of their course by the winds, wandered over many parts of the sea; till, at last, they came to this place, which belongs to Opica, called Latium, lying on the Tyrrhene sea: That, being pleased with the sight of land, they haled up their ships; staid there the winter season, and were preparing to sail in the beginning of the spring: But, their ships being set on fire in the night, and they, unable to sail away, necessity obliged them, against their will, to settle in the place, where they had landed: And, that this was brought upon them, by the captive women they were carrying with them from Troy; who burned the ships, lest, when the Greeks returned home, they should become slaves. ²³¹ Callias, who writ the actions of Agathocles, says that one of the Trojan women, who came into Italy with the rest of the Trojans, called Rome, married Latinus, king of the Aborigines, by whom, she had two sons, Remus, and Romulus, who, building a city, gave it the name of their mother. Xenagoras, the historian, writes that Ulysses, and Circe had three sons, Remus, Antias, and Ardeas, who, building three cities, called them after their own names. ²³² Dionysius, the Chalcidean, owns, indeed,

²³¹ Καλλίας, Ξεναγόρας. The age of the first is known, by his having been a pensioner, and flatterer of Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, as we learn from ² Suidas, who has transcribed Diodorus, in every thing relating to him. All we know of the

other, is, that he writ one treatise concerning chronology, and another concerning islands.

²³² Διονύσιος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς. We know no more of this historian, than that he writ five books of the origins of ^a cities.

² Vossius Hist. Gracc. B. iii. p. 422.

^a Id. ib. p. 358.

that

that Remus was the founder of the city; but, then, he says, that he was, according to some, the son of Ascanius, and, according to others, the son of Emathion. There are others, who affirm that Rome was built by Remus, the son of Italus, and of Electra, the daughter of Latinus.

LXXIII. I could quote many other Greek writers, who assign different founders of the city; but, not to appear prolix, I shall come to the Roman historians. The Romans have not so much as one ancient historian, or ²³³ orator; but each of their historians has taken something out of the ancient relations, that are preserved in the ²³⁴ holy records. Some of these say that Romulus, and Remus, the founders of Rome, were the sons of Aeneas: Others, that they were the sons of a daughter of Aeneas, without determining who was their father; and that they were delivered, as hostages,

²³³. Λογογράφος. M. ***, very justly, censures Gelenius, and Portus for translating this, *a writer of fables*. I do not understand why he has spared Sylburgius, since he has fallen into the same error, as well as le Jay. In opposition to them, he has said, *a writer* in general; though, by the very authorities he quotes, he ought to have rendered it either *an orator*, with Plutarch, or, *an historian*, with Thucydides. As our author has, already, mentioned *an historian*, I have chosen to translate Λογογράφος, in this place, *an orator*, in which I am supported, not only by the authority of Plutarch, but, also, by that of Hesychius; λογογράφος, ὁ δίκας γράφων.

²³⁴. Εν ἱεραις δελτοῖς. I look upon

these to have been what the Romans called *libros linteos*, which contained the treaties made by them with other nations; and, also, the names of their magistrates, and the times of their creation; because, I find that ^b Livy calls them *libros magistratum*, and *libros linteos*: *Licinius Macer auctor est, et in foedere Ardeatino, et in linteis libris ad Monetae inventa*. And, again, *quodque magistratum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae, Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores* ^c. The epithet ἱεραῖς, made use of by our author upon this occasion, inclined me to think that he might mean the *libri pontificales*; but these related, purely, to religion, and to public and private sacrifices.

^b B. iv. c. 7.

^c Ib. c. 20.

by Aeneas, to Latinus, king of the Aborigines, when the treaty was made between the inhabitants, and the foreigners: And that Latinus received them kindly, did them many good offices, and, dying without male children, left them his successors in some part of his kingdom. Others say that, after the death of Aeneas, Ascanius, having succeeded him in the entire sovereignty of the Latines, divided both the country, and the forces of the Latines, into three parts; two of which he gave to his brothers, Romulus, and Remus: That he himself built Alba, and some other towns; and that Remus built a city, which he called Capua, from Capys, his great grandfather; Anchise, from his grandfather Anchises; Aenea, which was, afterwards, called Janiculum, from his father; and Rome, from his own name: That this last city was, for some time, deserted by the inhabitants; but that, upon the arrival of another colony, which the Albans sent, under the conduct of Romulus, and Remus, it was restored to its former condition: So that, according to this account, there were two foundations of Rome; one, a little after the Trojan war; and the other, fifteen generations after the first. But, if any one desires to look into the earlier accounts, even, a third Rome will be found, more ancient than these, which was founded, before Aeneas, and the Trojans came into Italy. This is supported by the testimony of no vulgar, nor modern author; but by That of Antiochus, the Syracusan, whom I mentioned before: He says that, when Morges reigned in Italy (which,

(²³⁵ which, at that time, comprehended all the sea coast from Tarentum, to ²³⁶ Posidonia) a man came to him, who had been banished from Rome; his words are these: “After Italus was grown old, Morges reigned: In his reign, there came to him a man, who had been banished from Rome, and whose name was Sicelus.” According, therefore, to the Syracusan historian, some ancient city, called Rome, is found, even, earlier than the time of the Trojan war. But, as he has left it doubtful whether it was situated in the same place, where the city, now, stands, or whether some other place was called by the same name, so, neither can I form any conjecture relating to it. Concerning, therefore, the ancient foundations of Rome, I think, what has been said, to be sufficient.

LXXIV. As to the last reinhabiting, or building of the city; or, by what name soever we ought to call it, Timaeus,

²³⁵ Ην δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. Casaubon says, upon this passage, that ^d Strabo, upon the authority, also, of Antiochus, makes Italy much less extensive. I have looked into that place of Strabo, and find it to be so. Upon this, he asks whether the words of Antiochus may not be, less accurately, quoted by Dionysius, than Strabo? To this I answer that it is more probable they did not both quote the same passage, and that Antiochus might, in one place, speak of one description of Italy, that prevailed at one time, and, in the other, of another description, that prevailed at another time. Something like this he himself seems to insinuate. This, and many other notes,

both of Casaubon, and the other commentators M. *** has taken, without giving the least hint from whom he had them.

²³⁶ Ἀρχὴ Ποσειδωνίας. This was the Greek name of a town in Lucania, called by the Romans, Paestum, which lay in the Sinus Paestanus, now, called, *Golfo di Salerno*. It is very possible that Antiochus, whose words our author quotes, might mean the promontory *Posidonium*, or *Posidium*, that lies to the south of the town, and is, now, called, ‘*Capo di Licosa*, as a more remarkable boundary on the west, to answer the large city of Tarentum on the east.

^d B. vi. p. 391.

* Cluver, Ital. Antiq. p. 1258.

the Sicilian (by what ²³⁷ computation I know not) places it at the same time with the building of Carthage, that is, in the thirty eighth year before the first olympiad; Lucius Cincius, a Roman senator, about the fourth year of the twelfth olympiad; and Quinctus Fabius in the first year of the eighth olympiad. Cato Porcius follows no Greek account; but, being as careful, as any writer, in collecting ancient histories, he places the building of Rome four hundred and thirty two years after the taking of Troy: And this time, being compared with the chronological tables of ²³⁸ Eratosthenes, falls in with the first year of the seventh olympiad. I have shewn, in another treatise, that the canons of Eratosthenes are to be depended on, and, in what manner, the Roman chronology is to be reduced to That of the Greeks: For I did not think it sufficient, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say, only, that I believe Rome was built in the second year of the seventh olympiad; nor to leave the unexamined credit of this assertion upon a single inscription on a table, pre-

²³⁷ Οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κανὼνι χρῆσάμενος. Wonderfully translated by le Jay, *sans alleguer aucun auteur*. It is well known that κανὼν signifies *a workman's rule*; from whence, it was translated to chronology, where it signifies a computation of time to serve as *a rule* for history.

²³⁸ Εἰς ἅπαντα. He was a man of universal learning, notwithstanding the censure of ^f Strabo, who looked upon him as a rival, though he lived so long before him, and, by his bitterness, shews he thought him a formid-

able one. ^g He was a geographer, a chronologer, a grammarian, a philosopher, a poet, an astronomer, and an historian: Of all these he gave ample proofs in his writings, which are, often, quoted, with great approbation, by the best authors. He was a Cyrenaeon, and sent for from Athens by Ptolomy Euergetes, who made him his librarian. ^h He died under Ptolomy Epiphanes in the first year of the 146th olympiad aged eighty, as we find in Suidas; but ⁱ Lucian says he was eighty two when he died.

^f B. i. in various places.

^g Harpocration, Suidas.

^h Vossius de Hist. Graec. B. i. p. 108.

ⁱ In Μακρόβ.

served by the Anchifenses, and the only one of its kind ; but chose rather to expose the reasons I myself have produced, to be canvassed by any one, who thinks fit to examine them : In that treatise, therefore, an exact chronology is deduced ; but in this work, those things ²³⁹ only, that are most necessary, will be taken notice of. The matter stands thus : ²⁴⁰ The irruption of the Gauls, in which the city of Rome was taken, is agreed, almost, on all hands, to have happened, during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens,

²³⁹ Αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιοτάτα. I am surprised that none of the commentators have explained the force of the word αὐτὰ, in this place ; and, particularly, that Casaubon, who, certainly, understood both the beauty, and strength of the Greek language as well as any man since it has been revived, should be silent upon this occasion. Αὐτὰ, here, signifies *μόνα*, as may be proved from many passages out of the best writers ; but I shall content myself with one from ^k Aristophanes, whose language is full of Attic elegance ;

Οὐ γὰρ με καὶ νυν διαβάλλει Κλεων, ὅτι
Ξενὼν παρὼν τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.
Αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰμεν.

Upon which, the Greek scholiast says very well, οἷον ΜΟΝΟΙ Ἀθηναῖοι χωρὶς τῶν συμμαχῶν, καὶ ξενῶν. After this, I wonder the Latin translator of Aristophanes should say, *nam nos sumus*, instead of *nam soli sumus*.

²⁴⁰ Ἡ Κελίων ἐφόδος. Casaubon, in his annotation upon this passage (which M. * * * has, according to his custom,

translated without mentioning him) says that our author did not, without reason, mention this aera in comparing the chronology of the Romans, with That of the Greeks ; because Plutarch says that, soon after Rome was taken by the Gauls, the Greeks had some obscure knowledge of the Romans ; for which he quotes Heraclides Ponticus, and Aristotle. Upon looking into this passage of ¹ Plutarch, I was surprised to find that he says Heraclides Ponticus was not much later than the time, when Rome was taken by the Gauls, & πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀπολειπομένος ; when it is well known by other authors, as well as by Lactantius, who has written the life of this Heraclides, that he was a disciple of Aristotle, and, consequently, could not have lived near the time when Rome was taken ; since his master Aristotle, who must be presumed to have been, considerably, older than his disciple, died aged no more than ^m sixty three, in the third year of the 114th olympiad, that is sixty eight years after the aera we speak of.

^k Αἴατος. ψ. 501.

¹ Life of Camillus.

^m Diog. Laert. Life of Aristotle.

the first year of the ninety eighth olympiad : Now, if the time before the taking of the city, be brought back to Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls at Rome after the expulsion of the kings, it will comprehend one hundred and twenty years. This appears by many monuments ; but, particularly, by the ²⁴¹ records of the

²⁴¹ τῶν Τιμηλικῶν ὑπομνημάτων. These records of the censors were, no doubt, very good materials for supplying our author with the dates of the most considerable events in the Roman history, and as such he refers to them. The difficulty, therefore, does not consist in the want of the authenticity of these records, but in the possibility of their having been preserved, when the town was sacked by the Gauls. As I have, often, heard, men of learning argue against this possibility ; and, as the late lord ^a Bolingbroke, in one of his letters on the study of history, has thought fit to call those men, pedants, who would impose all the traditions of the four first ages of Rome for authentic history, and has made use of the authority of Livy to shew that the greatest part of all public and private monuments, was destroyed in the sack of Rome ; I shall, without fearing the imputation of pedantry, consider whether there is not a necessity of allowing that such an account of all the remarkable transactions precedent to the taking of Rome, was, by some means, or other, preserved at that time, as to furnish materials for an authentic history. This is all I contend for. I am sensible that the Romans had no historians, nor any writers but annalists till long after this period, and that the

Greek writers, who writ before, and several years after this period, do not shew, in any part of their works, that they were much acquainted either with the Romans, or their affairs. I have read his lordship's works with so much pleasure ; I have been so much charmed with the vivacity of his style, and instructed with the variety of his learning, that it would be a kind of ingratitude in me to say any thing in derogation of either. The point he has in view, in this letter, is, to shew that the old Roman authors were annalists, and not historians, which I allow ; and I, also, allow, that they did not write history in that fulness, in which it must be written to become a lesson of ethics, and politics ; but they might leave sufficient materials to enable others to do so. I am very glad that ^o Livy, in speaking of the public and private monuments, that perished at that time, says *pleraque interiere* : For, if he had said *omnia*, I am afraid it would have been of little service to me to have shewn the impossibility of it. If all, or so many of the public and private monuments perished at that time, as to leave no traces behind them, how came Livy to know the number of the kings, who reigned at Rome ; the remarkable incidents of each reign ; all the particulars relating to their expul-

^a Let. v.

^o B. vi. c. i.

cenfors, which the fon receives in fucceffion from the father, and takes great care to tranfmit to his pofterity, like family rites. And there are feveral illuftrious men of cenforian families, who preferve thefe records : In which, I find that the year before the taking of the city, there was a cenfus of the Roman people, to which, as to the reft of them, there is affixed the date, which is this ; “ In the ²⁴² confulship of

fion ; the creation of the tribunes of the people, and all the circumftances relative to that great event ; the appointment, and diffolution of the decemvirs ; the laws enacted by them before, and obferved after, the taking of Rome ; and every other tranfaction he relates in his firft five books ? It may be faid that he took all thefe facts from the hiftorians, who writ before him. But where had thefe old hiftorians thofe facts ? From none who writ before the taking of Rome ; becaufe there were none : So that, thefe old hiftorians muft either have had them from the monuments, and annals that were then preferved, or they muft have invented them : But this no man will fay ; therefore, I think, the other muft be granted.

^{242.} Ὑπαλειοντος Λευκισ Ουαλερις Ποτίς, και Τίς Μαλλισ Καπιτωλινς. ^p Livy fays nothing of this cenfus, though he mentions the death of Caius Julius, one of the cenfors : But the elegance, and pompous ftyle of that hiftorian deferves more to be admired, than his exactnefs. Thefe confuls, being ill of a peffilential diftemper, abdicated ; and fix confular tribunes were created the fame year. The following year, alfo, fix confular tribunes were choſen,

among whom were the three Fabii, who had been ſent ambaffadors to the Gauls ; and, contrary to the laws of nations, had charged in the army of the Clufini, when thefe engaged them. This was the fatal year, in which Rome was taken ; and thefe were the confular tribunes, under whoſe government that calamity befel the Romans. The cenfus, therefore, which our author fays was performed in the confulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, muft have been the year before the city was taken. I cannot end this note without taking notice of two things, that furprife me in the words quoted by our author out of thefe cenforian records ; the firft is, that one of the confuls of this year is called by Livy, and the *Fasti confulares*, Marcus, not Titus Manlius ; and the other, that he was not called Capitolinus, till the following year, after he had ſaved the capitol : And Livy, in ſpeaking of the confuls of this year, fays, *creati confules L. Valerius Potitus, M. Manlius, cui Capitolino poſtea fuit cognomen*. This deſerved to be taken notice of by the commentators : But they are, often, very liberal of their aſſiſtance, when it is not wanted, and forſake the reader, when it is.

“ Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, “ the hundred and nineteenth year after the expulsion of “ the kings.” So that, the irruption of the Gauls, which we find to have fallen out in the year, that followed the census, happened when the hundred and twenty years were accomplished. If, therefore, this interval of time is found to consist of thirty olympiads, it must be allowed that the first consuls entered upon their magistracy in the first year of the sixty eighth olympiad; the same year that Isagoras was archon at Athens.

LXXV. And if, from the expulsion of the kings, the time is brought back to Romulus, the first king of the city, that period will be found to comprehend two hundred and forty four years. This is known by the successions of the kings, and the number of years each of them reigned : For Romulus, the founder of Rome, is said to have reigned thirty seven years: And, after his death, the city was a year without a king: Then, Numa Pompilius, who was chosen by the people, reigned forty three years: After Numa, Tullus Hostilius, thirty two: And, his successor, Ancus Marcius, twenty four: After Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, called Priscus, thirty eight: Servius Tullius, who succeeded him, four and forty: And Lucius Tarquinius, a tyrannical prince, and, from his contempt of justice, called Superbus, having put Servius to death, extended his reign to the twenty fifth year. The reigns, therefore, of the kings completing the number of two hundred and forty four years, and of sixty one olympiads, it follows, necessarily, that Romulus, the first
king

king of the city, began his reign in the first year of the seventh olympiad, and the first year of the decennial archonship of Charops at Athens: For this the computation of the years requires: And, that each king reigned so many years, I have shewn in that treatise. This, therefore, is the account, given by those, who lived before me, and adopted by me, concerning the time of the building of this city, which, at present, is mistress of the world. As to the founders of it, who they were, by what turns of fortune they were induced to lead out the colony, and what other incidents are said to have attended the building of it, has been related by many, and, the greatest part of them, by some in a different manner; and I, also, shall mention the most probable of these relations: Thus it stands:

LXXVI. Amulius, having, by his power, excluded his elder brother Numitor from his paternal dignity; and, thereby, possessed himself of the kingdom of Alba, among many things, done by him, absolutely, in contempt of justice, he, at last, attempted to deprive Numitor's family of ²⁴³ issue,

²⁴³ Ερημον γενεας τον οικον τον Νομιτωρος επεβλενσε ποιησαι. I am obliged to depart from all the translators in rendering this passage: Both the Latin, and, after them, the French translators, have said, that Amulius resolved to destroy Numitor's whole family: Which sense is not to be supported, either by the Greek text, or the relation of this transaction: For the Greek words do not signify *to destroy Numitor's family*, but *to deprive it of issue*. Had Numitor designed the first, what

could have hindered him from destroying his niece, as he had destroyed his nephew? But, instead of that, he, only, sought to deprive her of all hope of issue by making her a vestal, lest she might, one day, bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family, μη τεκη τιμωρον τω γενει, as our author will say presently. The most specious pretence Amulius could make use of to avert this danger, was to make his niece a vestal under the notion of doing her honor, which is agreeable to

in

in order to secure himself not only from the punishment, that was due to his usurpation, but, also, from being, at any time, dispossessed of the sovereignty. Having, long, resolved upon this, he, first, observed the place, where Aegeus, the son of Numitor, who was just arrived to manhood, used to hunt; and, having placed an ambush in the most hidden part of it, he caused him to be assassinated, while he was hunting; and, after the fact was committed, contrived to have it reported that the youth had been slain by robbers. However, the rumor, thus propagated, could not prevail over the truth, that was concealed: But many, not without danger, ventured to publish the fact. Numitor was informed of the assassination; but, his reason being superior to his concern, he affected ignorance, resolving to defer his resentment to a less dangerous opportunity: And Amulius, presuming the murder of the youth was, still, a secret, made use of another practice: He constituted Ilia, the daughter of Numitor, or, as some write, Rhea, surnamed Ilia, who was, then, marriageable, a priestess of Vesta, lest, if she were married, before he had so disposed of her, she might bring forth an avenger of the wrongs done to her family. These virgins, who are intrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire, and with the performance of those rites, that are appointed to be administered by virgins for the prosperity of the com-

the account given of this transaction by Livy: *Pulso fratre, Amulius regnat: Adulit sceleri scelus: Stirpem fratris viliem interimit: Fratris filiae Rheae*

Silviae, per speciem honoris, quum vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.

5 B. i. c. 3.

monwealth,

monwealth, were obliged to remain, not less than ²⁴⁴ five years, unmarried. Amulius did this, under specious pretences, as if his intention was, to confer honor, and dignity, on his brother's family; since he was neither the author of this law, which was common to all, nor his brother the first person of consideration, whom he had obliged to yield obedience to it: It being both customary and honourable, among the Albans, for maidens of the best quality to be chosen priestesses of Vesta. Numitor, finding these practices of his brother proceeded from no good intention, dissembled his resentment, lest he should incur the ill will of the people; and, also, stifled his complaints, upon this occasion.

LXXVII. The fourth year after this, Ilia, going to a grove, consecrated to Mars, to fetch pure water for the use of the sacrifices, some body ravished her. It is said by some, that the fact was committed by one of her lovers to gratify his passion; others make Amulius himself the author of it, who, designing to ruin her, rather than to satisfy his desire, had secured himself with such armour, as might render him the most terrible to the fight, and, at the same time, disguise him in the most effectual manner: But the greatest part give this fabulous account of it; that it was a spectre, representing the god, to whom the place was consecrated; they add, also, that this adventure was attended, among

²⁴⁴ Πενταετής δὲ ἔκ ἐλατῶ χρόνον. Numa made many alterations in the rules of the vestals, as our author will tell us in the next book. So that, the Greek text must not be altered to make

these institutions agree with those, as Glarcanus, and Portus would correct it, whom M. * * * has followed in his translation.

other

other heavenly signs, with an eclipse of the sun; and a darkness spread over the Heavens: That the spectre far excelled the appearance of a man, both in stature, and in beauty; and that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (from whence they conclude he was a god) commanded her not to be, at all, concerned at what had happened, since she had been united, by marriage, to the genius of the place; and that, by this violence, she should bring forth two sons, who should far excel all men in virtue, and military accomplishments: And, having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud, and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air. This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of these things, whether we should despise them, as human frailties, attributed to the gods; since God is incapable of any function, that is unworthy of an incorruptible, and happy nature; or whether we should admit, even, these relations, upon a supposition that all the beings of the universe are of a mixed nature; and that, between the divine and human, some third being exists, which is That of the genii, who, sometimes, mingling with the human, and, sometimes, with the divine nature, beget, as it is said, the fabled race of heroes. This, I say, is not a proper place to consider these things, and what the philosophers have said concerning them is sufficient.

ἄρχει τε ὅσα φιλοσοφοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν
εἰρηχθῇ. By these philosophers, our au-
thor, most certainly, means the fol-
lowers of Plato, who had, often, heard
his master Socrates discourse of these

demons, one of whom he was weak
enough to say, at his trial, often, dis-
suaded him from doing any thing, that
might be prejudicial to him. If so,
that demon was very forgetful in not

Plato's Apol. of Socrates.

Ilia, after this violence, pretending sickness (for this her mother advised with regard both to her own safety, and to the worship of the gods) assisted, no longer, at the sacrifices; but her duty was performed by the other virgins, who were joined with her in the same ministry.

LXXVIII. But Amulius, induced either by the knowledge of what had happened, or by a probable suspicion, inquired what might be the real cause of this long absence from the sacrifices. To satisfy himself, he sent some physicians to her, whom he, chiefly, confided in; and, because the women pretended her indisposition must be kept secret from men, he left his wife to observe her. She, having, by womens conjectures, discovered what was a secret to others, informed her husband of it; who, lest she should be delivered in private (for she was, now, near her time) appointed her to be guarded by armed men: And, summoning his brother to the senate, he, not only, informed them of the deflowering of his niece, with which, the rest of the world were unacquainted, but accused her parents of being

dissuading him from making that acknowledgment. This notion Plato improved; and, with more poetry, than philosophy, made them the necessary instruments of the supreme BEING, in the creation of the universe; for fear, it seems, that, if GOD had created every thing in it HIMSELF, his creatures might have been immortal, like HIMSELF. How much more philosophical is that all-creating word in Moses, and the swift obedience, that

followed it, ^s Γενεσθω, και εγγενετο? But, to consider Plato, in the only light he ought to be considered in, upon this occasion, there can be nothing more poetical, than his description of Jupiter riding through the heavens in his winged chariot at the head of the gods, and demons: His words are these; ^t Ο μιν δη μεγας ἡγεμων εν κρατι Ζευς, πῆκτον ἄρμα ελαυτων, πρωτος παρενελαι διακοσμων παλλα, και επιμελημενος τῷ δ' ἐπέαι στρατα θεων τε και δαιμονων.

^s Genesis i. x. 3.

^t In Φαίδ.

her accomplices, and ordered him to conceal nothing, but to bring all to light. Numitor said he was surprised at what he heard; and, protesting his innocence of every thing that was alledged, desired time to inquire into the truth of it. Having obtained, with difficulty, this delay, and, being informed, by his wife, of the whole, in the manner his daughter had, at first, related it, he acquainted the senate with the violence committed by the god, and also, with what he had said concerning the twins, and desired the credit of what he had advanced might depend upon the event, by which it would appear whether the fruit of her delivery was such, as the god had foretold: For the time of her ²⁴⁶ delivery being near at hand, the fraud, if any, would, soon, appear. To support what he said, he ²⁴⁷ offered that

²⁴⁶. Και γὰρ τὴν κορὴν ὅμῃ τι εἶναι τῷ τιγλῆν. This, and the next sentence are omitted in the Vatican manuscript, I suppose, by the fault of the transcriber. Both Sylburgius, and Casaubon have attempted to change the structure of this phrase. I believe the reader will think it runs very well in the manner I have altered it from the editions; particularly, since I have only changed the order of the words, which, as they, before, stood, were unharmonious. ὅμῃ is very Attic Greek for εἴγυς, as will be seen both from the following passage of Aristophanes, and from the Greek scholiast's observation upon it;

Ὁ κοινοῦ δὲ δήλος αὐτῶν, ὁμοῦ προσκειμένων.
Upon which the scholiast says, τὸ ὅμῃ λεγασιν Ἀττικοὶ ἀντὶ τῆς εἴγυς.

^v Ἰππ. ψ. 245.

²⁴⁷. Παρεδίδῃ. The Latin translators have rendered this word, very properly, *ad quaestionem offerebat*. As δῆλον παραδιδόναι is the Greek term *to deliver up a slave to be questioned by torments*; so δῆλον ἐξαίλειν is the term *to demand a slave* for that purpose. There is an example of both in this sentence of "Demosthenes; Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐξελεῖν ζήλων, ΕΞΗΤΗΣΕΝ αὐτὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γραφοντὰς μαρτυρίας, ἐν ᾧ, ἐπὶ ΠΑΡΕΔΙΔΟΤΗΝ, μηδὲν δίκαιον λεγέειν εἶδεν. Le Jay did not like the word, and, for that reason, he has left it out. The other French translator has given something like the sense of it: Thus he has said; *et qu'on procédât à l'examen de cette affaire par toutes les voies qu'on jugeroit à propos*.

^w Πρὸς Ἀφῶτον.

A a 2

the

the women, who attended his daughter, might be examined upon the rack; and submitted to every method, that might lead to the discovery of the truth. This was approved of by the senate: But Amulius insisted that his pretensions were, highly, unreasonable, and endeavoured, by all means, to destroy his niece. While these things were in agitation, those, who had been appointed to keep guard at the delivery, appeared, and gave an account that Ilia was brought to bed of two male children. Numitor, then, pressed, vehemently, what he had, before, alledged, shewing the whole to be the work of the god; and begged that no violent sentence might pass against his daughter, who was innocent. On the other side, Amulius pretended that, even, in the delivery, there was some human contrivance, and that the women had provided another child, either unknown to the guards, or with their assistance: And a great deal was said to this purpose. When the senators found the king was inexorable, they, also, determined, in the manner he desired, that the law should be put in execution, which provides that a vestal, who suffers herself to be defiled, shall be whipped with rods, and put to death, and her offspring thrown into the river.²⁴⁸ Now, the pontifical law ordains that she shall be buried alive.

LXXIX. Hitherto, the greatest part of the historians agree, or differ, very little, from one another; some coming nearer to fables, and others to probability: But they differ in what follows. Some say that Ilia was put to death imme-

²⁴⁸. Νυν μὲντοι, etc. See the 244th annotation.

diately;

diately; others, that she remained in a ²⁴⁹ secret prison under a guard; which made the people believe she was put to death privately: The same authors say, that Amulius condescended to this, at the earnest desire of his daughter, who begged the life of her cousin: For, being brought up together, and of the same age, they loved each other, like sisters: And that Amulius, in favor to her, as she was his only daughter, saved Ilia from death, but kept her confined in a secret prison; and, that she was, at length, set at liberty, after the death of Amulius. Thus, do the ancient authors vary concerning Ilia: However, both opinions carry with them an appearance of truth; for which reason, I have, also, made mention of them both. The reader himself will know which to believe. But, concerning her children, Quinctus Fabius, called Pictor, whom Lucius Cincius, Cato Porcius, Calpurnius Piso, and the greatest part of the other historians have followed, writes thus; “ That, by the order
“ of Amulius, some of the king’s officers took the children,
“ in a ²⁵⁰ cradle, and carried them to the river, distant from

²⁴⁹ Εν εἰρηλῇ ἀδηλω. Portus, and le Jay have rendered this *an obscure prison*, which is equivocal: For it was not the obscurity, that is, the darkness, of the prison, which made the people believe she was put to death; but the secrecy of it. Sylburgius, and the other French translator, have rendered it very well.

²⁵⁰ Σκαφῇ. * Livy, in speaking of this adventure, calls this, *alveus*; *quum fluitantem alveum, quo expositi erant pueri, tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset*;

* B. i. c. 4.

and both the Latin translators have, very judiciously, followed him. When I call it *a cradle*, I do not mean a wicker, but a wooden cradle, which are, still, very common abroad: Otherwise, I should have fallen into the same error with le Jay, who calls it *un panier, a basket*, which is not very well calculated *to float, fluitare*, in Livy, and *νηχεῖα* in our author. The other French translator, has, also, called it *un berceau*.

“ the

“ the city about a hundred and twenty stadia, with a design
“ to throw them into it. When they drew near, and per-
“ ceived that the Tiber, swelled by continual rains, had
“ exceeded its natural bed, and overflowed the plains, they
“ came down from the top of the Pallantine hill, to that part
“ of the water, that lay nearest (for they could advance no
“ further) and set down the cradle upon the flood, where it
“ washed the foot of the hill : The cradle floated for some
“ time ; then, as the waters retired by degrees from the
“ utmost verge, striking against a stone, it overturned, and
“ threw out the children, who lay crying, and wallowing
“ in the mud. Upon this, a she-wolf, that had just whelped,
“ appeared ; and, her teats being distended with milk, gave
“ them her paps to suck, and, with her tongue, licked
“ off the mud, with which they were besmeared. In
“ the mean time, some shepherds happened to be driving
“ their flocks to pasture (for the place was now become
“ passable) and one of them, seeing the wolf, thus, cherish-
“ ing the children, was, for some time, struck dumb with
“ astonishment, and disbelief of what he saw : Then,
“ going away, and getting together as many as he could of
“ the shepherds, who kept their flocks near at hand (for
“ they would not believe what he said) he carried them to
“ see the sight themselves : When these, also, drew near,
“ and saw the wolf cherishing the children, as if they had
“ been her young ones, and the children hanging on her,
“ as on their mother, they imagined they saw something
“ divine, and advanced together, hallooing, to terrify the
“ creature :

“ creature: The wolf, not much frightened at the approach
 “ of the men, but, as if she had been tame, withdrew, gently,
 “ from the children, and went away, greatly, despising the
 “ rabble of shepherds. For there was, not far off, a holy
 “ place, covered with a thick wood, and a hollow rock,
 “ from whence springs issued: This wood was said to be
 “ consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar, dedicated to
 “ that god: When she came to this place, she hid herself.
 “ This grove is, no longer, extant; but the cave, from whence
 “ the fountain flows, is contiguous to the Palatine buildings,
 “ and to be seen in the way, that leads to the Circus;
 “ and near it, stands a temple, in which a statue is placed,
 “ representing this incident: It is a ²⁵¹ wolf suckling two

²⁵¹ Λυκαίνα, etc. This groupe, representing the wolf giving suck to Romulus and Remus is, certainly, not the same with That, said, by ¹ Cicero, to have been struck with lightning in the consulship of Cotta, and Torquatus, who were consuls two years before him, that is, in the year of Rome 689; because, he says, That stood in the capitol, and the other, we find, by our author, was placed in the temple, which stood near the cave, that was joined to the buildings of the Palatine hill. This temple was the temple of Romulus, erected near the *Ficus Ruminalis*, so called, as ² Pliny says, *quoniam sub eâ inventa est lupa infantibus praebens rumen, ita vocabant mammam, miraculo ex aere juxta dicato*. This groupe of figures was placed here in the consulship of Quinctus Fabius Rullus, and Publius Decius Mus, in the 446th year of Rome, as we find by ³ Livy,

ad ficum ruminalem simulacra infantum conditum urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt; he means Cneius and Quintus Ogulnius, who were, then, *curule aediles*. The statue, mentioned by Cicero, is, still, to be seen in the capitol, with one of the hinder legs hurt with lightning; and was designed to have been here represented: This wolf is very unlike the common wolves, and seems to be the kind of wolf they call in France, *un loup cîrvier*, Λυκοπάρης: It is a fierce animal, and does a vast deal of mischief. As there were, no doubt, many statues representing this very extraordinary event, it cannot be known which ⁴ Virgil refers to in this fine description of it:

*geminis huic ubera circum
 Ludere pendentis pueros, et lambere matrem
 Impavidos: illam tereti ceruice reflexam
 Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua.*

¹ Cat. iii. c. 8.

² B. xv. c. 18.

³ B. x. c. 23.

⁴ Aeneid. B. viii. v. 613.

“ children;

“ children ; they are in brass, and of ancient workmanship :
“ This place is said to have been consecrated by the Ar-
“ cadians, who, with Evander, formerly, built their habi-
“ tations there. As soon as the wolf was gone, the shep-
“ herds took up the children ; and, as the gods seemed to
“ interest themselves in their preservation, were very desirous
“ to bring them up. There was, among them, an overseer
“ of the king’s swineherds, whose name was Faustus, a
“ man of humanity, who had been in town, upon some
“ necessary business, at the time, when the deflowering of
“ Ilia, and her delivery were made public : And, after that,
“ when the children were carrying to the river, he, going
“ to Pallantium, by divine appointment, went the same road
“ with those, who were carrying them : This man, without
“ giving the least notice to the rest that he knew any thing
“ of the affair, desired the children might be delivered to him ;
“ and, having received them by general consent, he carried
“ them home to his wife : Where, finding her just brought
“ to bed, and grieving that the child was dead, he com-
“ forted her, and gave her these children to substitute in its
“ room, informing her, from the beginning, of all the cir-
“ cumstances relating to them. And, as they grew up, he
“ gave to one, the name of Romulus, and to the other, That
“ of Remus. When they came to be men, they shewed
“ themselves, both in dignity of aspect, and elevation of
“ mind, not like swineherds, and neatherds, but such, as we
“ might suppose those to be, who are born of royal race, and
“ looked upon as the offspring of the gods ; and as such
“ they

“ they are, still, celebrated, by the Romans, in the hymns
 “ of their country. But their life was That of herdsmen ;
 “ they lived by their own labor, and, generally, on the
 “ mountains in cottages ²⁵² of one story, which they built
 “ with wood, and reeds : Of which, ²⁵³ one, called the cot-
 “ tage of Romulus, remains, even, to this day, in the corner,
 “ as you turn from the Palatine hill to the Circus ; which
 “ is preserved holy by those, to whom the care of these
 “ things is committed, who add to it no ornaments to render
 “ it more august : But, if any part of it is injured either by
 “ storms, or time, they repair that injury, and observe to
 “ restore it, as near as possible, to its former condition.
 “ When Romulus, and Remus, were about eighteen years
 “ of age, they had some dispute, about the pasture, with
 “ Numitor’s herdsmen, whose oxen were stationed on the
 “ Aventine hill, which is opposite to the Palatine hill. They,
 “ frequently, accused one another, either of feeding those
 “ pastures, that did not belong to them, or of appropriating
 “ to themselves Those, that were common, or of any thing

²⁵² *Αὐτοδοξες*. The Latin transla-
 tors have rendered this very well, *sine*
ullâ contignatione. Both the French
 translators have left it out.

²⁵³ *Ὡς ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ νῦν τις*. This is
 not the *casa Romuli*, that stood in the
 capitol, to which ^c Virgil alludes in
 the following verses.

In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
Stabat pro templo, et capitolia celsa tenebat,
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.

The last was the *curia calabria*, as Ser-
 vius says upon this verse, *ad quam ca-*
labatur, that is, *vocabatur senatus*. The
 other stood in another part of the city,
 as we find by Dionysius. It is very
 possible that the veneration the Ro-
 mans had for their founder, might
 have engaged them to erect, in the
 capitol, a cottage resembling the for-
 mer. This in the capitol was burned
 in the time of Caesar, afterwards ^d Au-
 gustus, and in the 716th year of Rome.

^c Aeneid. B. viii. *l.* 652.

^d Dio, B. xlviii. p. 437.

“ else, that offered itself. From this altercation, they had re-
 “ course, sometimes, to blows, and, then, to arms. Numitor’s
 “ men, having received many wounds from the youths, and
 “ lost some of their people, and being, now, driven, by force,
 “ from the places in contest, they formed a strategem against
 “ them : And, having placed an ambuscade in the hidden
 “ part of the valley, and concerted the time of the attack with
 “ those, who lay in wait for the youths, the rest, in a body,
 “ assaulted their folds. It happened that Romulus, at that
 “ time, was gone to a place, called Caenina, together with
 “ the chief men of the village, to offer sacrifices for the
 “ public, according to the custom of the country : But
 “ Remus, being informed of their coming, armed himself
 “ in all haste, and, with a few of the villagers, who had,
 “ first, got together, went out to oppose them : But they,
 “ instead of receiving him, retired, in ²⁵⁴ order to draw him
 “ to the place, where, by facing about, they might attack
 “ him with advantage : Remus, being unacquainted with
 “ the strategem, pursued them a great way, till he passed

²⁵⁴ Υπαγομενοι. This, Casaubon
 says, very justly, signifies *bestemallicere*.
 I mention this in justice to him, as I
 have, always, mentioned every author,
 whose assistance I have made use of.
 To his authority I shall add some ob-
 servations of my own. There is a
 passage in a treatise of Xenophon, in-
 titled Ιππαρχικος, which, it is supposed,
 he writ for the instruction of his son
 Gryllus, that seems calculated to ex-
 plain this of our author : Ετι δε τω μεν
 κρυπτας εχοντι φυλακας εξεσαι μεν φανεροις
 ολιγοις εμπροθεν των κρυπτων φυλακισιν

παρκαθαι της πολεμικης εις ειδρας ΥΠΑ-
 ΓΕΙΝ. It is remarkable that υπο, when
 placed before verbs, substantives and
 adjectives, generally, implies *deceit*.
 I cannot put an end to this note,
 without taking notice, that le Jay is
 the only translator, who has expressed
 the sense of this word : He has said
pour l'attirer dans l'ambuscade. I wish
 that, instead of leaving out υποσεψαντες,
 he had rendered it by an expression,
 which his language would have fur-
 nished him with, I mean, *en faisant*
volte-face.

“ the

“ the place, where the rest lay in ambush, who, upon that,
 “ rose up, and, at the same time, the others, who had fled,
 “ faced about; and, having surrounded them, they over-
 “ whelmed them with stones, and took them prisoners:
 “ For they had received orders from their masters, to bring
 “ the youths to them alive. Thus, Remus was taken, and
 “ carried away.”

LXXX. But Aelius Tubero, a man of great sagacity, and very careful in collecting historical transactions, writes, that Numitor's people, knowing, beforehand, that the youths were to perform an Arcadian sacrifice to the god Pan, pursuant to the institution of Evander, called ²⁵⁵ *Luper-*

²⁵⁵ Λυκαία. M. * * * quotes Plutarch, in his life of Romulus, to prove that this festival, called by the Romans *Lupercalia*, received its name from the she-wolf, that suckled Romulus, and Remus. I have that passage in Plutarch, now, before me; and all, he says to favor this opinion, is, that it is possible this festival may have received its name from the she-wolf; because the *Luperci* begin their course from the place, where it was said that Romulus had been exposed. But he says, in the same place, that the name of this festival was Greek; and, for that reason, the festival seemed to be very ancient, and derived from the Arcadians, who came into Italy with Evander. And, indeed, there is no room to doubt of its being derived from them: For we find, by this passage of our author, that this was a customary festival celebrated by the inhabitants of Pallan-

tium, long before Romulus and Remus were born. This is confirmed by ^e Livy, whose authority, joined to That of our author, will be sufficient, I should think, to stop the currency of this mistake; he is speaking of the same transaction: *Jam tum in Palatino monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt; et a Pallanteo urbe Arcadica Pallantium, deinde Palatinum montem appellatum: ibi Evandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus ea tenuerat loca, solenne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse, ut nudi juvenes, Lyceum Pana venerantes, per lulum atque lasciviam currerent.* ^f This Lycaean Pan, in whose honor this festival was celebrated, was called so from the Lycaean mountain in Arcadia, which gave name to this festival, called by the Greeks, Λυκαία, which word cannot, with any propriety, be derived from λυκαίνα, a she-wolf.

^e B. i. c. 5.

^f Pausanias in Arcad. c. 38.

calia, took the opportunity of this sacrifice to lay in wait for them at the time, when the youth of Pallantium, were, after sacrifice, to proceed from the Lupercal, and run round the village naked, wearing about their middle, a covering made of the skins of the victims, newly, sacrificed. This ceremony implies a certain customary purification of the inhabitants, which is performed, even, to this day, in the same manner. Those, therefore, who had a design upon the youths, took this time to place themselves in ambush in a narrow way, in order to seize them: While these were employed in the sacrifice, and, when the first band with Remus drew near, That with Romulus, and the rest, being behind, (for they were divided into three bands, and ran at a distance from one another) without staying for the others, they set up a shout, and all fell upon the first; and, surrounding them, some threw darts at them, others, stones, and others, whatever they had in their hands: These, surprised at this unexpected attack, and at a loss how to behave themselves, unarmed against armed men, were, easily, taken. Remus, being in the power of the enemy, was carried to Alba in the condition, he was in, when taken; or, as Fabius relates, in chains. When Romulus heard of his brother's misfortune, he resolved to follow, immediately, with the stoutest of the herdsmen, in hope to overtake Remus upon the road. But Faustus, seeing the folly of the undertaking, dissuaded him from it: For, being looked upon as the father of the youths, he had, hitherto, kept every thing a secret from

from them, lest they should venture upon some hazzardous enterprize, before they were in their prime. But, now, being compelled by necessity, he took Romulus aside, and acquainted him with the whole. When the youth heard, from the beginning, every circumstance of their fortune, he was penetrated both with compassion for his mother, and solicitude for Numitor; and, having long consulted with Faustus, he determined to desist from the present undertaking, and, with greater preparation of strength, to free his whole family from the oppression of Amulius; resolving to ingage in the greatest dangers for the sake of the greatest rewards, but to act in concert with his grandfather, and to do, whatever he should direct.

LXXXI. These measures being looked upon as the most adviseable, Romulus called together all the inhabitants of the village, and desired them to go, immediately, to Alba, but not all at the same gates, nor in a body, to prevent any suspicion in the citizens; and, having appointed them to stay in the market-place, and be ready to do whatever they should be ordered, he went, first, into the city. In the mean time, those, who had the charge of Remus, brought him before the king, and informed him of all the abuses they had received from the youths, producing their ²⁵⁶ wounded, and threatening, if they found no redress, to leave their herds. Amulius, desiring to please both the country people, who were come to him

²⁵⁶ Τραυματίας. I do not understand why the Latin translators have rendered this word *vulnera*, as if our author had written τραυμαλία. However, both the French translators have thought fit to follow them.

in great numbers, and Numitor (for he happened to be present, and looked upon himself as injured in his clients) and longing to see peace restored to the country, and, at the same time, suspecting the boldness of the youth, and the intrepidity, that appeared in his discourse. he gave judgement against him: But left his punishment to Numitor, saying, “ that he, who had done the injury, could be
“ punished by none so justly, as by him, who had received
“ it.” While Numitor’s herdsmen were carrying away Remus, with his hands bound behind him, and insulting him, Numitor followed; and, not only admired the gracefulness, and majesty of his person, but, also, observed the greatness of his mind, which he preserved, even, in distress, not suing for mercy (which all do under such afflictions) but, with a becoming silence, meeting his fate. As soon as they were arrived at his house, he ordered all the rest to withdraw; and Remus, being left alone, he asked him, who he was, and of what parents; as not believing such a man could be, meanly, born. Remus answered, that he only knew, by the account he had received from the person, who brought him up, that he, with his twin-brother, had been exposed in a wood, as soon as they were born; and that, being taken from thence by the herdsmen, he was brought up by them.” Upon which, Numitor, after a short pause, either suspecting something of the truth, or Heaven designing to bring the matter to light, said to him; “ I need not inform you, Remus, that
“ it depends upon me to punish you in such a manner, as I
“ think

“ think fit; and, that those, who have brought you hither,
 “ having received many dreadful injuries from you, are,
 “ extremely, desirous you should be put to death : All this
 “ you know : But, if I should free you from death, and
 “ every other punishment, would you acknowledge the
 “ obligation, and serve me, when I desire your assistance, in
 “ an affair, that will conduce to the advantage of us both ?”

The youth having, in answer to him, said every thing which the hopes of life prompt those, who are in despair of it, to say, and promise to the person, on whom their fate depends, he ordered his chains to be taken off; and, commanding every body to leave the place, he acquainted him with his own misfortunes; that, Amulius, though his brother, had deprived him both of his kingdom, and his children; that he had assassinated his son, while he was hunting, and kept his daughter chained in prison, and, in all other respects, treated him as a master treats his slave.

LXXXII. Having said this, and accompanied his discourse with great lamentations, he intreated Remus to revenge the injuries done to his family. The youth, cheerfully, embracing the overture, and desiring his command to begin the action immediately, Numitor, after he had commended his alacrity, said; “ I will take upon
 “ me to find a proper time for the enterprize; in the mean
 “ while, do you send, privately, to your brother, and ac-
 “ quaint him that your life is safe, and that you desire him
 “ to come hither in all haste.” Upon this, a proper person
 was

was sent; who, meeting Romulus not far from the city, delivered his message; with which the other, being, exceedingly, rejoiced, made haste to Numitor; and, having imbraced them both, he gave them an account in what manner they had been exposed, and brought up, and of all the other circumstances he had learned from Faustus: They, who desired this relation might be true, and wanted not many arguments to induce them to believe it, heard what he said with pleasure; and, as soon as they knew one another, they consulted together, and considered what means, and what time might be the most proper for the execution of their design. While they were, thus, employed, Faustus was carried before Amulius: For, being apprehensive, lest the information of Romulus might not be credited by Numitor, in an affair of so great moment without manifest proof, he, soon after, followed him to town, taking the cradle with him as a token of the exposition of the children. While he entered the gates in great disorder, taking all possible pains to hide what he carried, one of the guards observed him (for an incursion of the enemy was apprehended, and the guard of the gates committed to those, who were in the greatest trust with the king) and laid hold of him; and, insisting upon knowing what it was he concealed, by force, threw back his garment: As soon as he saw the cradle, and found the man in confusion, he desired to know the cause of his disorder, and what he meant by carrying, privately, an utensil, that required no such secrecy. In
the

the mean time, more of the guards flocked to them, and one of them knew the cradle, having himself carried the children in it to the river ; of which he informed those, who were present. Upon this, they seized Faustus ; and, carrying him to the king himself, acquainted him with all that had passed. Amulius, threatening the man to put him to the torture, if he did not, willingly, tell the truth, first, asked him, if the children were alive ; and, finding they were, he desired to know in what manner they had been preserved. After the other had given him a full account of every thing, as it happened, “ Well, says the king, since you have, hitherto, ²⁵⁷ spoken the truth, say, where, they may, now, be found : For it is not just that they, who are my relations, should, any longer, live, ingloriously, among herdsmen ; particularly, since the gods themselves have taken care of their preservation.”

LXXXIII. But Faustus, suspecting, from this unaccountable kindness, that his designs were not agreeable to his professions, answered him in this manner : “ The youths are upon the mountains, tending their herds, according to their way of life ; and I was sent, by them, to their mother, to give her an account of their situation ; when, hearing that she was in your custody, I proposed to desire your daughter to bring me to her : And I brought the cradle with me, that I might support my words with a

²⁵⁷. Αληθευσας εχεις. This is Attic elegance for ηληθευσας. The learned reader, who is acquainted with the best

Greek authors, will, easily, recollect many examples of this Atticism.

“ manifest proof. Since, therefore, you have determined to
 “ have the youths conveyed hither, I not only rejoice at it, but
 “ desire you to send such persons with me, as you think proper:
 “ I will shew them the youths, and they shall acquaint them
 “ with your commands.” This he said in order to delay their
 death, hoping, at the same time, to make his escape from
 those, ²⁵³ who were to bring the youths to the king, as soon
 as he arrived on the mountains. Amulius sent, immediately,
 some of his guards, in whom he, chiefly, confided, with
 private orders, to seize, and bring before him, the persons,
 whom the herdsman should shew to them. Having done this,
 he, presently, determined to lay his brother under a ²⁵⁹ gentle
 restraint, till he had ordered the present business to his
 satisfaction; and, in that view, he sent for him, upon some

²⁵⁸. Της αγωγας. Both the Latin translators have applied these words to the men, who were to be sent by Amulius, in order to conduct Faustulus: Not a word of which has been mentioned by our author. On the contrary, Faustulus was to conduct them to the place, where they might see the youths, in order to bring them to the king: And, to them, in this capacity, I have applied those words. Both the French translators have followed the others.

²⁵⁹. Εν φυλακη αδεσμω. This expression is very common in the Greek authors. And, thus, ^ε Thucydides says, that Παχης Ιππιαν εν φυλακη αδεσμω ειχε. The Latin translators have rendered it *in liberâ custodiâ*, which was the very

term in use among the Romans for this kind of custody: The method of which was, for the person suspected to be delivered to some magistrate, or senator, who was to see him forth coming. Thus, we find, in ^h Salust, that Catiline's accomplices were disposed of: *Senatus decernit, ut, abdicato magistratu, Lentulus, itemque cæteri, in liberis custodiis habeantur: Itaque Lentulus, P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum ædilis erat; Cethegus, Q. Conificio; Statilius, C. Cæsari; Gabinius, M. Crasso; Ceparius, Cn. Terentio senatori, traduntur.* Le Jay has rendered these words, pretty well, *le garder à veüe*. His countryman has translated them very unfortunately, *le garder dans une prison libre*.

^ε B. iii. c. 34.

^h De Bell. Cat. c. 47.

other pretence : But, the messenger, induced both by his affection to the person in danger, and commiseration of his fate, informed Numitor of the design of Amulius. Upon which, the former, having acquainted the youths with their danger, and exhorted them to behave bravely, led them armed to the palace, together with a considerable number of his clients, and friends, and such of his domestics, as he could rely on : These were joined by a strong party of the country men, from the market-place, who had, before, entered the city with swords, concealed under their clothes : And, having, by a general attack, forced the entrance, which was defended by a few of the guards, they, easily, flew Amulius, and, afterwards, made themselves masters of the citadel. This is the account Fabius gives.

LXXXIV. But others, who hold that every thing, which has the appearance of a fable, ought to be banished from history, maintain that the exposition of the children, by the officers, contrary to their orders, is void of all probability, and laugh at the tameness of the wolf, that suckled them, as an incident, fraught with theatrical absurdity : Instead of which, they give this account of the matter : That Numitor, finding Ilia was with child, procured other new-born children ; and, after she was brought to bed, substituted these in the room of the others, ordering those, who, attended her delivery, to carry to Amulius the supposititious children (having either secured their fidelity by money, or contrived this exchange by the help of women.) These children, being brought to Amulius, he, by some means, or other, made

them away. As to those, that were born of Ilia, their grandfather, who was, above all things, solicitous for their preservation, delivered them to Faustus: They add, that this Faustus was an Arcadian by extraction, descended from those Arcadians, who came over with Evander: That he lived on the Palatine hill, and ²⁶⁰ had the care of Amulius' domains: That he was prevailed on by his brother, named Faustinus, who had the superintendence of Numitor's herds, that fed on the Aventine hill, to gratify Numitor, in bringing up the children: And that the nurse, who suckled them, was not a she-wolf, but (as may well be supposed) a woman, who was wife to Faustus, by name, Laurentia, who, having, formerly, prostituted her beauty, was, by the inhabitants of the Palatine hill, surnamed *Lupa*; which was an ancient Greek appellation, given to women, who prostituted themselves for gain, who are, now, called, by a more decent name, *ἑταῖραι*, *Friends*: And that some, who were ignorant of this, invented the fable of the she-wolf; that wild beast being called, in the Latin language, ²⁶¹ *Lupa*:

²⁶⁰ *Ἐπιμελεῖαν ἐχούσα των Ἀμυλίου κτημάτων.* I do not understand why the two French translators, and Portus, have rendered this sentence, *having care of the flocks of Amulius*; that being the sense in their respective languages. How much better has Sylburgius rendered it, *res Amulii procurasse*? That *κτημαῖα* has this extensive signification may be seen in Hesychius; *κτημαῖα*, says he, *παντα τα ὑπαρχοντα.*

²⁶¹ *Λυπαν.* M. *** says, upon this occasion, that he does not comprehend

what Dionysius means; and that Plutarch reasons better, when he says, in the life of Romulus, that the Latines called *Lupas* not only she-wolves, but women of ill lives. This confirms, rather than contradicts what our author says. For the Latines, at the time of Romulus, at least, the descendants of the Greek colonies, certainly, spoke Greek; which appears by another passage of Plutarch, quoted by himself in the same note, where it is said that the Greek language, in the

They

They say, also, that, after the children were weaned, they were sent by those, who had the charge of their education, to Gabii, a town, not far from Pallantium, to be instructed in Greek learning; and that, there, they were brought up by some persons, with whom Faustus had a private intercourse of hospitality, where they employed their time, till they arrived to manhood, in learning letters, music, and the use of Greek arms: And that, after their return to their supposed parents, a difference arose between them, and Numitor's herdsmen concerning their common pastures: That, upon this, they beat Numitor's men, and drove away their cattle: That they did all this by Numitor's direction, to the intent that it might serve as a foundation for his complaints, and, at the same time, to the herdsmen, as a pretence to come to town in great numbers: That, after this, Numitor raised a clamor against Amulius, saying he was, severely, used, and plundered by the herdsmen of Amulius; desiring, likewise, that, if he had no share in the abuse, he would deliver up the herdsman, and his sons, to be tried by the laws: That Amulius, being willing to clear himself of this accusation, ordered, not only, those, who were complained of, but all the rest, who were accused of having been present at

time of Komulus, which was spoken, as he owns, by the Romans, and Albans, was not, yet, corrupted by *Italian* words: For so that gentleman ought to have rendered that passage of Plutarch, who does not say *των Λατινών*, as he has translated it, but *των Ιταλικών*: And this mistake, which I am afraid is owing to his quoting this passage

from some French translation, induced him to think, that Plutarch is not consistent with himself. If, therefore, the Latines called a common woman *lupa*, it must have been an old Greek word, as our author says: And, that it is so, appears from a writer of undoubted authority, I mean Hesychius, who explains *λυπα*, by *ἐταίρα*, *πορνη*.

those

those transactions, to come, and take their trial before Numitor : And that great numbers coming to town, together with the accused, to attend this trial, the grandfather of the youths acquainted them with all the circumstances of their fortune ; and, telling them that now, if ever, was the time to revenge themselves, he, presently, made the attempt upon Amulius with the band of herdsmen. These, therefore, are the accounts, that are given of the birth, and education of the founders of Rome.

LXXXV. As to the events, that happened at the very time of its foundation (for this part still remains) I shall, now, begin to relate them. After Numitor had recovered his kingdom by the death of Amulius, and had spent a little time in restoring the city, from the late usurpation, to its former state, he, presently, thought of providing a particular sovereignty for the youths, by building another city. At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to dispose of some part of them ; particularly, of those, who had, before, been his enemies, lest he might have cause to suspect any of his subjects. Having, therefore, communicated this design to the youths, and they, also, approving it, he gave them those territories in sovereignty, where they had been brought up in their infancy ; and, for subjects, not only, that part of the people, which he suspected of a design to raise new troubles, but, also, such, as were willing to leave their country. Among these (as it, usually, happens, when colonies are sent out) there were great numbers of the common people ; and
not

not a few, also, of distinguished rank, and of those Trojans, who were esteemed the most considerable for their birth (some of whose posterity remain to this day) consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms, and corn, with slaves, and beasts of burden, and every thing else, that was of use in the building of a city. After they had led their people out of Alba, and intermixed them with the inhabitants, that, still, remained in Pallantium, and Saturnia, they divided the whole body into two parts : This they did, in hope of raising an emulation, to the intent that, by this contest with each other, the work might be the sooner finished. However, it produced the greatest of evils, discord : For each division, celebrating their own leader, extolled him, as the proper person to command them all. And they themselves, being, now, no longer, unanimous, or entertaining brotherly sentiments for one another, but, each affecting to command the other, they despised equality, and aimed at superiority. For some time, their ambition lay concealed ; but, afterwards, broke out, on the following occasion : They had not both made choice of the same place for the building of the city ; Romulus chose the Palatine hill, to which he was induced, among other reasons, by the fortune of the place, where they had been preserved, and brought up : Remus pitched upon the ground, now, called from him, Remuria. This place is very proper for a city, being a hill, not far from the Tiber, distant from Rome, about thirty stadia. From this contest,

their

their ²⁶² unfociable love of rule, presently, shewed itself: For it was evident that, which soever gained the ascendant, on this occasion, he would preserve it, on all others.

LXXXVI. Some time having been, thus, employed, and their discord, in no degree, abating, they agreed to refer the matter to their grandfather; and, for that purpose, went to Alba: He advised them to leave it to the determination of the gods, which of them should give name to, and have the command of, the colony: And, having appointed a day, he ordered them to place themselves, early in the morning, at a distance from one another, in such stations, as each of them should think proper: And, after they had offered up to the gods the customary sacrifices, to observe the auspicious birds: And, that he, to whom the most favourable, first appeared, should have the command of the colony. The youths, approving of this, went away; and, according to their agreement, appeared on the day appointed: Romulus chose, for his station, the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony; and Remus the Aventine hill, contiguous to it; or, according to others, Remuria: A guard attended them both, to prevent their reporting things, otherwise than as they appeared. When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from

²⁶² Φιλαρχία. Nothing can be more beautiful than the short reflection of Livy upon the ambition of these two brothers. *Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido.* I need not observe to the learned reader,

that, when Livy calls the ambition of Romulus and Remus, *an hereditary evil*, he alludes to That of Amulius, which led him to defeat Numitor, who was, also, his brother, and their grandfather, of his right to the crown.

ⁱ B. i. c. 6.

eagerness, and envy to his brother (though, possibly, Heaven might have as great a share in it as envy) before he saw any omen, sent messengers to his brother, desiring him to come, immediately, as if he had, first, seen auspicious birds. In the mean time, the persons he sent, making no great haste, as ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right: He, seeing the birds, greatly, rejoiced. And, not long after, Romulus' messengers, taking him from his seat, brought him to the Palatine hill: When they were together, Remus asked Romulus, what birds he had, first, seen? To which he knew not what to answer. But, at the same time, twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying. Upon seeing these, he took courage; and, shewing the birds to Remus, said, "Why do you desire to know what happened before? Since, you see these birds yourself." This Remus resented; and, complaining, violently, that he was deceived by him, protested he would never depart from his right to the colony.

LXXXVII. This increased their animosity, each of them, secretly, aiming at superiority, and, openly, using these arguments, not to yield to his antagonist: For their grandfather had determined that he, to whom the most favourable birds, ²⁶³ first, appeared, should have the command of

²⁶³. *Προῖερον*. I cannot, upon this occasion, omit pointing out to the reader both the exactness of the Greek language, and our author's attention in observing it. He is speaking here of two persons only; consequently, *πρῶτον* would not have been so proper as *πρότερον*. It is very possible this

observation may appear trifling to some people: But I desire them to consider, that these distinctions are the parents of elegance, and perspicuity. And, that this distinction is not imaginary, may be proved from Philostratus: *το μὲν πρότερον*, says he, *λεγέται ἐπὶ δύο, το δὲ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολλῶν*.

the colony : And the same kind of birds having been seen by both, one had the advantage of seeing them the first ; and the other, That of seeing the greater number. The people, also, espoused their quarrel ; and, having armed themselves without orders from their leaders, began the war ; and a sharp battle ensued, in which, many were slain on both sides : In this battle, Faustus, who had brought up the youths, being desirous to put an end to the contest of the two brothers, and, unable to succeed in it, as some say, threw himself, unarmed, into the middle of the combatants, seeking the speediest death ; which fell out accordingly. It is said, also, by some, that the lion of stone, which stood in the principal part of the Forum, near the rostra, was placed over the body of Faustus, where he fell, and had been buried by those, who found it. Remus being slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory, stained with the blood of his brother, and the mutual slaughter of his people, buried Remus at Remuria, since, when alive, he had been fond of building there. And, as to himself, being oppressed with grief, and repentance for what had happened, he²⁶⁴ cast himself upon the ground, and was lost to all regard of life. But Laurentia, who had received them, when, newly, born, and brought them up, and loved them no less than a mother, intreating, and comforting him, he rose up, at her

²⁶⁴ Παρεis έαυτον· Παρεis, επικα-
κλινας· Και παρεis έαυτον υπο λυπης, κειλο.
Suidas. I mention this, because the
French translators have left out this
circumstance, which obliged them,
also, to leave out another circumstance,

described by our author, a few lines
after, by ανισταται. For, as they did not
think fit, with the text, to make Ro-
mulus cast himself upon the ground,
they could not, possibly, make him
rise up again.

request ;

request ; and, gathering together the Latines, who had not been slain in the late battle, being, now, little more than three thousand, out of a very great number, of which they, at first, consisted, when he led out the colony, he built a city on the Palatine hill. This, therefore, seems to me the most probable account of the death of Remus. However, if any other differs from this, let That, also, be related. Some say that, having yielded the command to Romulus, though not without resentment, and indignation at the imposition, after the wall was built, Remus, in order to shew the slightness of the fortification, said ; “ Methinks, any of
 “ your enemies might, as easily, leap over this, as I do : ” And, immediately, jumped over it. That, upon this, Celerius, one of the men, who stood upon the wall, and was surveyor of the works, said ; “ But any of us might, very easily, °
 “ chastise that enemy ; ” and, striking him on the head, with a pick-ax, killed him on the spot. This, therefore, is said to have been the ²⁶⁵ event of the quarrel between the two brothers.

LXXXVIII. There remaining, now, no obstacle to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day, in which, after atonement made to the gods, he designed to begin the work ; and, having prepared every thing, that was necessary

²⁶⁵. Το μὲν δὲ τέλος, etc. The first account of the death of Remus seems the most probable. However, ^k Livy has followed the last with some variation : *Vulgatior fama est, ludibrio fratris*

Remum novos transiisse muros : inde ab irato Romulo (quum verbis quoque increpitans adjecisset, sic deinde quicumque alius transiliet moenia mea) interfectum.

^k B. i. c. 7.

for the sacrifices, and the entertainment of the people ; when the day came, he, himself, began the sacrifice ; then, ordering all the rest to perform the same according to their abilities, he, first, made use of the augury of eagles : After that, having commanded fires to be made before the tents, he caused the people to come out, and leap over the flames, in order to expiate their crimes. When every thing was performed, which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to a place appointed, and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing, with a plough, drawn by a ²⁶⁶ bull, and a cow yoked together, one continued furrow, designed to receive the foundation of the wall : From whence, this custom remains, among the Romans, of tracing a furrow with a plough, round the place, where they design to build a city. After he had finished these things, and sacrificed the bull, and the cow, and, also, ²⁶⁷ begun the immolation of many other victims, he set the people to work. This day, the Romans, even at present, celebrate, every year, as one of their greatest festivals, and call it ²⁶⁸ Parilia. On that day, which falls out in the beginning of the spring, the husbandmen, and shepherds offer up a

²⁶⁶. Βοὸς ἀρρενὸς αἶμα θηλεία ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἀρετρῶν. This custom is, often, mentioned by the Latin authors ; but no where, more particularly, described than by Dionysius upon this occasion. There is a fragment of Cato, which I shall lay before the reader, in order to shew that, by βὺς ἀρρην is not meant an ox, but a bull ; and, consequently, that the French translators ought to have

rendered it, *un taureau*, and not, *un boeuf*. *Qui urbem novam condit, tauro et vaccâ aret : ubi araverit, murum faciat : ubi portam vult esse, aratrum sustollat, et portam vocet.*

²⁶⁷. Καταξάμενος. See the 124th annotation.

²⁶⁸. Παριλία. See the 225th annotation.

sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But, I cannot, certainly say, whether they chose this day, as, anciently, a day of public rejoicing; and, for that reason, looked upon it as the properest for the building of the city; or, whether the building of it having been begun on that day, they consecrated it, and dedicated it to the worship of those gods, who are propitious to shepherds.

LXXXIX. These, therefore, are all the particulars concerning the origin of the Romans, which I have been able to discover, after great application, and reading many books, written both by Greek and Roman authors upon this subject. So that, from this time, let every one, for ever, renounce the sentiments of those, who make Rome a retreat of Barbarians, fugitives, and vagabonds; and let him, confidently, affirm it to be a Greek city, the most communicative, and humane of all others: Which he will do, when he considers that the Aborigines were Oenotri, and these, Arcadians; and remembers that the Pelasgi, who inhabited the same country with the former, were descended from the Argivi; and, having left Thessaly, came into Italy: And, on the other hand, calls to mind the arrival of Evander, and of the Arcadians, who inhabited the Palatine hill, which place the Aborigines had yielded to them; and, also, the Peloponnesians, who, coming into Italy with Hercules, inhabited the Saturnian hill: And, last of all, Those, who left Troy, and were intermixed with the former: Since, he will find no nation, that is more ancient, or more Greek, than these. For the mixture of Barbarians with the Romans, by which,
they

they lost many of their ancient institutions, happened long after. And this may well seem a wonder to many, who make proper reflections upon things, that they are not become, intirely, Barbarous, by receiving the Opici, the Marfi, the Samnites, the Tyrrhenians, the Brutii, and many thousands of Umbri, Ligures, and Iberi; and, besides these, innumerable other nations, some of whom came from Italy itself, and some from other places, all differing from one another both in their language, and manners; and who, disagreeing in every thing as well as these, and being mixed, and collected into one body, such dissonance may well be supposed to have caused many innovations in their ²⁶⁹ ancient form of government: Since many others, by living among Barbarians, have, in a short time, lost every thing, that characterizes the Greek nation; so that, they, no longer, speak the language of the Greeks; observe their institutions; acknowledge the same gods; use the same humane laws, by which, chiefly, the temper of the Greeks differs from That of the Barbarians; or agree with them in any thing whatsoever, that relates to the private commerce of life. The ²⁷⁰ Achaei, who are settled near the Euxine sea, are a sufficient

²⁶⁹ Τῶν παλαιῶν κόσμων τῆς πόλεως.
Here *πολις* is, again, taken for *πολιτεία*; concerning which, see the 136th annotation. This sentence, is, certainly, imperfect in all the editions, and manuscripts; because there is a visible tautology in all of them. I have endeavoured to preserve the sense, without falling into that inconvenience.

²⁷⁰ Ἀχαιῶν. ¹ These Achaei were a colony of the Orchomenii, who settled near the Euxine sea, under Ialmenus, after the taking of Troy. Our author, very justly, calls the Orchomenii, from whom the Achaei were descended, *Ἑλληνικῶτατοι*; since they were a very ancient Greek people, and so wealthy, that Homer makes Achil-

¹ Strabo, B. ix. p. 637.

proof of what I advance ; who, though all descended from a nation, the most Greek, of all others, are, now, become the most savage of all Barbarians.

XC. However, the language of the Romans is neither, intirely, Barbarous, nor, absolutely, Greek ; but a mixture of both ; the greatest part of which, is ²⁷¹ Aeolic ; and the

les say to Ulysses, that, if Agamemnon would give him as many valuable things, as went to Orchomenus, and the Egyptian Thebes, he would not assist the Greeks,

Οὐδ' ἴσ' ἐς Ὀρχομένον περὶ Πηνιᾶς εἶ, καὶ ἴσ' ἀπὸ Θηβῶν Αἰγυπτιᾶς ^m.

²⁷¹ Ης εἰσιν ἡ πλείων Αἰολίς. Upon this occasion, Hudson quotes a short passage out of " Quintilian, to shew that many words in the Latin language were derived from the Greek, and declined after the Aeolic manner. This passage both the French translators have rendered in French, which, I imagine, since they said no more, they thought sufficient to point out to their readers the similitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect. I wish that either they, or Hudson, or any other of the commentators, had thought fit to explain this similitude. If they had, I should have thought myself obliged to them for their assistance, and, most chearfully, have acknowledged it. But, since they have all contented themselves with this quotation, I must perform this task myself, in the best manner I am able. All the grammarians, whom I have read, both ancient and modern, divide the Greek language into four dialects,

the Attic, the Ionic, the Doric, and Aeolic. But I should chuse rather to make them only two, the Ionic and Aeolic : In which, I am supported by the authority of ° Strabo, who says that the Ionic dialect was the same with the old Attic, and the Doric, with the Aeolic. Some lines after, he adds a thing, that will, clearly, account for this similitude between the Latin language, and the Aeolic dialect : which is, that the Arcadians spoke Aeolic. Now, we have seen that the Aborigines, and Oenotri were Arcadians, as well as those, who came into Italy with Evander, and lived on the Palatine hill, where Romulus, afterwards, built Rome. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Romans spoke, originally, the same language with the Arcadians, that is, the Aeolic ; and, always, retained a great deal of it. Let us, now, bring this matter to the test, and compare a few words of the Latin language with others of its mother tongue, the Aeolic : *Fama*, *Φαμα* : *Plaga*, *πλαγα* ; *Machina*, *μαχανα* ; *Malum*, *μᾶλον* ; *Mater*, *μάτηρ* ; *Tu*, *τυ*. The reader will find many more instances of this similitude in Theocritus : But these, I believe, will be sufficient to support this assertion of our author.

^m *Luci* i. v. 381.

ⁿ *B. i. c. 6.*

^o *B. viii. p. 513, and 514.*

only

only disadvantage they have received from their intercourse with these various nations, is, that they do not pronounce all their ²⁷² vowels properly : But all other indications of a Greek origin they preserve, beyond any other colony : For it is not lately, since fortune, by showering down her favors on them with a liberal hand, has taught them humanity, that they have begun to practise it ; nor since they, first, ²⁷³ aimed at the conquest of countries, situate on the

²⁷²· Φθόγους. I have departed from all the translators in rendering this word. Three of them have said, in their languages, *words*, and le Jay, *termes*. I am not so very confident of my own translation as to censure theirs ; because I know that φωνήεντα is the word, generally, used to signify *vowels* : But I, also, know that, if διφθόγος signifies *a double vowel*, as it, certainly, does, φθόγος must signify *a single one*. It is possible, indeed, that the Romans might not pronounce their consonants like the Greeks, which is, what, I suppose, our author calls, *improperly*. But, I imagine, they differed more from them in the pronunciation of their vowels. As the Romans had no η, and, as their *e* was a short vowel, I do not see how they could *properly* pronounce those words, that were derived from the Greek, in which there was an η. Their short *o* is liable to the same objection, when they were to pronounce an ω. As to the letter υ, there is great reason to believe they pronounced it, as the Italians, now, pronounce it, *oo*, which must have been very different from υ, as pronounced by the Greeks ; if these pronounced it, as I imagine they did, in

the same manner, as we pronounce the *u*, in *tube*, *lute*, etc. Had Dionysius suspected that his history would have outlived the Latin language, as a living language, he would, probably, have told us in what the *impropriety* of the Romans consisted. If he had done this, I dare say, it would have been found, that no nation, now, upon the face of the earth, pronounces Latin like the old Romans, and our own less than any other ; unless we are pleased to imagine that one of the most distant provinces of the Roman empire, has retained the true pronunciation of that language, when all the rest of Europe, and, even, the Italians themselves have lost it : And yet, since we pronounce the Latin vowels, differently, from all other nations, we must maintain this extraordinary position, if we are resolved to maintain our own pronunciation.

²⁷³· Ωρεχθησαν της διαπονίης. This is, indeed, sadly, translated by le Jay, *qu'ils eussent passé la mer*. The other French translator has not said much better, *qu'ils se sont rendus maîtres des pays d'au-delà de la mer*. Ωρεγεσθαι means no more than *to aim at*. Ωρεγέσθαι επιθυμει. Hesychius. But there is a
other

other side of the sea ; the object of which was the subversion of the Carthaginian and Macedonian empires ; but, from the time they were assembled in the same city, they have lived like Greeks ; ²⁷⁴ and do not attempt any thing more illustrious in the pursuit of virtue now, than formerly. I have innumerable things to say upon this subject, and many arguments to alledge in support of what I have advanced, together with the testimonies of credible authors ; but I reserve all these for that part of this history, wherein I propose to treat of their government. I shall, now, resume the thread of my narration, after I have premised, in the following book, a recapitulation of what is contained in this.

great difficulty, in the next sentence, which I wonder Casaubon did not take notice of ; it is this : The word *καταλυσαντες* is to me unintelligible, in this place. Are we to suppose that the Romans did not aim at the conquest of the countries, lying on the other side of the sea, till they had subverted the Carthaginian, and Macedonian empires, both which empires lay on the other side of the sea, with respect to the Romans ? This cannot be ; and, yet, this is the sense, and the only sense of the word *καταλυσαντες*. But, if, instead of that, we read *καταλυσαντες*, the difficulty vanishes. As I have no authority for this alteration, but my own conjecture, I would not insert it in the text, but submit it to the determination of the learned reader.

²⁷⁴ Καὶ ἔθεν εκπρεπεσερον ἐπιηδευοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν νυν ἢ πρότερον. I, verily, believe him ; and hope this oblique reflection on the lost virtue of the Romans, will reconcile M. * * * to our author, and convince him that he did not write his history with a view to flatter either Augustus, or his people : Since he could not, consistently with decency, say, more plainly, that the Romans had degenerated from the virtue of their ancestors, than by saying that they did not, at all, distinguish themselves in the pursuit of virtue more in his time, than formerly. But his reflection does not stop here ; it reaches, even, to the throne of Augustus : Since the Romans could not give a greater proof of that degeneracy, than by submitting to his usurpation.

The end of the first book.

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
C O N C E R N I N G

The arrival of AENEAS in ITALY.

I AM sensible of the many disadvantages I lie under in entering the lists with two of the greatest men of the last age, Cluver, and Bochart, who have both treated the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable, and exhausted the whole store of their learning, which I own to have been very great, in supporting this assertion. However, in this unequal contest, I have the satisfaction to find, that the united stream of the Greek and Roman history runs in my favor; which makes me hope that an affectation of singularity will rather be imputed to them, for having opposed the authority of so many great authors, than to me, for opposing That of the two great men I am to contend with.

Bochart, in his letter to Ségrais, the French translator of the Aeneid, lays great stress upon a passage in Homer, which I shall consider presently, as decisive against the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and, after he has employed all the arguments he can find to shew the impossibility of it, justifies Virgil for having brought him thither: In order to do this the more effectually, he gives a long list of Greek and Roman authors, most of them quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, to prove that Aeneas did, really, land in Italy, and was the ancestor of the Alban kings, from whom the founders of Rome were descended. If Bochart did not do this to shew how much learning he could display on both sides of the question, he must have been very inattentive to his subject, not to see that the authorities he has quoted to justify Virgil, absolutely destroy the arguments he had, before, made use of
to

to contradict the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. The method I shall observe in treating this subject, will be, first, to examine the objections made by Cluver, and Bochart, which are, nearly, the same; and then, to give my own reasons in support of the system I have adopted.

Their first objection is drawn from the verses in Homer, which have, already, been taken notice of, and from ^a Strabo's comment on them.

To this objection it may be answered that, if, as I have, before, observed, we read, ^b

Νυν δε δη Αινειας βιη ΠΑΝΤΕΣΣΙΝ αναζει,
Και παιδες παιδων, τοι κεν μελοπιοθε γενωλται,

The difficulty vanishes at once: And, though this reading is not to be found in any of the manuscripts, or editions of Homer, which are, now, extant, yet we know from ^c Strabo that it was, formerly, in some of them, *τινες γραφουσιν* are his words. But, if, at all events, we must read *Τρωεσσιν*, instead of *παντρεσσιν*, the answer our author has given to this objection seems, very well, founded: The sense of which is, that Aeneas, and his posterity, might, as properly, be said to have reigned over the Trojans, who followed him into Italy, as if he, and they, had staid in Phrygia. I am sensible that ^d Strabo says *it was reported*, λεγεται, that the descendants of Scamandrius, the son of Hector, and of Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, reigned for many ages in Scepsis, a city in Phrygia: But, this objection he himself obviates, by saying that, if we are to read *Τρωεσσιν*, there is an end of this succession to the kingdom of Scepsis in the family of Scamandrius. He says, indeed, in the same place, that these verses in Homer contradict, still more, the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; for which reason, some write *παντρεσσιν*, referring the word to the Romans. However, let it not be imagined that Strabo treats the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as a fable; since, in giving an account of that part of Italy, where Aeneas landed, he says, in so many words, that *many places there were ennobled by his presence*, ενδοξα δε δια την Αινειδ γεγονεν επιδημιαν ^e.

^a See the 186th annot. on the first book.

^b Iliad v. χ'. 307.

^c B. xiii. p. 906.

^d Ib.

^e B. v. p. 355.

It is, next, objected by Bochart, that ^f Festus quotes Agathocles Cyzicenus for saying that Aeneas was buried in the city of Berecynthia. The reader will, I believe, think that a quotation of three or four words from an author, whose works are, now, lost, cannot add any great force to his argument; which is, still, lessened by this consideration, that Strabo, in his very accurate description of that country, makes no mention of it.

He, then, says that Ascanius, must have remained in Phrygia, because many places in that country, as the lake Ascanius, a river of the same name, a part of the country, and a little island near adjoining, received their names from Ascanius, the son of Aeneas.

This argument I have met with in several authors of a more modern date than Bochart, from whom, I believe, they took it. However, it may be, easily, answered. In the first place, this lake, and river, are not in Phrygia, but in Bithynia, or, as some have thought, in Mysia, as will appear, evidently, from the following words of Euphorion, quoted by ^g Strabo,

ΜΥΣΟΙΟ παρ' ὕδασιν Ασκανιοιο.

This is confirmed by ^h Homer, quoted, also, by Strabo, upon this occasion,

Παλμυν, ΑΣΚΑΝΙΟΝ τε, Μοραν θ' υἱον Ἰππολίωνος,
ΜΥΣΩΝ αγχεμαχων ἡγήτορα καὶ ἑροθυμον.
Οἱ γ' ἐξ ΑΣΚΑΝΙΗΣ ἐριβωλακος ηλθον αμειβοι.

These verses, particularly the first, will supply me with another answer to this objection. This Ascanius was not the son of Aeneas, but one of the leaders of the Mysians, or of the Phrygians, if you please, for Mysia, and Phrygia border on one another, who came to the assistance of the Trojans. And, by the last verse, it is plain that this country, and, consequently, the lake, and river were known by this name in the time of, and very probably, long before, the Trojan war. Ascanius, therefore, the son of Aeneas, could not give his name to these places, after the taking of that city. I said it was probable that the name of Ascania had been given to this country long before the Trojan war; because, if any consequence can be drawn from a similitude of names,

^f In voce *Roma*.

^g B. xii. p. 849.

^h Iliad. ii. v. 792.

it is not improbable that אשכנזⁱ Aschenez, or, as the Septuagint calls him, Αρχαναζ, the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, might have reigned over this country many ages before the Trojan war, and have given his name to it. And this opinion, I find, Bochart himself espouſes, when he is to account for the peopling of the earth by the descendants of Noah: For, there, he derives the name of this country from ^k Aschanaz. But, when he has another object in view, and is to shew that Aeneas never went to Italy, he shifts the scene, and says that this lake, river, and country received their names from Aicanus, the son of Aeneas. I shall not dwell long on the next objection, because I think it may be answered in a few words. Bochart says, that, if Aeneas had come into Italy, he would, certainly, have introduced there the worship of Venus, and Apollo; the first being his mother, and the other his protector, according to Homer; and he says, that both these deities were unknown to the first Romans, and their ancestors.

As to the worship of Venus; ¹Strabo tells us that there was a temple dedicated to her in Lavinium: The antiquity of which will appear by this; that the care of this temple was derived to the Ardeates from their ancestors; επιμελεσθαι δ' αὐτῆς δια προγονων Αρδεαται. And the antiquity of the worship, paid by the old Romans to Apollo, is proved by a passage in ^mFestus, where he says, that he was, formerly, called *aperta* at Rome, *quod patente cortinâ responsa ab eo dabantur*.

I do not, indeed, find that any worship was paid by the Romans to Cybele (which is the next objection) till the year of ⁿRome 550, when this goddess, which, by the way, was nothing but a stone, was brought to Rome from Pessinus, a city in Phrygia, with great ceremony. But it must be observed, that this ridiculous goddess was a local deity, and worshiped at Pessinus, not at Troy.

His next argument, that Minerva, and Veſta, who are acknowledged to have been Trojan deities, were not known to the first Romans, turns, flatly, against him: Because the Palladium, which Aeneas is said, by all historians, to have brought with him into Italy from Troy, plainly, refutes his objection concerning Minerva: And the institution

ⁱ Genesis, c. x. v. 3.

^k Geogr. sacr. B. iii. c. 9.

¹ B. v. p. 355.

^m In voce *aperta*.

ⁿ Livy, B. xxix. c. 11.

of the Vestals among the Albans, the ancestors of the Romans, as effectually, destroys the other relating to Vesta. This order of priestesses we find, by ° Livy, was derived from the Albans, *Albā, criundum sacerdotium*. And our author will tell us, in the second book, that there was an ancient temple of Vesta at Alba.

I come now to the last objection of Bochart, upon which he seems to lay the greatest stress; though, in my opinion, it least deserves it. It is this: The Latin language, says he, has borrowed many words from the various nations, with whom the Latines had any commerce, but none from the Phrygians. To prove this, he has ransacked all the old Greek lexicons, and scholiasts, to find Phrygian words; of which he has amassed a reasonable number. I look upon it as a very lucky circumstance that both the Phrygian language, and characters are, so absolutely, lost, that no trace of either appears; otherwise, it is plain, from Bochart's manner, that we should have been overwhelmed with an inundation of Phrygian learning. In this mass of Phrygian words, he owns that, though none of them were borrowed by the Latines, many were adopted by the Greeks. This concession, which is supported by the testimony of many authors, is all I desire: For, if the Greeks used any of these Phrygian words, it is certain that the first Romans used them also; since both the language, and the characters of the first Romans were the same with Those of the Greeks. That the language of the first Romans should be Greek will not be wondered at, when it is considered that the inhabitants of Latium were, for the most part, originally, Aborigines, an Arcadian colony; and that the people, who then lived on the spot, where Rome was afterwards built, were, also, Arcadians, who had settled there with Evander. This Dionysius has, already, informed us of, and his account is confirmed by all the Greek and Roman historians. Their language, afterwards indeed, received an alteration by the mixture of many Italian words, that, by degrees, corrupted the Greek language, which the Romans had, originally, used; *ἔπειτα τότε τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ὀνομασί τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐπιτεχυμένων*, says † Plutarch, in speaking of the language, spoken by the Romans in the time of Romulus. If their language was Greek, the characters of it must, also, have been Greek; and, that they were

° B. i. c. 20. † Life of Romulus

so, appears by a passage in our ^aauthor, where he says that the terms of the alliance, entered into by Tullius with the Latin cities, were engraved on a brazen pillar in Greek characters, such as were, anciently, used in Greece; which pillar, he says, stood in the temple of Diana, in his time.

Having answered, I hope, all the objections urged against the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, I shall, now, offer some proofs in support of it. If I was to quote the authority of Virgil, the plan of whose Aeneid is formed upon this fact, I suppose it would be said that he is a poet, and, consequently, not tied down to historical truth. But, is not Homer a poet also, and has not his authority been insisted on to prove that Aeneas, and his posterity reigned in Phrygia after the taking of Troy? And why may not Virgil be presumed to have been as well informed of what passed in Italy, his own country, immediately after that event, as Homer, of what passed in Phrygia at that time, a country, to which he had no sort of relation? Let Homer, therefore, and Virgil be laid out of the case, and let the truth of a point of history be, as it ought to be, tried by historians. The reader has, already, seen that Dionysius, and all the Greek and Latin historians he has quoted, affirm this fact, and the authority of Dionysius, as founded on That of those authors, ought to have the greater weight, because he had their works before him, and the modern writers, who deny it, are deprived of that advantage. This being the state of the case, it seems to me little less absurd in the latter to censure Dionysius for having advanced this fact, on the authority of those historians, without having read their writings, than it would be in a judge to condemn a man without hearing the proofs he had to offer in his defence.

If the loss of these historians has deprived me of many proofs in favor of Dionysius, it has, however, saved me the trouble of quoting a long list of Greek and Latin authors, whose reasons we may, and ought to suppose, would have the same effect upon us, as they had upon him, and all other historians, who have written upon this subject; that is, they would convince us of the reality of a fact, which the loss of those authors, and, possibly, the affectation of erecting great edifices with few materials, have, of late years, brought into dispute.

^a B. iv. c. 26.

I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting two authors, whom Dionysius might have quoted, and did not; and, after them, some of those, who writ after he published his history.

The first I shall mention is Sallust, whose authority was never, I think, called in question, though his style has been censured by men of more delicacy, than judgement: Nothing can be more explicit than what he says in his Catilinarian war; *urbem Roman (sicut ego accepi) condidere atque habuere initio Trojani, qui, Aeneâ duce, profugi, incertis sedibus vagabantur.*

The next is Varro, the greatest antiquary of an age, in which Cicero lived. He mentions the arrival of Aeneas at Laurentum in Italy, as attended with a circumstance not heard of before, nor since, I believe, but once. *Ex quo die Trojâ est egressus Aeneas Veneris, eum per diem quotidie stellam vidisse, donec in agrum Laurentem veniret, in quo eam non viderit ulterius; quâ re cognovit terras esse fatales.*

This historical fact was too remarkable to escape the notice of ¹ Livy, who relates it in a manner peculiar to himself; *sed ad majora initia rerum ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam [Aeneam] venisse; inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum; ab Sicilia, classe Laurentem agrum tenuisse.* He, then, mentions the marriage of Aeneas with Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, king of the Aborigines; the building of Alba by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, and all the other incidents, which Cluver, and Bochart have thought fit to treat as fabulous.

After this, I would ask, whether any historical fact of an ancient date can be attested by authors of greater authority? And whether an attempt to subvert the credibility of a fact, so attested, by conjectures, forced constructions, scraps of quotations quoted by other authors, and vague assertions, unsupported by the testimony of a single historian, is not an attempt to transform all history into romance, to destroy the use, by destroying the credit, of it, and to deprive mankind of the best guides both in public and private life, examples?

We have seen what the opinion of the Roman historians was concerning the arrival of Aeneas in Italy, and the descent of the Romans from the Trojans. Let us, now, examine what opinion the leading men among the Romans, and the Roman senate itself, entertained of

¹ C. 6. ² Rer. divin. B. ii. ³ B. i. c. 1.

these events. In the 564th year of Rome, Lucius Scipio, and Caius Laelius being consuls, the former, who was brother to the first Scipio Africanus, passed the Hellespont with his army in order to carry on the war against Antiochus. In his march, he came to Ilium, the ancient Troy, where the Ilienses, and the Romans congratulated one another; the former saying that Aeneas, and his generals went from thence; and the latter, that they were descended from the Ilienses: And the joy of both was as excessive as That between parents, and their children after a long absence. The Ilienses were delighted to see their descendants, after they had conquered the west, and Africa, come to claim Asia, as their hereditary kingdom; adding, that the destruction of Troy was a desirable event, since it was followed by so happy a resurrection. The Romans, on the other side, could not satisfy their desire of visiting their paternal habitation, the nursery of their ancestors, and the temples, and images of their gods. ^u *Cum ingressi Asiam Romani Ilion venissent, mutua gratulatio Iliensium ac Romanorum fuit. Iliensibus Aeneam, caeterosque cum eo duces, à se profectos; Romanis se ab his procreatos referentibus. Tantaque laetitia omnium fuit, quanta esse post longum tempus inter parentes et liberos solet. Jurabat Ilienses nepotes suos, occidente et Africâ demittâ, Asiam ut avitum regnum vindicare; optabilem Trojae ruinam fuisse, dicentes, ut tam feliciter renasceretur: Contra, Romanos, avitos lares, et incunabula majorum, templaque ac decorum simulacra inexplebile desiderium videndi tenebat.* After the defeat of Antiochus, the Roman senate sent ten persons, the most considerable of their body, into Asia with particular instructions concerning the terms of the peace, which Antiochus had solicited, and with full powers, ^w *libera mandata*, with regard to every thing else. After their arrival in Asia, they rewarded, or punished the cities in that country according to their merit towards, or their offences against, the Roman people. And, as none of their acts were, afterwards, rescinded, or, even, altered by the senate of Rome, they must be looked upon as the acts of the senate itself. Among others, who received marks of favor from these ambassadors, the Ilienses were distinguished, not so much, as ^x Livy says, on account of any late services they had done to the Romans, as in memory of their origin:

^u Justin. B. xxxi. c. 8.^w Livy, B. xxxvii. c. 56.^x B. xxxviii. c. 30.

In consideration of which, they added Rhoeteum, and Gergithum to their territories. For the same reason, they made the inhabitants of Dardanium free; *Iliensibus Rhoeteum, et Gergithum addiderunt; non tam ob recentia merita, quam originum memoriâ. Eadem et Dardanium liberandi causa fuit.* It is remarkable that one of these ten embassadors was Lucius Aemilius Paullus, ^y the worthy son of Aemilius Paullus, who lost his life in the service of his country, at the unfortunate battle of Cannae. ^z His son, twenty two years after this embassy, being consul for the second time, overcame Perseus, and reduced Macedon to a Roman province. ^a He was master of all the Latin and Greek learning, and took particular care to instruct his sons in both: He had, also, a great taste for sculpture, painting, and all the liberal arts. These things are mentioned to let the reader see the improbability, that a man of such qualifications could be imposed upon in so essential a point of the Roman history, as That, which deduced the descent of the Romans from the Ilienses. The reader will remember that the Roman senate, when they granted these favors to this people, were an assembly of the wisest, bravest, and most learned men, then, in the known world, unawed by any power, either foreign, or domestic, and could be influenced, in this determination, by nothing but the notoriety of the fact, and their piety to their ancestors. This was not the only decree of the Roman senate in favor of the Ilienses, though we are not acquainted with the particulars of the rest: But, that there were others of the like tendency, appears by the following words of Calistratus: ^b *Iliensibus et propter inclytam nobilitatem civitatis, et propter conjunctionem originis Romanae, jam antiquitus, et senatus-consultis, et constitutionibus principum plenissima immunitas tributa est.*

I lay not the least stress on the constitutions of the Roman emperors; the first of whom, Julius Caesar, had a mind to have it thought that he derived his descent from Iulus, one of the followers of Aeneas, if not his son: I say, I lay no stress on the concessions made to the Ilienses in Caesar's time, because the Roman senate were, then, so far awed by his illegal power, and had so far degenerated from the noble freedom of their ancestors, as to bestow the grossest flattery upon every whim, which the wantonness of his exaltation could suggest to him:

^y Paterc. B. i. c. 9.

^z Plutarch's life of Aemilius.

^a Id. ib.

^b In lege. 17.

And,

And, as he had free liberty to derive his descent from any hero of antiquity he pleased, if he had thought fit to derive it from Alexander, or his horse Bucephalus, they would have decreed him to be descended, in a right line, from either of those heroes.

I have, already, lamented the loss of the many Greek and Roman historians, whom Dionysius has quoted to prove the arrival of Aeneas in Italy; and must, now, lament the loss of Sisyphus Cous, Corinnus, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, and Syagrus, whom he has not quoted; and of whom the four first lived in the time of the Trojan war, and writ the history of it; and the last treated the same subject in verse many years before Homer. As their writings were, probably, in being at the time Dionysius writ his history, if they had contradicted the authors he quotes, he could not have failed to mention this contradiction; though he was under no necessity of mentioning their conformity.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SECOND BOOK.

THE city of Rome is situated in the western parts of Italy, close to the river Tiber, which falls into the Tyrrhene sea about the middle of the coast; from which sea, the city is distant one hundred and twenty stadia. The first known possessors of this spot were certain Barbarians, natives of the country, called Siceli, who were, also, masters of many other parts of Italy, and of whom not a few visible monuments remain to this day; among which, are, even, some names of places, said to be Sicelian names, which shew they, formerly, inhabited this country. The Aborigines, descended from the Oenotri, who inhabited the sea coast from Taras to Posidonia, drove out this people, and possessed themselves of the place. These were the holy

ANNOTATIONS on the Second Book.

“ Την απο Ταραντος αχρι Ποσειδωνιας παραλιον. See the 235th annotation on the first book.

youth,

youth, consecrated to the gods, according to their custom, and sent out by their parents, as it is said, to inhabit that country, which ² the god should give them. The Oenotri were an Arcadian nation, who left the country, then, called Lycaonia, and, now, Arcadia, of their own accord, in search of a better under the conduct of Oenotrus, the son of Lycaon, from whom the nation received its name. While the Aborigines were in possession of these parts, the first, who cohabited with them, were the Pelasgi, a wandering people, who came from a country, then, called Haemonia, and, now, Thessaly, where they had lived some time. After the Pelasgi, came the Arcadians from the city of Pallantium, who had chosen for their leader, Evander, the son of Mercury, and of the nymph Themis: These built a village upon one of the seven hills, that stands near the middle of Rome, calling the place Pallantium, from their mother city in Arcadia. Not long after, Hercules, coming into Italy, in his return home, with his army from Erythea, some part of it, which was left behind, consisting of Greeks, settled near Pallantium, upon another of the hills, that, now, make part

² ὑπο τῆς Δαιμονίας. Sure the Latin translators had forgotten what our author said in the first book, concerning this custom of consecrating the youth to some god, and then sending them out in search of the country that god should give them; otherwise, they would never have rendered this passage, *The country, which fortune should give them*. However, M. *** has followed them; and le Jay has not succeeded much better in saying *sous la protection*

des dieux, generally. Δαιμονίων or Δαιμόνων is explained by our author himself in the place beforementioned, ὁ θεὸς ᾧ κατενομασθέντες ἀπαλυσόμενοι, *the god, to whom they had been consecrated, before they were sent out*. As most of the remarkable things, relating to the original history, of which this is only a recapitulation, have been, already, explained in the first book, the reader will give me leave to refer him to those annotations.

of

of the city of Rome: This was, then, named, by the inhabitants, the Saturnian hill; but is, now, called the Capitoline hill, by the Romans. The greatest part of these were Epei, who abandoned the city of Elis, after their country had been laid waste by Hercules.

II. 'The sixteenth generation after the Trojan war, the Albans³ built upon both these places, and surrounded them with a wall, and a ditch: For, till then, there were only cottages of neatherds, and shepherds, and huts of other herdsmen; the land thereabouts yielding plenty of grafs, not only, for winter, but, also, for summer pasture, by reason of the rivers, that refresh, and water it. The Albans were a mixed nation, composed of Arcadians, of Pelasgi, of those Epei, who came from Elis, and, last of all, of the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, and Venus, came into Italy after the taking of Troy. It is probable that some Barbarians, also, who lived in the neighbourhood, or the remains of the ancient inhabitants, were mixed with those Greeks. But all these nations, having lost their national appellations, were called, by one common name, Latines, from Latinus, who had been king of this country. The city, therefore, was built by these nations, the four hundred and thirty second year after the taking of Troy, and in the seventh Olympiad. The leaders of this colony were twin brothers, and of the royal family; Romulus being

³. Συνοικισσι. This word is rendered by all the translators, except le Jay, who has left it out, as if our author had said συνοικισι, which is not enough:

For the Albans did not only *inhabit* these two hills, but *inclosed* them within the walls of their new city. And this is the sense of the word συνοικισω.

the name of one, and Remus of the other: By the mother's side they were descended from Aeneas, and, consequently, Dardanidae. It is hard to say, with any certainty, who was their father: However, the Romans believe them to have been the sons of Mars. But a contest arising between them about the command, they did not both continue leaders of the colony: For, one of them being slain in the battle, Romulus, who survived, became the founder of the city, and called it after his own name. The great numbers of which this colony had, originally, consisted, when sent from Alba, being, now, reduced to a few, the remainder amounted to no more than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

III. After the ditch, therefore, was finished, the wall perfected, the necessary structure of the houses completed, and the juncture required they should consider, also, what form of government they were to establish, Romulus called the people together by the advice of his grandfather, who had suggested to him what he was to say, and told them that, indeed, “ the city, considering it was, newly, built, was, sufficiently, adorned both with public and private edifices: “ But he desired they would all consider that these were “ not the most valuable things in cities: For, neither, in “ foreign wars, are deep ditches, and high walls sufficient “ to give the inhabitants an ⁴ undisturbed assurance of their

⁴ Απραγμονα σωτηριας υποληψιν παρ-
σχεν. The translators have expressed
this sentence differently. Sylburgius
has said *certam spem afferre*, which I am

afraid, is as little exact with regard to
the thought, as to the Greek words.
Un rempart entierement sûr pour metre les
Bourgeois à couvert, in M. ***, is liable

“ own

“ own safety, but only to secure them from being surpris’d
 “ by a sudden incurſion of the enemy ; neither, in civil
 “ commotions, can private houſes afford a ſafe retreat ;
 “ theſe being contriv’d for the comfort of leiſure, and
 “ tranquillity, and neither prevent miſchief in thoſe, who
 “ ſ⁵ practiſe it againſt their neighbours, nor give confidence
 “ to thoſe, againſt whom it is practiſed : That no city,
 “ hitherto, ſupported, alone, with theſe decorations, ever
 “ attained to greatneſs, and a laſting happineſs ; nor, from a
 “ want of magnificence, either in public, or private build-
 “ ings, was ever hindered from being great and happy :
 “ But, he told them, there were other things, that pre-
 “ ſerve, and aggrandize cities : In foreign wars, ſtrength in
 “ arms ; which is acquired by courage, and exerciſe ; and,
 “ in civil commotions, unanimity among the citizens. This,
 “ he ſaid, the temperance, and juſtice of each particular
 “ citizen would, moſt effectually, adminiſter to the whole
 “ body : That thoſe, who employ themſelves in the exerciſe
 “ of arms, and, at the ſame time, are maſters of their paſ-
 “ ſions, are the greateſt ornaments to their country ; and

to the laſt of thoſe exceptions. *On ne doit pas compter d’être en ſécurité*, is better in le Jay. It is certain that *σωτηρίας ὑποληψίς* ſignifies more than *ſafety* ; it ſignifies *ſecurity*.

⁵ To ἐπιβλεῦον, etc. Stephens, Caſaubon, and Portus, after great pains to reſtore this ſentence, have left it out of joint. The reaſon is, they had never ſeen the Vatican manuſcript, which, by reading ἐπιβλεῦον, inſtead

of ἐπιβλεῦειν, as it ſtands in all the editions, has, in a great meaſure, cleared up the ſenſe. But there is one word, which that manuſcript has ſuffered to remain, and which none of thoſe learned men have thought of altering, that is, β-εῖκεναι, which can have nothing to do here : For which reaſon, I would ſubſtitute βεβιωκεναι in its room.

“ theſe

“ these are the men, who provide both the commonwealth
 “ with impregnable walls, and themselves with a safe retreat.
 “ That the form of government supplies those, who have,
 “ prudently, instituted it, with ⁶ men of bravery, and justice,
 “ and who practise every other virtue; while, on the other
 “ side, bad institutions render men cowardly, and rapacious,
 “ and the slaves of foul desires. He added, that he had
 “ been informed by men of age, and great knowledge in
 “ history, that of many numerous colonies, planted in fruitful
 “ countries, some, by falling into seditions, had been, im-
 “ mediately, destroyed; others, after a short resistance, forced
 “ to become subject to their neighbours, and ⁷ to exchange
 “ both their fruitful country for a barren land, and their
 “ liberty for slavery: While others, less numerous, settled
 “ in places, not altogether fertile, have, in the first place,
 “ continued to be free themselves, and, afterwards, to com-
 “ mand others: And that the misfortunes of the numerous

⁶. *Μαχηλας δε*, etc. Hudson has given us various Latin translations of this sentence; two of which have been followed by the French translators. But every one of these versions supposes that our author intended to make the men of bravery, and justice serve as models to the legislators: Whereas, I understand his sense to be that the form of government, instituted by these legislators, will inspire the others with bravery, and a love of justice. And this, I think, is confirmed by what he says presently after, that the happiness, or unhappiness, of colonies is owing to nothing so much as to their different forms of government. But the reader will determine which

of these interpretations is best supported by the words of the text.

⁷. *Την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξαοθαι*. I have taken a liberty in this place; which I have, very seldom, allowed myself. There is such a falseness in this expression, *αντι της κρειττονος χωρας την χειρονα τυχην διαλλαξαοθαι*, that I cannot think our author, who was so just a critic, as well as so accurate a writer, could ever suffer this expression to escape from his pen. The small alteration I would make in reading *την χειρονα αμα τη τυχη διαλλαξαοθαι*, will, I hope, be thought to correct this inaccuracy of expression, without making any alteration in the sense.

“ colonies, and the happiness of those, that were less so,
 “ flowed from no other cause than the form of their re-
 “ spective governments. If, therefore, there was but one
 “ sort of government received by all men, and calculated to
 “ render cities happy, the choice would not be difficult: But
 “ he was told, he said, there were various forms of govern-
 “ ment both among the Greeks, and Barbarians; of all
 “ which, three were, chiefly, commended by those, who
 “ had experienced them: However, that ⁸ none of them
 “ was perfect, each having some inbred evils, that accom-
 “ pany it, which created great difficulty in the choice. He,
 “ therefore, desired them to deliberate at leisure, and let him
 “ know, whether they would be governed by a single person,
 “ or by a few; or, whether they would, ⁹ under proper
 “ laws, commit the administration of the commonwealth to
 “ the whole body of the people: And, which form of go-
 “ vernment soever you shall think fit to establish, says he, I

⁸. Καὶ τῶν ὑδαμῶν εἶναι τῶν πολιτειῶν
 εἰδικρινῆς, προσεῖναι δὲ τινὰς ἑκάστη κίβρας
 συμφορῆς. I do not so much wonder
 that the other commentators have not
 taken notice of the analogy between
 our author, and ^a Polybius, in treating
 this subject, as that Casaubon, who has
 published a very fine edition of the
 latter, should not remember it: How-
 ever, as I have translated that frag-
 ment of Polybius, it would be inex-
 cusable in me not to lay that passage
 before the reader, that he may see in
 what manner our author has taken the
 sense, without taking the words. Po-

lybius says, Πάν εἶδος πολιτείας ἀπλὴν,
 καὶ κατὰ μιάν συνεστηκώς δύναμιν ἐπισφαλὲς
 γιγνέσθαι. And, again, Τῶν πολιτειῶν
 συγγινέσθαι κατὰ φύσιν ἑκάστη, καὶ παρεπείαι
 τις κακία. I believe the reader will find
 that, notwithstanding the thought in
 both is the same, our author has much
 the advantage in the expression.

⁹. Εἴτε νομὸς καὶ ἀστυνομενός, etc. If the
 reader pleases to compare the text, as
 it stands in the Vatican manuscript,
 with the reading of the editions, he
 will see how much we are beholden to
 that manuscript for the restitution of
 this period.

^a B. vi. p. 458.

“ shall,

“ shall, readily, comply with it, and neither think myself
 “ unworthy to command, nor refuse to obey. I am satisfied
 “ with the honors you have conferred on me, first, by ap-
 “ pointing me leader of the colony, and, afterwards, by
 “ giving my name to the city : For, of these, neither a
 “ foreign war, nor a civil dissension, neither time, that
 “ destroyer of all great things, nor any other stroke of angry
 “ fortune can deprive me : But, these honors, both living,
 “ and dead, I shall enjoy for ever.”

IV. This was the speech, that Romulus, by the direction,
 as I have said, of his grandfather, made to the people : And
 they, having consulted together by themselves, returned this
 answer : “ We do not, at all, desire a new form of govern-
 “ ment, nor to change That, which our ancestors have ap-
 “ proved of as the best, and delivered down to us : In this, we
 “ shew, both a deference for the sense of our elders, whose great
 “ prudence we admire in establishing it, and our own satis-
 “ faction in our present condition : For we could not, with
 “ reason, find fault with an institution, that has afforded
 “ us, under our kings, the greatest of human blessings,
 “ liberty, and the command of others. This, therefore,
 “ is our resolution concerning the form of government :
 “ And this honor, we conceive, none has so good a title to,
 “ as yourself, by reason of your being of the royal family,
 “ as well as of your virtue ; but, above all, because you have
 “ been the leader of our colony, and have convinced us of
 “ your great spirit, and great prudence ; not so much by
 “ your words, as by your actions.” Romulus, hearing this,
 G g 2 said ;

said ; “ It was a great satisfaction to him to be judged
 “ worthy of the kingdom : But that he should not accept
 “ that honor until the gods should, by favourable omens,
 “ confirm their choice.”

V. And they, also, approving of this, he appointed a day, in which he designed to consult the gods concerning the command they had offered him : And, when the time was come, he rose by break of day, and went out of his tent : Then, standing abroad, ¹⁰ in a void place, after the customary sacrifice, he prayed to Jupiter, the king, and to the rest of the gods, whom he had chosen for the patrons of this colony, that, if it was their pleasure he should be king of the city, they would reveal it by some heavenly signs : This prayer being ended, a flash of lightning ran from the left to the right. The Romans, upon the information, either of the Tyrrhenians, or of their ancestors, ¹¹ look upon the lightning,

¹⁰. Εν καθαρω χωριω. I much doubt whether this signifies *en un lieu pur*, as M. * * * has rendered it, after the example of the Latin translators ; because, our author says nothing concerning the consecration of the place. I have chosen rather to render it *a void place*, that is, *a place free from any obstruction* ; in the same manner as ^b Aristophanes says εν καθαρω ; and as ^c Livy uses the word *purus*, *Postero die signis collatis dimicaturum puro ac patienti campo*.

¹¹. Τ.θενται δε Ρωμαιοι, etc. The reason, given by our author, why the Romans looked upon the lightning, that appeared on the left hand, to be

an auspicious omen, is much more plausible (according to the astronomy then received) than that grammatical reason, given by ^d Plutarch, who says that *sinister* is derived from *sinere*. It must be observed that the Romans looked upon the signs, that appeared on their left, to be favourable ; and that the Greeks looked on Those, that appeared on their right, to be so : The reason of which difference, was, that the former turned their faces to the east in performing these augural ceremonies ; and the latter, to the north. This passage of our author proves the first ; to which I shall add another, out of ^e Livy, relating to the

^b Ελλην. γ. 320. ^c B. xxiv. c. 14.

^d Rom. Quaef. ^e B. i. c. 18.

that

that passes from the left to the right, as a happy omen : Their reason is, according to my opinion, that the best seat, and station for those, who make augural observations, is That, which looks towards the east ; from whence, both the sun, and moon rise, as well as the planets, and fixed stars ; and the revolution of the heavens, by which all things contained in them are, sometimes, above the earth, and, sometimes, beneath it, from thence begins its circular motion : Now, to those, who turn their faces to the east, the northern parts of the world are on the left ; and the southern, on the right ; and the former are looked upon as more honourable than the latter : For, in the northern parts, the pole of the axis, upon which the earth turns, is elevated ; and, and of the five circles, which encompass the sphere, That, called the arctic circle, always appears on that side ; while, in the southern parts, the other, called the antarctic circle, is depressed, and invisible to us. There is reason, therefore, to look upon those signs in the heavens, and the air, to be the best, which appear on the best side : And since, those parts, that are turned towards the east, have the pre-eminence

inauguration of Numa Pompilius : *Augur ad laevam ejus, capite velato, sedem cepit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt. Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, deos precatus, regionem ab oriente ad occasum determinavit ; dexterâ ad meridiem partes, laevâ ad septentrionem esse dixit.* By this, it appears that his face was turned to the

east. And, that the Greeks turned their faces to the north, upon these occasions, may be proved by many passages out of their most approved writers ; but I shall content myself with This of ^f Homer, who makes Hector say thus to Polydamas.

των ἑλὶ μέλαιρε πομῖ, καὶ ἀλεγιζῶ,
Εἴτ' ἐπὶ ἑξί' ἰωσὶ πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡέλιον τε,
Εἴτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγε, πρὸς ζέφον ἡέρευνά.

^f Iliad μ. Ὑ. 238.

over the western parts, and of the eastern parts themselves, the north-east are higher than the south-west, those ought to be esteemed the best. But some write that the ancestors of the Romans long ago, and, before they had learned it from the Tyrrhenians, looked upon the lightning, that came from the left, as a happy omen: For, they say, that, when Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, was warred upon, and besieged by the Tyrrhenians under the command of Mezentius, their king, and upon the point of sallying out of the town for the last time, his affairs being, now, desperate, he prayed to Jupiter, and to the rest of the gods, with lamentation, to encourage this sally with some happy omens; and, ¹² the sky being clear, it lightened on the left; and that this battle, being attended with a most happy event, his posterity, ever after, looked upon this sign as fortunate.

VI. After Romulus, therefore, had, upon that occasion, received the sanction of heaven, he called the people together; and, having given them an account of the auspicious omens, he was chosen king by them, and instituted this custom to be observed by all his successors, that none of them should accept the dignity of king, or any other magistracy, until, even the gods had given a sign of their approbation: And this custom, relating to the auspices, continued to be, long, observed by the Romans, not only, under

¹² Αἰθρίας ἔσης ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀστραφαί
τον ἔρανον. This tradition Virgil has
adapted to the *coup d'essay* of Ascanius,
when he was besieged by the Rutuli,
commanded by Turnus, and insulted

by Remulus. Ascanius addresses his
prayers to Jupiter, after which, ⁸Virgil
says,

*Audiit, et caeli genitor de parte serenâ
Intonuit laevum.*

⁸ Aen. ix. v. 630.

their kings; but, also, after the dissolution of monarchy, in the elections of their consuls, praetors, and other legal magistrates: But it is disused at this time, the appearance of it being preserved only for form sake: For, those, who are designed magistrates, pass the night in tents, and, rising by break of day, perform their prayers in the open air; then, ¹³ some of the augurs present, who are paid by the public, declare that a flash of lightning from the left, which had not happened, signifies the approbation of the gods; and they, having, by this report, received the omen, depart, in order to enter upon their magistracies. Some looking upon this alone as sufficient, that no contrary, or forbidding omens had appeared; others, even, in opposition to the will of heaven prohibiting their election, and, sometimes, by violence, rather seize, than receive their dignities: By which means, many armies of the Romans have been, utterly, de-

¹³ Τῶν δὲ παροίων τινες ορνιθοσκοπῶν, etc. This function of the augurs to observe the heavenly signs, was called, by the Romans, *servare de coelo*: The disuse of which is censured, with great spirit, by ^h Lucan,

*Nec coelum servare licet: tonat augure surdo,
Et lactae jurantur aves, bubone sinistro.*

The disuse of this farce was, indeed, of no great consequence: But the violence, used in elections, which our author, presently, complains of, proved fatal to the liberty of Rome; as it must be to That of every country, where it is practised. By this time, I hope, the reader will acquit our author

of any design to flatter Augustus, since no man ever used greater violence than he, in extorting his first consulship from the senate. He was at the head of an army, raised by his country to oppose the ambitious designs of Marc Antony, when he sent some of his officers to the senate to demand, rather than to desire the consulship. This imperious manner of applying to the senate, being received with the indignation it deserved, ⁱ one of these officers laid his hand upon his sword, and had the insolence to say to the senate, “^k If “ You will not give the consulship to “ Caesar, This shall.”

^h B. v. l. 395.

ⁱ Sueton. life of Augustus, c. 26.

^k Dion Cassius, B. xlv. p. 363.

stroyed

stroyed at land; many fleets have been lost, with all their people, at sea; and other great and dreadful calamities have befallen the commonwealth; some in foreign wars, and others in civil dissensions: But the most remarkable and the greatest happened, even, in my time, when Licinius Crassus, a man inferior to no commander of his age, led his army against the Parthians, contrary to the will of heaven, and in contempt of the innumerable omens, that opposed his expedition. But a great deal might be said concerning the contempt of the gods, that prevails among some people at this time.

VII. Romulus, who was, thus, chosen king by the concurrence both of gods, and men, is allowed to have been a man of great military accomplishments, and personal bravery, and, ¹⁴ extremely, capable of instituting the most perfect sort

¹⁴. Πολιτειαν ἐξηγησασθαι τὴν κράτιστην φρονιμώτατος. Portus, and the two French translators have given this sense to these words, *Of great prudence in the government of the state.* This I do not take to be the sense of this passage; though I know that ἐξηγησθαι τὴν Πελοποννησον in the first book of Thucydides signifies *to govern Peloponnesus*: But, if we are to give that sense to the word in this place, what becomes of τὴν κράτιστην? I have, therefore, translated it according to the explication Suidas gives of the word; το ἐξηγησασθαι, αἶμα λεγειν τε περὶ ὧν ἀγνοοῦσιν οἱ ἀκροῦτες, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν πυνθανοῦνται. Sylburgius has said *in republicâ optimè instituendâ prudentissimus*;

which, though it does not quite come up to our author's sense, is, vastly, nearer to it, than the other translations. The reader will observe, I dare say, with satisfaction, that our author calls the government, instituted by Romulus, the most perfect sort of government; and this we find to have been a mixed government, composed of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. This is the constitution so much extolled by ¹ Polybius, and other great writers of antiquity, and is, nearly, the same with That instituted by Lycurgus at Sparta, about a hundred years before, which lasted no less than seven hundred, without any considerable alteration.

¹ B. vi. 458.

of government. I shall relate such of his civil, and military actions, as may be thought worthy of history: And shall, first, speak of the form of government he instituted, which I look upon, of all others, to be the most self-sufficient, to answer all the ends both of peace, and war. This was the plan of it: After he had divided all the people into three parts, he appointed a person of the first rank to be the chief of each of them: Then, he subdivided each of these three parts into ten others, and appointed as many of the bravest men to be the leaders of these also: The greater divisions he called *tribes*; and the lesser, *curiae*; as they are called, even, at this day. These names may be, thus, translated into Greek; *a Tribe*, by ¹⁵ Φυλη and Τριτλος; and

¹⁵ Φυλη και τριτλος. There is no doubt but Φυλη signifies *a tribe*. But τριτλος signifies *a third part of a tribe*: Τριτλος εστι το τριτον μέρος της φυλης. Harpocration. So that, our author must have taken this word for the third part of the Roman people, which it, certainly, was. I find a note in Hudson, upon this occasion, in which ^m Graevius is quoted to prove that the Aeolians said τριππυς, instead of τριτλος, from whence, the Romans had their word, *tribus*. To confirm this, M. * * *, after mentioning this observation of Graevius, quotes Plutarch to shew that the Aeolians made use of β instead of π. I have this place of Plutarch, now, before me, and find he says just the contrary, viz. that the Aeolians used π instead of β; his words are these, "παρ' ἡμιν τοις Αἰολευσιν, ἀντὶ

τε β τῷ π χρωμενοις. I am afraid That gentleman quoted this passage of Plutarch, as well as another, already, taken notice of by me in a former ^o note, from some French translation, and not from the Greek text, which he could not, possibly, have mistaken. Φεαλεια, which follows, is, beyond all doubt, *the third part of a tribe*. Φεαλεια εστι το τριτον μέρος της φυλης. Harpocration. But this must be understood of the Athenian tribes: For it is certain that a *Curia*, which our author has explained by the word Φεαλεια, was *the tenth part* of a Roman tribe. This subdivision of the tribes into *Curiae* admits of no doubt. The first division of the people into *tribes* is not, so generally, allowed; because ^p Livy calls them *centurias equitum*: ^q He calls them, again, by that name in relating

^m Rom. ant. Praef. ⁿ Συμπος. B. vi. p. 694.

^p B. i. c. 13. ^q B. i. c. 36.

^o See the 261st annot. on the first book.

a *Curia*, by Φραξια and Λοχος; the commanders of the Tribes, by Φυλαρχοι and Τριφυαρχοι, whom the Romans call *Tribuni*; and the commanders of the curiae, by Φραξιαρχοι and Λοχαγοι, whom they call *Curiones*; ¹⁶ these curiae were, again, divided

the affair of Attius Navius. But, we are not to wonder that Livy contradicts our author, when he contradicts himself: For, in speaking of the law, promoted by the tribunes concerning the creation of four pontifs, and five augurs, all plebeians, ^r he calls them *tres antiquae tribus, Ramenses, Titenses, Luceres*.

¹⁶ Διηρηγίλο δε και εις δεκαδας αι Φραξαι προς αυλς. There is a note in Hudson, in which ^s Graevius is, also, quoted, upon this occasion, for saying that our author *aliquid humani passus est*, and that no historian but himself mentions this division of the curiae into decuriae; and that Polybius, and Varro, say the *turmae* were divided into decuriae. This note M. * * * has translated literally. I will suppose that no other author mentions this division of the curiae. Is he not the only author, also, who mentions many other particulars relating to the original constitution of the Romans? And, are any of these disbelieved because he alone relates them? Certainly not. Even Graevius himself mentions many things, that rely, solely, on his authority. I know no author, from whom we could have expected an account of this original division of the Roman people, but Livy, and Plutarch in his life of Romulus. As to the first, we have seen in the preceding note, what a contradictory account he

gives of it. And Plutarch says, only, that Romulus divided all the people, who were of an age to bear arms, into legions; and that each legion consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse. As Graevius has not mentioned the place in Polybius, to which he refers, it must be in the ^t sixth book, where, in speaking of the military constitution of the Romans, he says they divide the horse into ten *turmae*, which he calls ιλαι; and, after he has given an account of their method of chusing their officers, he says these officers are called *decuriones*; from whence, I suppose, Graevius concluded that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*, which, I dare say, was so. But Polybius speaks, all along, of the military institutions, that were in use in his time; and this can have nothing to do with the original division of the people made by Romulus. The passage Graevius refers to in Varro, though he has not mentioned it, can be no other than this; "*Turma, turma est: E in U abiit: Quod terdeni equites ex tribus tribubus Tatiensium, Rhamnensium, et Lucerum fiebant. Itaque primi singularium decuriarum decuriones dicti: qui ab eo singulis turmis sunt etiam nunc terni*." This passage of Varro proves that the *turmae* were divided into *decuriae*; but it does not prove that the *curiae* were not, also, divided into *decuriae*: However, it, plainly, shews that the

^r B. x. c. 6.

^s Praef. to Vol. i. Ant. Rom.

^t P. 471.

^u De ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 16.

by him into ten parts, each having its own leader, called, in the language of their country, *Decurio*. The people being, thus, distributed into tribes, and curiae, he divided the land into thirty equal portions, and gave one of them to each curia, having, first, set apart as much of it, as was sufficient, for the sacrifices, and temples, and, also, reserved some part of the land for the use of the public. This was one division, made by Romulus, both of the men, and the land, which established the greatest equality among them all.

VIII. The other was of the men only, and distributed the good offices, the honors, and dignities, of which I shall, now, give an account: He distinguished those, who were eminent for their birth, and celebrated for their virtue, and whom he knew to be rich in the account of those times, and had children, from the obscure, the mean, and the poor. Those of the lower rank, he called *Plebeians*, whom the Greeks would call *Δημοῖχοι*, *common people*; and those of the higher, *Fathers*; either because they were elder than the others, or because they had children, or from their high birth, or for

Tatenses, *Rhamnenses*, and *Luceres* were not *centuriae equitum*, as Livy calls them, but tribes. We have seen from our author, and Plutarch, that the number of men, originally, consisted of 3300: Three hundred of which were horse. Now, this precise number of three hundred horse seems to have been derived from the division of the *curiae* into *decuriae*. I shall explain myself. Romulus divided these 3300 into three tribes; consequently,

each tribe consisted of 1100 men; Each of these tribes he, again, divided into ten *curiae*; every *curiae*, therefore, consisted of 110 men: These, he subdivided into ten *decuriae*, consisting each of 11 men: Now, as the number of horse amounted to 300, take one man out of each *decuriae*, and you have the 300 horsemen.

3 tribes, each 1100 = 3300.

30 curiae, each 110 = 3300.

300 decuriae, each 11 = 3300.

H h 2

all

all these reasons; having, probably, taken the example from the system of government, which, at that time, prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians divided their people into two parts, and called those, who were distinguished by their birth, and fortunes, *Ευπατριδαί*, *well-born*; to whom the administration of the government was committed; and the rest of the people, who had no share in it, *Αγροικοί*, *Husbandmen*: But, in process of time, these, also, were admitted to the magistracy. Those, who give the most probable account of the Roman government, say, that, for these reasons, those persons were ¹⁷ called *Fathers*, and their posterity, *Patricians*: But others, considering the thing in the light their own envy places it, in order to calumniate the Romans, as if they were, ignobly, descended, say they were not called *Patricians*, for the reasons I have alledged, but, because these only could name their fathers; as if all the rest were fugitives, and unable to shew that their fathers were free men. To prove which, they say that, whenever their kings thought proper to assemble the *Patricians*, the cryers called them both by their own names, and the names of their fathers; while officers, appointed for that purpose, summoned the *Plebeians* all at once to the assemblies, by the sound of oxens horns. But neither is the calling of the *Patricians*, by the cryers, any argument of their nobility, nor the sound of the horn, any mark of the ignobleness of the *Plebeians*: The

¹⁷ Κληθῆναι φασὶ τὰς ἀνδρας ἐκεῖνας πατέρας, καὶ τὰς ἐκ γένους αὐτῶν, πατρίκιους. This opinion ^w Livy has, also, im-

braced, *Patres certe ab honore, patri-
cique progenies eorum appellati.*

^w B. i. c. 8.

former

former being designed for an honor, and the latter for expedition. Since it was not possible, in a short time, to call every one of the plebeians by name.

IX. After Romulus had distinguished those of superior rank from their inferiors, he instituted laws, by which the duty of each was prescribed. He appointed the patricians to be priests, magistrates, and judges, to assist him in the administration, and dedicate themselves to the government of the city. The plebeians were excused from these duties, as unacquainted with them, and, from their small fortunes, wanting leisure to attend them; but directed to apply themselves to agriculture, feeding of cattle, and the exercise of gainful trades; lest they should raise seditions, as it happens in other cities, when either the magistrates abuse their inferiors, or the common people, and poorer sort, envy their superiors. He placed the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, by allowing every plebeian ¹⁸ to chuse any patrician he himself thought fit for his patron: In

¹⁸. Νεμειν προσάτην. This was the term in use among the Athenians, signifying *to chuse a patron*. Αναγκασιον γαρ ην εκασω των μελοικων πολιτην τινα Αθηναίων νεμειν προσάτην. Harpocration. In default of which, they were liable to an action, called, Απροσασιον. I am sensible that Dionysius does not compare the Μελικοι at Athens with the Roman clients, but the Θήτες; and, because we find nothing in the Attic writers to convince us that the Θήτες were, in later times, obliged to have

patrons, as well as the Μελικοι, we ought not, from thence, to conclude, with some learned men, that they were not, originally, under that obligation; which is all that our author says. This I know, that, if there had been no such custom at Athens, * Terence would have been guilty of a great incongruity in making Chaerea say in the Eunuch, the scene of which is laid at Athens,

*Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam et fidem;
Nobis dedit se.*

* Act. v. Scene 9.

this,

this, he improved an ancient Greek custom, long in use among the Theſſali, and, originally, among the Athenians. For the former treated their clients with haughtineſs, impoſing on them offices unbecoming the condition of free-men; and, if, at any time, they diſobeyed their commands, they beat them, and abuſed them, in all other reſpects, as if they had been ſlaves they had purchaſed. The Athenians called their clients, *Θῆτες*, *ſervants*, from their *ſervitude*: And the Theſſali called theirs, *Πενεσαι*, *poor men*, plainly, reproaching them, by this name, with their condition. But Romulus recommended the thing by a handſome appellation, calling this pre-eminence over the poor, and meaner ſort, *a Patronage*: And, by propoſing good offices to each of them, he rendered their connexion full of humanity, and ſuch as became fellow-citizens.

X. The laws, then, inſtituted by him concerning patronage, have, long, continued in uſe among the Romans, and are as follows: The duty of the patrons was to explain to their clients thoſe laws they were ignorant of; to take the ſame care of them, when abſent, as preſent; doing every thing for them, that parents do for their children, with regard both to money, and the contracts, that relate to it; to ſue for their clients, ¹⁹ when injured, and defend

¹⁹ Εἰ τις βλαπτοῖτο περὶ τα συμβολαία. I am convinced that this ſentence was inſerted by ſome tranſcriber to explain *αδικημένων* in the former. It is a plain tautology; and I wonder none of the commentators obſerved it. I have confined *εγκαλῶσιν* to a legal ſenſe, in

which it is often uſed, and not ſaid, generally, *their* accuſers, as all the other tranſlators have rendered it. And, in this ſenſe, I think, it answers better to *δικας λαγχάνειν*, that prece-
des it.

them,

them, when sued; and, to sum up many things in few words, to procure them, both in private, and in public affairs, all that tranquillity they, chiefly, stood in need of. The duty of the clients was to assist their patrons in providing fortunes for their daughters, if the fathers wanted money; to pay their ransom to the enemy, if any either of them, or of their children, were taken prisoners; to bear their patrons losses in private suits, and discharge, out of their own purses, the fines, payable to the public by those, who were condemned, which the clients were to look upon as a benevolence, not a loan; to assist their patrons in supporting the charge of their magistracies, and dignities, and all other public expences, in the same manner as if they were their relations. It was impious and illegal both for patrons, and clients to accuse each other in courts of justice, to bear witness, or give their votes against each other, ²⁰ or to be found among each others enemies: And, whoever was convicted of any of these crimes, he was guilty of ²¹ treachery by virtue of a

²⁰ Μετα των εχθρων εξηλαζεσθαι. I have passed by in silence many odd translations of le Jay; but his version of this sentence is too extraordinary to be omitted; this it is, *de rien faire qui fist soupçonner des inimitiez entre eux*. The other French translator has said very well, *se ranger du parti des ennemis*: I wish he had supported his translation in any other manner than by translating, literally, the note in Hudson without any acknowledgment.

²¹ Προδοσιας. Both the French translators have rendered this, *Trabison*, I think, very properly; because

that word, in their language, signifies *treachery*, not *treason*, which they express by *lèse majesté*. Had Livy thought fit to mention this fine institution, in his account of the actions of Romulus, we should, certainly, have known whether *proditio*, which is the word made use of by the Latin translators, was the name given by the Romans to this crime. So far is certain, that *proditio* was the name they gave to a private correspondence with an enemy. This crime the citizens of Nola had been guilty of; for which reason, Marcellus caused many of them
law

law instituted by Romulus, and might be, lawfully, put to death by any man, as a victim devoted to the infernal Jupiter: For it was the custom among the Romans, to devote those persons they had a mind should be put to death with impunity to some divinity, and, particularly, to the infernal gods: Which Romulus put in practice upon those occasions. By this means, the connexion between the patrons, and their clients continued for many generations, differing in nothing from the ties of blood, and descended to their childrens children: And it was a matter of great praise to men of illustrious families to have numerous clients, and, not only to preserve the succession of hereditary patronages, but also, by their own virtue, to add the acquisition of others. It is incredible how great a contest there was between the patrons, and clients, each striving to surpass the other in benevolence, and not to be outdone in good offices; the clients being, ever, ready to render all possible service to their patrons; and the patrons avoiding, by all means, to give their clients any trouble; and admitting of no pecuniary presents. So much was their behaviour superior to all pleasure; and virtue, not fortune, was the measure of their happiness.

to be put to death; ¹ *supra septuaginta damnatos Proditionis securi percussit.*

² Virgil has, also, ranked the delinquents, mentioned by Dionysius, among the greatest criminals;

et fraus innexa clienti.

Upon this occasion, Servius says, *ex lege duodecim tabularum venit; in quibus scriptum est, Patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.* But it is well known, that the decemvirs enacted many things confirmatory of old laws, as well as introductory of new ones.

¹ B. xxiii. c. 17.

² Aen. B. vi. v. 609.

XI. It was, not only, in the city itself that the plebeians were under the patronage of the patricians, but every Roman colony, and every city in alliance, and friendship with them, and, also, ²² every conquered town chose such protectors, and patrons among the Romans as they thought fit. And the senate has, often, referred matters in dispute, in these cities, and provinces, to their patrons, and confirmed their determination. And, indeed, so firmly was this harmony, which owed its birth to these institutions of Romulus, established among the Romans, that, though, as it often happens, in all cities, both great and small, many great political contests have arisen between the people, and their magistrates, they never, ²³ within the course of six hundred and twenty years, proceeded to bloodshed, and mutual

^{22.} ^a Καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου κεκράτημένων ἐκαστῇ. In proportion as the Romans extended their conquests, these *clientes* became more extensive. Thus, the *Bononienses* were clients of the *Antonii*; the *Lacedaemonians* of the *Claudii*; the *Syracusians* of the *Marcelli*; and the *Putcolani* of *Cassius*, and *Brutus*.

^{23.} Ἐνός ἑξακοσίων καὶ εἰκοσὶν ἐτών. Our author, most certainly, knew that Tiberius Gracchus was tribune of the people, and slain during his tribuneship in the year of Rome 621 in the consulship of P. Minucius Scaevola, and L. Calpurnius Piso; and that his brother, Caius Gracchus, was killed ten years after: So that, he could neither say that no civil blood was drawn in any political contest at Rome, till the year 630; nor date the beginning of these barbarities from the tri-

buneship of Caius Gracchus. We must, therefore, read *εἰκοσι*, instead of *τριακοντα*, and Tiberius, instead of Caius Gracchus. M. * * * seems to triumph in having discovered that this custom of the Romans, in making an amicable end of their contests, did not last above 620 years. I wish he would let us know what nation, what government ever subsisted half that time, without being engaged in civil wars, and mutual slaughter. This is not the place to enter into the merits of the Agrarian law: I shall reserve That till we come to the affair of Spurius Cassius, who, first, proposed it; or, rather, first attempted to restore the observance of a law, as old as their constitution, but, long since, silenced by power.

^a Suet. in Aug. c. 17. id. in Tib. c. 6. Liv. B. xxv. c. 29. Cic. Phil. ii. c. 41:

slaughter; but, by persuading, and informing one another; by submitting in some things, and receiving a voluntary submission in others, they put an end to their disputes in such a manner, as became fellow citizens. But, from the time that Tiberius Gracchus, while triune of the people, dissolved the harmony of the government, they have been, perpetually, destroying, and banishing one another, and refraining from no excess to gain the superiority. But the relation of these events shall be reserved to a more proper place.

XII. As soon as Romulus had regulated these things, he determined to form a senate in order to assist him in the administration of the government. With this view, he chose a hundred persons out of the patricians, according to the following designation: He himself chose one out of their whole body, whom he judged to be the most worthy of that distinction, and whom he thought fit²⁴ to intrust with the government of the city, whenever he himself should be obliged to lead the army out of the Roman territories: He, then, ordered each of the tribes to chuse three persons, who were of an age the best qualified for prudence, and, also, distinguished by their birth. After these nine were chosen, he ordered each curia, likewise, to

²⁴ Τας καὶ αὖτε πολιτικῆς οἰκονομίας. This magistrate was called, by the Romans, *Praefectus urbis*; and ^b Tacitus says that Denter Romulus was the person invested with this dignity by Romulus: That Numa Marcius was appointed

Praefectus urbis by Tullus Hostilius; and Spurius Lucretius by Tarquinius Superbus: Maecenas, every body knows, enjoyed this post under Augustus.

^b Ann. B. vi. c. 11.

chuse three patricians, the most deserving of that trust : Then, adding to the first nine, who had been elected by the tribes, the ninety, who were, then, chosen by the curiae, and appointing the person, he himself had, first, chosen,²⁵ to be their president, he completed the number of a hundred senators. The name of this council may be expressed, in Greek, by Γερουσία, *a Senate*, and is called so by

²⁵ ἡγεμόνα. This person was prince of the senate; and, pursuant to this institution of Romulus, was the first senator; his name being first called over by the censors after their creation. We find he was, upon this occasion, chosen by Romulus himself; ‘ afterwards, the two censors drew lots for this choice, and he, to whose lot it fell, generally, chose the oldest censorian; though, if he thought fit, he might name any other senator. He was, never, removed from this dignity, unless he was expelled the senate. ^dHe delivered his opinion the first of all the consular senators: For, I believe, the prince of the senate was, always, a consular senator; and, by the first passage of Livy, referred to in this note, it appears that Q. Fabius Maximus was, actually, consul, when he was chosen prince of the senate. I observe that Cicero, generally, calls the prince of the senate *princeps senatûs*; and Livy, *princeps in senatu*. By a note of Dr. Chapman, in his very learned essay on the Roman senate, I find, that he interprets with Zamoscius, τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀπεδείξει in our author, *he appointed one to be prince of the senate*: I grant, in-

deed, that Romulus appointed the same person to be prince of the senate, whom he had, before, named for a senator, and to whom he proposed to commit the government of the city, when he himself should be in the field: But I deny that, when he chose him a senator, he made him prince of the senate: For we find that, before this appointment, he chose this person senator, and ordered the three tribes to chuse nine senators, and the thirty curiae ninety: *Then*, ἐπεὶ αὖτε, having added the ninety, chosen by the curiae, to the nine, chosen by the tribes, and appointed the senator *he himself had chosen* to be prince of the senate, he completed the number of three hundred. By this, it appears, I think, very plainly, that this appointment was subsequent to all these elections: And, to suppose our author meant the same thing when he said τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀπεδείξει, as when he said ἡγεμόνα ποιήσας, is to suppose him guilty of a repetition; and, what is worse, to make the appointment of the prince of the senate both to precede, and follow the election of the rest of the senators.

^c Liv. B. xxvii. c. 11.

^d Varro in Gell. B. xiv. c. 7.

the Romans to this day : But, whether from the advanced age of the persons, who were admitted into it, or from their virtue, it obtained this appellation, I cannot, certainly, say : For the ancients used to call persons of great age, and great merit, Γεροντες, *Old-men* : Those, who composed the senate, were called ²⁶ *Conscript-fathers* ; and, to this day, they retain that name. This, also, was a Greek custom : For it is certain that kings, as well such, as inherited the kingdoms of their ancestors, as those elected by the people, had a council composed of the most virtuous men, as Homer, and ²⁷ the most ancient of the poets testify ; nei-

²⁶ Πάτριες ἐγγραφῶι. *Patres conscripti*. And, thus, the senate was, certainly, called in his time, as appears by the testimony of all authors. Livy says they were called so, originally, upon this occasion : Tarquinius Superbus had, under various pretences, put many of the senators to death. After his expulsion, Brutus chose, or, rather, recommended to the people to chuse, the most considerable of the knights to supply their places ; from whence, they were called *Conscripti* : ^a *Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui Patres, qui que Conscripti essent: Conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos*. Festus says pretty much the same thing ; and adds, that the number of these new senators amounted to 164. But he mistakes in saying that P. Valerius did this, when Livy, expressly, says it was Brutus, his colleague. Dionysius lays great stress upon the advanced age of the

senators ; and ^f Sallust, on the same occasion, makes a noble observation ; *Delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium sapientiâ validum, reipublicae consultabant*.

²⁷ Καὶ οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν ποιητῶν μνησθῆναι. This is, also, confirmed by the historians. ^g Thucydides says, that the ancient governments in Greece were hereditary, limited, monarchies ; *πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέγρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλειαί* ; and such was the government instituted by Romulus, not unlike That of Sparta, which lasted seven hundred years, as has been, already, said : The cause of which duration, ^h Aristotle ascribes to the limitations of the kingly government : Upon which occasion, he says, that Theopompus, a prince of great moderation, which he shewed by instituting the ephori, being asked by his wife, whether he was not ashamed to leave the kingdom more limited to his sons,

^a B. ii. c. 1.^f Bell. Cat. c. 6.^g B. i. c. 13.^h Περὶ πολιτ. B. v. c. 11.

ther was the power of the ancient kings arbitrary, and without controule, as it is at this day.

XIII. After Romulus had instituted the senate, consisting of a hundred elders, he concluded, very reasonably, that he should, also, stand in need of a body of young men, both for the guard of his person, and for sudden services, and formed a corps of three hundred men, the most robust, and of the most illustrious families, whom the curiae chose in the same manner they had chosen the senators, each curia electing ten; and these he had always about his person: They were all called by one common name, ²⁸ *Celeres*, according to

than he had received it from his father, answered, that he was not at all ashamed of it, because he should leave it much more lasting; *περαδιδωμι γαρ πολυχρονιω'εραν*; and the event justified his prediction.

²⁸ Κελερες. ⁱ Plutarch gives the same reason, and, almost, in the same words, for this appellation; *απο της περι τας υπεργιας οξυηλος*; which he, visibly, took from our author among many other things. Festus thinks this body of horse received their name from *Celer*, who killed Remus, and was their first commander. The commander of these *celer*es was called *Tribunus Celerum*: This post was enjoyed by Brutus, when Tarquinius was expelled, and gave him a right to assemble the people; as we shall see, when we come to that part of the history. All these circumstances, I think, deserved the attention of the commentators; particularly, the following one, which

is attended with a difficulty, that I can easier state, than explain. Livy, as I have said in a former note, calls the *Ramnenses*, *Titenses*, and *Luceres*, centuries of horse, in two places, and tribes in another: These centuries, ^k he says, Romulus created, just after the peace with the Sabines; and, afterwards, he says of Romulus, that he instituted these 300 *celer*es; ^l *trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum, sed etiam in pace habuit*. Are these 300 *celer*es the same with the three centuries of horse he first mentioned? Certainly not. The first, therefore, were tribes, and so they are called by Varro; ^m *ager Romanus primum divisus in partes tres, a quo tribus appellatae, Titensium, Ramnensium, Lucorum*. This will, sufficiently, shew the error, into which almost all the men of learning have fallen in treating this subject: They derive the equestrian order from

ⁱ Life of Romulus.

^k B. i. c. 13.

^l Ib. c. 15.

^m De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 9.

most writers, from the *Celerity* of their service: For those, who are ready, and quick in performing any thing, the

the institution of these tribes. As little do I think those in the right, who derive this order from the celeres, who were foot, as well as horse; since our author says that, according to the ground, they fought either on horseback, or on foot: For I think it plain that, though Romulus made use of horse in his armies, the institution of the equestrian order, as distinguished from the senate, and people, was owing to Servius Tullius, who, as our author will inform us at large, divided the whole body of the people into six classes; into the first of which he threw all, whose fortunes amounted to no less than a hundred minae, about 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* sterling; of these he formed eighty centuries of foot. He, then, chose eighteen centuries of horse, and added them to the eighty centuries of foot; so that, the first class consisted of eighty centuries of foot, and of eighteen centuries of horse. But, even here, the equestrian census is not, plainly, distinguished from That of the foot: For, in speaking of the former, he says they consisted of those, who had the greatest property, not less than a hundred minae, ἢς το μέγιστον τιμήμα ην της οσιας, εκ ελαττον εκατον μινων; and, when he speaks of the horse, he says, they had the greatest fortunes, and were of illustrious families, ° εκ των εχοντων το μέγιστον τιμήμα, και καλα γενοσ επιφανων. Here, therefore, we do not find that the equestrian census was different from That of the foot, who composed the eighty centuries, which

consisted both of patricians, and plebeians. The only difference, that appears here between the horse, and the foot of the first class, is, that the former were of illustrious birth. And Livy, speaking of the same thing, says they were *ex primoribus civitatis*: He says, also, that they were called to give their votes, before the eighty centuries of foot; *Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae*. This being so, when shall we say the equestrian census was instituted, I mean such a census, as to intitle the possessor of it to be, *ipso facto*, a knight? The first mention I find, any where, of the equestrian census is in Livy; where, after he has given an account of the check, which the Roman army received before Veii, and of the consternation the news of it occasioned at Rome, he says, *quum repente, quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant assignati, consilio prius inter sese habito, senatum adeunt; factaque dicendi potestate; equis se suis stipendia facturos promittunt*. This was the in year of Rome 351, when eight consular tribunes were created, as Livy says, though the *fasti consulares* mention but six for that year. Now, it must be remembered, that the censorship had been created forty years before, in the consulship of T. Quinctius Capitolinus, for the fifth time, and of M. Geganius Macerinus, for the second time. And Livy tells us, in the same place, that, in process of time, the senate, and the

ⁿ B. iv. c. 16.

^o Ib. c. 18.

^r B. i. c. 43.

^s Id. ib.

^t B. v. c. 7.

^u Id. B. iv. c. 8.

Romans call *Celeres*: But Valerius Antias says they had this name from their commander: For the most considerable man, also among them, was their captain, who had three centurions under him, and these, again, had others under them, who had inferior commands. These celeres, constantly, ²⁹ attended Romulus in the city, armed with pikes,

centuries of knights became subject to the jurisdiction of this magistracy, *senatûs, equitumque centuriae, decoris, dedecorisque discrimen sub ditione ejus magistratûs*. From all these circumstances, I think it probable, that the censors, when they reviewed the centuries of horse at every lustrum, had power to grant a *public horse* to every person possessed of the qualifications instituted by Tullius, that is, the census, before mentioned, and who were of illustrious birth. These were the only cavalry the Romans, anciently, made use of. Afterwards, indeed, their horse was raised not, only, in Italy, but in the provinces; and the divisions of it were, then, called *Alae*, not *Turmae*; which last term was peculiar to the divisions of the Roman horse. Of this distinction many instances may be found in Caesar. It is not certain, therefore, when the knights began to be distinguished from the plebeians by the possession of four hundred thousand sestertertium, or 3229 *l. 3 s. 4 d.* sterling, and by the golden ring. I know it is thought that both these were instituted by Tiberius in the ninth year of his reign: To support which, the authority of Pliny is alledged, who says, *Tiberii demum principatûs anno nono in unita-*

tem venit equester ordo; annulorumque auctoritati forma constituta est.—*Hac de causâ constitutum ne cui jus id esset, nisi cui ingenuo ipsi, patri, avoque materno sestertium cccc census fuisset, et lege Julia theatri in xiv ordinibus sedendi.* But this law of Tiberius can only be understood to make it necessary that the father, and grandfather should have those qualifications, as well as the person who claimed the benefit of it: For, by the passage, already quoted from Livy, it is plain there was a *census equestris* established, even, before the siege of Veii: And, as to the gold ring, it appears by another passage of Livy, that it was worn by the knights at the time of, and probably before, the second Punic war. We find, by him, that Annibal, after the battle of Cannae, sent his brother Mago to Carthage, to carry the news of his victory; who, in order to convince the Carthaginian senate of the number of Romans slain in that battle, produced three bushels of gold rings; and told them that these were worn only by the knights, *neminem, nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsorum primores, id gerere insigne* ^u.

²⁹ Αὐτὸς ἡκολούθησεν. *Suivoient leur capitaine*, says M. * * *; when it is past all dispute, that this must be un-

¹ B. xxxiii. c. 2.

^u B. xxiii. c. 12.

and

and executed his orders: and, in a day of battle, they charged before him, and defended his person. These, generally, had the advantage in every action, engaging first, and retreating last: They fought on horse-back, where the ground was proper for it; and on foot, where it was rough, and inconvenient for the horse. This custom Romulus seems to have borrowed from the Lacedaemonians; being informed that, among them also, three hundred of the bravest youth attended the kings, as their guards, and defenders in war, and fought both on horse-back, and on foot.

XIV. Having made these regulations, he distinguished the honors, and prerogatives, which he thought proper that each of the orders should enjoy. The particular functions of the king were these: In the first place, the supremacy in religious ceremonies, and sacrifices, and the performance of every thing relating to divine worship: secondly, the guardianship of the laws, and customs of the country, and the administration of justice, in all cases, whether founded on the law of nature, or the civil law: He was, also, to take cognizance, in person, of the greatest crimes, leaving the lesser to the senate; and to observe that no er-

derstood of Romulus, not of their captain, as le Jay has translated it. Again, when the former comes to *παρασπίζειν*, he says *avec leurs boucliers ils mettoient les autres soldats à couvert*; whereas the sense is, *ils mettoient Romulus à couvert*; unless it can be supposed that three hundred men can cover a whole army with their bucklers: And, here also, le Jay has the advantage over

his countryman, by applying this word to the defence of Romulus; but, then, he has left out *των κελευομενων υπηρεται*, and *προμαχοι*. The example our author, presently, makes use of, I mean, the guards of the Lacedaemonian kings, leaves no room to doubt that these celeres were the guards of Romulus, and not of their fellow-soldiers.

rors were committed in their judgements : He was to assemble both the senate, and the people ; to deliver his opinion first, and pursue the resolutions of the majority. These functions he assigned to the king, and, with these, the absolute command in war. The honor, and power he attributed to the senate were these ; to deliberate, and give their votes concerning every thing the king proposed to them ; and all questions to be determined by the majority. This, also, Romulus took from the constitution of the Lacedaemonians : ³⁰ For neither were their kings arbitrary, but the whole power of the government was vested in the senate. To the people he granted these three privileges ; to chuse magistrates ; to enact laws ; and to determine concerning war, when proposed by the king : But, even, in these points, their power was not without controul, the concurrence of the senate being necessary to give a sanction to their determinations. The people did not give their votes promiscuously, but were called in their curiae ;

³⁰ Ουδε γαρ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς, etc. The constitution of the Lacedaemonians has been, deservedly, praised by the great authors of antiquity ; particularly, by Polybius, and Xenophon ; which shews that, notwithstanding the rants of the Roman writers, liberty may be enjoyed in its utmost extent under a kingly government, properly, limited ; I wish I might say that licentiousness could not. The Lacedaemonians, it seems, had a custom of renewing their oaths of allegiance to their kings every month, and their

kings of renewing their oaths to the Ephori, as the representatives of the people. The oath of the king was to govern according to law ; and That of the Ephori to preserve his power unshaken, as long as he preserved his oath inviolate : * Ο δε ὅρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τὰς τῆς πόλεως κείμενους νόμους βασιλευσθῆναι· τῇ δὲ πόλει, ἐμπεδεσθῆναι τὸν ἐκείνου, ἀσυμφελικὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παρῆξαι. The intention of these oaths was, only, to explain what must, necessarily, be understood in all limited monarchies.

³⁰ B. vi. p. 459.

* Xenophon Περὶ πολ. Λακεδ. p. 690. Edit. Leunclav.

and, whatever was resolved upon by the majority of the curiae, was carried up to the senate: But this custom is, now, inverted: For the senate does not deliberate upon the resolutions of the people, but the people have full power over Those of the senate. I shall leave it to others to examine which of these customs is the best. By this distribution, not only the civil affairs were administered with prudence, and regularity, but, also, Those relating to war were carried on with dispatch, and obedience: For, whenever the king thought proper to lead out his army, there was, then, no necessity for the tribunes to be chosen for the tribes, or the centurions, for the ³¹centuries, or the commanders of the horse; neither was it necessary to take an account of their numbers, to divide them into centuries, or for every man to take his post: But the king gave his orders to the tribunes, they to the centurions, and these to the decurions, each of whom drew out those, who were under their command: And, whether the whole army, or part of it were called, they, at one command, presented themselves ready with their arms at the place appointed.

XV. By these institutions, Romulus, sufficiently, regulated, and, properly, disposed the city both for peace, and war: He rendered it considerable, and populous by these: In the first place, he obliged the inhabitants to bring up all their male children, and the first born of the female; and forbid them to destroy any under three years of age, unless

³¹ Καὶ αὐτὰς λόχους. I was wondering how the French translators came to mistake the sense of this word, and to

render it *per curies*, when I cast my eye upon the translation of Sylburgius, and found he had said *per curias*.

they

they were lame, or monstrous from their birth: These he allowed their parents to expose, provided they, first, shewed them to five of their neighbours, and these, also, approved of it: And, besides other penalties, he punished those, who disobeyed this law, with the confiscation of half their fortunes. After this, finding that many cities in Italy were very ill governed, both by tyrannies, and oligarchies, he proposed to give entertainment to, and attract, the fugitives of these cities, who were very numerous, ³² without distinguishing either their calamities, or their fortunes, provided, only, they were freemen: This he did with a view both of increasing the power of the Romans, and of lessening That of their neighbours; though he covered his design with a specious pretence, ascribing it to the honor of the gods: For the place between the capitol and the citadel (which, in the Roman language, is, now, called *Inter duos lucos* ³³, *The space between the two groves*; and was, then, called so from its situation, the valley being shaded by thick woods on both sides, where it joins to the hills) he consecrated, and made it an ³⁴ asylum for all supplicants; and, building

³² Διακρινων εἰς συμφορας, εἰς τυχας. There is great reason to gather from these words, that, if some of these fugitives fled from persecution, others fled from justice.

³³ Μεθωριον δυοιν δρυμων. This will be best explained by the words of Livy, upon the same occasion, *Locum, qui nunc septus descendentibus inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit*. The reason why ^γ Livy says that place was *septus*,

in his time, is given by ² Dion Cassius, in whom we find that this asylum of Romulus was only nominal, since it was inclosed in such a manner as not to be entered; εἶτω γὰρ περιεφραχθῇ, ὥστε μηδενὸς εἰς τοπαρᾶπαν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸ δυναθῆναι.

³⁴ Ασυλον. This institution, also, Romulus, in all probability, took from the Athenians, in whose city, the descendants of Hercules instituted the

^γ B. i. c. 8. ² B. xlvii. p. 385.

a temple there (but to what god, or genius he dedicated it, I cannot certainly say) under the color of religion he engaged to protect those, who fled to it, from their enemies; and, if they chose to remain with him, he communicated to them the rights of Roman citizens, and promised them a share of the lands he should take from the enemy. This encouragement drew thither, from all parts, a confluence of people, who fled from their private calamities: Neither had they, afterwards, any thoughts of removing to any other place, being detained there by daily instances of his affability, and favor.

XVI. Besides these institutions, Romulus introduced a third, which the Greeks, of all others, ought to have practised, it being, in my opinion, the best of all institutions, as it has laid the most solid foundation for the liberty of the Romans, and not a little contributed to raise them to the empire they have acquired. It was this: Not to put to death, or make slaves of, the men taken in the conquered cities, or ³⁵ lay waste their territories: But to send inhabitants thither to possess some part of the country by

first asylum, which was a temple dedicated to Mercy. The abuses of these asylums, which were very common in the Greek cities, were much complained of in the senate, in the reign of Tiberius; who, as ^a Tacitus says, *reformed* them, *modus praescribatur*: For which reason, among many others, I believe ^b Suetonius is mistaken, when he says that Tiberius *aboluit et jus,*

mercenque asylum, quae usquam erant. However, that may be, the church of Rome has retained this Pagan institution with all its abuses, which, now, are, and, for many ages, have been, carried to a greater height than they ever, were by those, from whom they derived it.

³⁵ Μελοδοτος χωρα, υπο πολεμιων εξεσημαθεισα. Suidas.

^a Annal. B. iii. c. 63.

^b Life of Tiberius, c. 37.

lot, and to make these conquered cities Roman colonies ; and, even, to communicate to some of them the privileges of Roman citizens. By these, and the like institutions, he aggrandized this colony (as the event shewed) which, in its infancy, was very inconsiderable : For, the number of those, who, with him, were the first founders of Rome, did not amount to more than three thousand foot, nor quite to three hundred horse : Whereas, he left behind him, when he disappeared, forty six thousand foot, and near a thousand horse. Romulus having been the author of these institutions, the kings of Rome, who succeeded him, and, after them, the annual magistrates, pursued the same measures, with such additions, as rendered the Roman people, not at all, inferior in number to those nations, that are accounted the most populous.

XVII. ³⁶ When I compare the customs of the Greeks with these, I can find no reason to extol either Those of the

³⁶. Τα δε Ελληνων εβη παρα ταυτα εξεταζων, etc. Our author has great reason, when he compares the institutions of the Greeks with Those of the Romans, to give the preference to the latter. The Romans knew that neither power, nor riches could be acquired, or preserved, but by numbers of people ; and, for that reason, communicated the rights of their city to all men, even to those, who had been their enemies. There is something so noble, so humane, as well as politic in this proceeding, that the reservedness, and jealousy of the Greek cities, with regard to their privileges, when com-

pared to That, must appear mean, illiberal, and weak; but the expulsion of foreigners from Sparta, was detestable. These principles of government must dispeople every country, and, by dispeopling it, make its fate depend upon the event of every battle. The observation our author makes upon the weakness of the Lacedaemonians, after their defeat at Leuctra, was made, before, by Aristotle, who, though he does not mention that battle, can mean no other ; *μιαν γαρ πληγην εχ υπηνεγκεν η πολις, αλλ' απωλετο δια την ολιγαυθρωπιαν.* *Their city could not support itself under a single stroke, but was destroyed through*

^c Περὶ πολ. Λακ.

Lacedaemonians, or of the Thebans, or, even, of the Athenians, who value themselves the most for their wisdom; all who, jealous of their nobility, and, communicating to none, or to very few, the privileges of their cities (for I say nothing of those, who expel foreigners) were so far from receiving any advantage from this haughtiness, that they became the greatest sufferers by it. The Spartans, after their defeat at Leuctra, where they lost seventeen hundred men, were not only unable, afterwards, to recover themselves from that calamity, but, shamefully, abandoned the com-

the want of people. The battle of Leuctra, a village in Boeotia, was fought in the archonship of Phrasicles at Athens, that is, in the second year of the 102^d Olympiad. The Thebans were commanded by the greatest man of his age, Epaminondas; and the Lacedaemonians by Cleombrotus, who was slain in the action, or died, presently after, of his wounds. Hudson says in a note upon this occasion (which M. * * * has translated, that our author has diminished the number of the Lacedaemonians, who were slain in that battle; and adds that they amounted to four thousand men; for which, he quotes Xenophon. I have the passage of Xenophon, now, before me, and, by that, it appears that the Lacedaemonians lost near a thousand men, and the Spartans about four hundred. Xenophon's words are these; οἱ δὲ πολεμαῖχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεώσας ΕΓΓΥΣ ΧΙΛΙΟΥΣ, ὁρῶντες δ' αὖτ' ὅντων Σπαρτιάδων οὐδ' ἓξ ἑκατὸν τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς

ἐπ' ἑκατοσίων τεθνεώσας ΠΕΡΙ ΤΕΤΡΑΚΟΣΙΟΥΣ. So that, Dionysius, instead of diminishing the numbers of the slain, has increased them; which should convince modern authors how cautious they ought to be in censuring the great writers of antiquity. The same French translator has rendered τὴν πόλιν ἀναλαβεῖν, *se relever, ni rebâtir leur ville*: He should have contented himself with the first, which is the sense of the Greek words: For, by adding the other, he has let his readers see that he imagined the city of Sparta was demolished by the Thebans after the battle of Leuctra; which is so far from being true, that, when the Thebans, and their allies made an irruption into Laconia sometime after that battle, and approached Sparta, Agesilaus obliged them to retire, and preserved the city, though it was without walls; ὁμῶς διεφυλάξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀλὲν χίλιον ὕσαν, as Xenophon says.

^d Diod. Sicul. B. xv. p. 484. Edit. Steph.

^e In Agesil. p. 662.

^f Ελλην. B. vi. p. 597. Edit. Leunclav.

mand of Greece. The Thebans, and Athenians, ³⁷ by a single misfortune at Chaeronea, were deprived, not only, of the government of Greece by the Macedonians, but, also, of the liberty they had inherited from their ancestors. But the Romans, though engaged in great wars both in Spain, and Italy, and employed, at the same time, in recovering Sicily, and Sardinia, which had revolted, Macedon, and Greece being, then, in arms against them, and Carthage contending, again, for empire, while the greatest part of Italy, was, not only, in open rebellion, but, also, drawing upon them the Hannibalic war; though surrounded with so many dangers at the same time, they were so far from being oppressed by these misfortunes, that they derived, even, an additional strength from thence, the number of their soldiers enabling them to encounter every danger, and not, as some imagine, the benevolence of fortune: Since, for all her assistance, they had been, utterly, ruined ³⁸ by the single

³⁷ Εξ ἑνός τε περὶ Χαίρωναν ἀτυχήματος. We find, by ^ε Diodorus Siculus, that the battle of Chaeronea was fought the year Charondas was archon at Athens, which was the third year of the 110th olympiad. Philip, who commanded the Macedonians, was, not only, superior to the Athenians, and Thebans, in the number of his forces, but, also, in military skill; the former having, before, lost their best generals, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus. It is remarkable that Philip, in rejoicing for this victory, got very drunk, which was no unusual thing

with him; and, in that condition, insulted his prisoners; when Demades, an Athenian orator, who was one of them, asked him if he was not ashamed, when fortune had given him an opportunity of acting the part of Agamemnon, to act That of Thersites? This reproach chastised Philip, who, not only, ceased to insult his prisoners, but gave them their liberty without ransom.

³⁸ Εξ ἑνός τε περὶ Κανναῶν ὤψματος. It is plain that our author followed Polybius in the account he gives of the loss sustained by the Romans at

defeat they received at Cannae, where of six thousand horse, only three hundred and seventy, and, of fourscore thousand foot, of which the infantry of the commonwealth consisted, little more than three thousand escaped.

XVIII. I admire, therefore, these institutions of the man; and, also, Those I am going to relate: He was persuaded that the good government of cities was owing to these causes, which all politicians boast of, but few establish; first, the favor of the gods, the enjoyment of which gives success to every every enterprise; next, temperance, and justice, by which the citizens, being less disposed to injure one another, are more inclinable to unanimity, and make virtue, not shameful pleasures, the measure of their happiness; and lastly, military courage, which renders, even, the other virtues useful to their possessors: He was sensible that none of these advantages are the effects of chance; but that good laws, and the emulation of worthy pursuits render a commonwealth pious, just, temperate, and warlike. He

the battle of Cannae; and yet, which is very strange, Polybius is quoted by M. ***, in his note upon this passage, to disprove what our author asserts. This will lay me under an obligation of quoting the words of Polybius, which agree, exactly, with Those of Dionysius. As to the numbers of foot, and horse, of which the Roman army consisted, ^h Polybius says, *ησαν δε συν τοις συμμαχοις, πεζων εις οκτω μυριαδας, ιππεις δε μικρω πλειυς των εξακιχιων*. Then, after describing the battle, and the defeat of the Romans,

ⁱ he gives this account of the loss they suffered in their horse; *των μεν γαρ εξακιχιων ιππεων, εβδομηκοιτα μεν εις Ουενσιαν μελα Γαια διεφυγον, περι τριακοσις δε των συμμαχων σποραδες, εις τας πολεις εσωθησαν*. And, in speaking of the loss they sustained in their foot, ^k he says, *εξ αυτης δε τε κινδυνυ, τρισχιλιοι μονον ισως εις τας παρακειμενας πολεις διεφυγον*. I shall not translate these passages of Polybius in this note, because I think I have done that already in translating the account given by our author in the text.

^h B. iii. p. 263.

ⁱ P. 266.

^k P. 267.

took great care, therefore, to encourage these, beginning with the worship both of the gods, and genius's; and, according to the most approved rites in use among the Greeks, he appointed temples, places consecrated, altars, the erecting of images, the representations, and symbols of the gods, and declared their power, the beneficent presents they made to mankind, the particular holidays appropriated to each god, or genius, the sacrifices, which are most acceptable to them, the festivals, public games, and days of rest, and every thing of that nature: But he rejected all such traditional fables concerning the gods, as are mixed with blasphemies, or calumnies, looking upon them as wicked, useless, and indecent, and unworthy, not only of the gods, but, even, of good men: And accustomed his people to think, and speak of the gods with the greatest reverence, and to attribute no passions to them unbecoming their happy nature.

XIX. For this reason, it is not said, among the Romans, either that Caelus was girt by his own sons; that Saturn destroyed his own children to secure himself from their attempts; or that Jupiter dethroned Saturn, and confined his own father in the dungeon of Tartarus: There is no mention made, among them, of the wars, wounds, or bonds of the gods, or of their servitude among men: Neither are there, among them, any processions, performed in mourning habits, with expressions of sorrow, and attended with the complaints, and lamentations of women bewailing the disappearance of deities; such as the Greeks perform in commemorating the rape of Proserpine, and the adventures of Bacchus,

with many other things of the like nature. There is no such thing to be seen among them (though their manners are, now, corrupted) as enthusiastic transports, or Corybantic phrenfies; no begging under the color of religion, no Bacchanals, or secret mysteries, no promiscuous watchings of men, and women in the temples; nor any other extravagance of this kind: But all reverence is shewn to the gods, both in their words, and actions, beyond what is practised either among the Greeks, or Barbarians: And, what I admire above all things, notwithstanding the resort of innumerable nations to Rome, who are all under a necessity of worshiping their own gods according to the customs of their respective countries; the commonwealth has never, by public authority, adopted any of those foreign institutions; a misfortune many other cities have fallen into: But, if, pursuant to some oracle, any images of the gods have been brought thither from foreign nations, ³⁹ they honor them according to their own rites, banishing all fabulous impostures; and, in this manner, they worship the image of the Idaean goddess: For the praetors perform annual sacrifices, and celebrate annual games in honor of her, according to the Roman customs: But the priest, and

³⁹ *Τοις ἑαυτῶν αὐτὰ τιμὰ ἰομεῖς.* This adherence of the Romans to their own rites, and ceremonies, upon their adopting any foreign object of worship, appeared, remarkably, when they received Christianity: For they retained, and still retain their own rites, and their old temples; and, when new ones

are erected, the same position to the east, their statues, pictures, incense, holy water, processions, and all the gaudy apparatus of their former worship: So that, they still preserve their old religion, and have, only, changed the object of it.

priests of this goddess are Phrygians. These carry her image in procession about the city, asking alms in her name, according to their custom, and wearing figures upon their breast, and striking their tymbals, while their followers play tunes upon their flutes in honor of the mother of the gods: But no Roman born is, by any law, or ordinance of the senate, obliged to walk in procession through the city to the sound of flutes; to ask alms, or, dressed in a party coloured habit, to worship the goddess with Phrygian ceremonies: So fearful are they of admitting any foreign customs in religion; and so great is their aversion to all indecent fables.

XX. However, let no one imagine I am not sensible that some of the Greek fables are of use to mankind; some being designed to explain the works of nature by allegories; others, to administer comfort to people in distress; these to free the mind from agitations, and terrors; those to remove ill-grounded opinions, and several invented for some other useful purpose: Though, I say, I am not less acquainted with these things than the rest of the world, yet I am cautious of receiving them as a part of religion; and much more inclined to the theology of the Romans, when I consider that the advantages, flowing from the Greek fables, are small, and extend only to those, who have examined the end, for which they are designed; and this philosophy few are acquainted with; while the vulgar, who are ignorant of it, generally take these fables in the worse sense, and fall into one of these two errors; they either de-

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spise

spife the gods, as subject to many misfortunes ; or abandon themselves to the most shameful excesses, which they see are attributed to the gods.

XXI. But I leave these considerations to those, who make the speculative part of philosophy only their study. As to the constitution, established by Romulus, I think, these things, also, are worthy the notice of history : First, that he appointed a great number of persons to perform divine service. And, indeed, no man can name any new-built city, in which so many priests, and ministers of the gods were ordained from the beginning : For, without mentioning those,⁴⁰ who are invested with family priesthoods, threescore were appointed in his reign to perform divine service for the prosperity of the commonwealth, both in the tribes, and the curiae : I only repeat what ⁴¹ Terentius Varro, the most learned man of his age, has written in his antiquities. In the next place ; whereas others, generally, make choice of such, as are to preside over religious matters, in a mean, and inconsiderate manner ; some thinking fit to

⁴⁰. Συγγενικὰς ἱεροσύνας. M. * * * has translated this, *qui succedoient aux dignitez sacerdotales de leurs peres* ; the sense of which is that the priesthood was hereditary at Rome ; whereas the contrary of this is very well known to all men of learning. The priests mentioned here by our author were those, who performed the sacrifices peculiar to their families, which ¹ Cicero calls *sacrificia gentilia*, and in a particular place. Of this we find a remarkable

instance in ^m Livy, where Fabius came out of the capitol, then besieged by the Gauls, and passed through their army to the Quirinal hill, which was the particular place appointed for the performance of his family rites ; *sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae*.

⁴¹. Τερεντίος Ουαππών. This author is, often, quoted by Dionysius, and, often, mentioned by me in the notes, as the greatest antiquary Rome ever produced.

¹ De harusp. respon. c. 15.

^m B. v. c. 46.

make public sale of this honor; others, disposing of it by lot; he would not suffer the priesthood to be either venal, or distributed by lot; but made a law, that each curia should chuse two persons, both above fifty years of age, of distinguished birth, and virtue, competent fortune, and without any bodily defect: These were not to enjoy their honors during any limited time, but for life, freed from military employments by their age, and, from the cares of civil government, by this law.

XXII. And, because some rites were to be performed by women, others by boys, whose fathers, and mothers were living, to the end that these, also, might be administered in the best manner, he ordered that the wives of the priests should be associated to their husbands in the priesthood; and, if any functions were forbidden by the laws of the country to be administered by men, these women were to perform them; and their sons to exercise Those, that belonged to them; and, that the priests, who had no children, should chuse out of the other families of each curia, the most beautiful boy, and girl; the first to be assistant in the holy functions, till the age of manhood; and the girl to be so, as long as she continued unmarried: These institutions, also, in my opinion, he borrowed from Those of the Greeks: For, whatever functions are administered in the Greek ceremonies by those they call ⁴² *Κανηφοροί*, *Basket-bearers*, the same

⁴² *Κανηφοροί*. I see no reason to suspect this reading; since it is certain that they were called *Canephorae* by the Romans. And, by that name, Cicero calls the two brazen statues of Polycletus, which Verres took from Hierus of Messana: I shall quote the passage, because, by that, it will appear

are performed by those, whom the Romans call by the same name: During these ceremonies, they wear on their heads the same kind of crowns, with which the statues of the Ephesian Diana are adorned among the Greeks. And the functions, which, among the Tyrrhenians, and before, among the Pelasgi, were administered by those, they called, ⁴³ Cadoli, in the rites of the Curetes, and in Those of the great gods, were performed, in the same manner, by those ministers to the priests, who are, now, called, by the Romans, Camilli. Besides, Romulus ordered one soothsayer out of each tribe to assist at the sacrifices: This soothsayer we call *ἱεροσκοπος*, *an inspector of the victims*; and the Romans, preserving something of the ancient appellation, *Aruspex*: He, also, made a law that all the priests, and ministers of the gods should be chosen by the curiae; and that their election should be confirmed by those, who, by their prophetic art, interpret heavenly omens.

pear in what altitude both painters, and sculptors ought to represent the Canephorae; "*Erant aenea praeterea duo signa, non maxima, verum eximia venustate, virginali habitu atque vestitu, quae manibus sublatis sacra quaedam, more Atheniensium virginum, reposita in capitibus sustinebant: Canephorae ipsae vocabantur. Sed earum artificem — Polycletum esse dicebant.*"

⁴³ Καδωλοι. I can make nothing of this word. The commentators, though they differ with regard to the word, that should be substituted in its room, yet all agree in discarding this. Under these difficulties, I shall offer a conjecture of my own; I would read

Κασμιλλοι: My reason is, that Varro says the minister of the great gods is called, in Samothrace, Casmillus, which, he says, is a Greek word; and that he found it in ° Callimachus. *Hinc Casmillus nominatur in Samothraciis mysteriis deus quidam, administer diis magnis. Verbum Graecum arbitror, quod apud Callimachum in poematis ejus inveni.* And I, really, think that ^pVirgil, who, every where, shews himself to have been, perfectly, acquainted with the antiquities of his country, alludes to this change of the word Casmillus to Camillus, when he says,

*matrisque vocavit
Nemine Casmillae, mutilatâ parte Camillam.*

^p In Verr. B. iv. c. 3

^o B. vi. De Ling. Latin.

^r Aen. B. xi. v. 543.

XXIII. After he had instituted these regulations concerning the ministers of the gods, he assigned the proper sacrifices to each curia, as I said, appointing gods, and genius's for each, whom they were, always, to worship; and limited the expences of the sacrifices, which were to be paid by the public. The curiae performed their appointed sacrifices with their own priests; and, on holy days, they feasted together in the dining-room belonging to the curia; for each curia had its own: Adjoining thereto a chapel⁴⁴ is consecrated, which is common to all the curia, like the Prytanea of the Greeks: These dining-rooms were, also, called curiae; which name they, still, retain. This institution Romulus seems to have taken from the discipline of the Lacedaemonians, among whom the societies, called⁴⁵ Phiditia, were, then, in great request; which institution

⁴⁴ Καθωσιώο. I approve, intirely, of the correction of Sylburgius, who thinks it ought to be καθωσιώαι; because our author says, positively, in speaking of the institutions of Numa, that he erected this chapel, and that Romulus did not build a common temple to Vesta; for which, he there gives a very good reason. I observe that M. * * * takes the πρυτανεία, here mentioned by our author, to signify the houses, where those, who had deserved well of the Athenians, were maintained at the public expence, and deduces the etymology of the word from πυρὸς ταμεῖον, the place where they kept the fire. But, though πρυτανεία has that signification, it, also, signifies

public dining-rooms, like those erected by Romulus, and called, by the Romans, *Curiae*; and, in this sense alone, they are analogous to the latter. And as to his etymology, I must beg leave to think that πυρὸς ταμεῖον, more naturally, accounts for the name of those public houses; which I shall support by the authority of the *Etymologicum magnum*; Πρυτανεῖοι, says the author of it, τοποῦν παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ᾧ κοινὰ σίτησις τοῖς δημοσίοις εὐεργέταις ἐδίδοντο· ὅθεν καὶ πρυτανεῖον ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁνομασθὲν πυρὸς ταμεῖον (πυρὸς γὰρ ὁ σῖτος) τὰ ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις σίτη ταμεῖον.

⁴⁵ Φιδίτια. Thus they are called by Aristotle, who explains the word by συσσίτια; and gives the preference to Those of the Cretans, from whom, he

⁴⁴ C. 65. of this book.

⁴⁵ Πολ. η. c. 7, et 8.

Lycurgus,

Lycurgus, who had learned it from the Cretenses, seems to have introduced to the great advantage of his country ; in peace, by promoting frugality, and temperance in their daily repasts ; and in war, by inspiring every man with shame, and repugnance to forsake his companion, with whom he had lived in a communion of libations, sacrifices, and holy rites. Romulus does, not only, deserve praise for the wisdom of these institutions, but, also, on account ⁴⁶ of the frugality of the sacrifices he appointed to be offered up to the gods ; the greatest part, if not all, of which remain to this day, and are performed in the ancient manner. I myself have seen, in the temples, repasts prepared for the gods, upon wooden tables of ancient workmanship ; and barley cakes, wafers, and spelt, with the primitiae of some fruits in baskets, and small earthen plates, and other things of the like nature, all simple, cheap, and void of all ostentation. I have seen, also, the libation wines mixed, not in silver and gold vessels, but in little earthen chalices, and ewers ; and, greatly, admired the men for adhering to the customs of

says, the Lacedaemonians took this institution : The reason he gives for this preference is, that, among the latter, every member of these societies was obliged to furnish a certain sum of money towards their entertainments ; whereas, the expence of the Cretan societies was supplied by the public, which, he says, was more popular.

⁴⁶ Της εὐφροσύνης των θυσιων. Livy makes a fine observation in relation to a crown of gold of small weight, sent

as an offering to Jupiter by the Latines, and Hernici, when they congratulated the Romans upon the extinction of the decemvirate ; *colebantur religiones pie magis quam magnifice*. Afterwards, when this magnificence prevailed in their public worship, when their temples were imbellished with silver, gold, and precious stones, and adorned with statues of the most exquisite workmanship, they paid no regard either to religion, or morality.

⁴ B. iii. c. 57.

their

their ancestors, and not degenerating, from their ancient rites, into a vain magnificence. There are, also, some other institutions, worthy to be both remembered, and related, which owe their birth to Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, a man of consummate wisdom, and of a rare sagacity in interpreting the will of the gods : But of these I shall speak afterwards. Others were added by Tullus Hostilius, the third king after Romulus, and by every succeeding king : But the seeds of them were sown, and the foundations laid by Romulus, who established the principal rites of their religion.

XXIV. Romulus, also, seems to have been the author of that good discipline in other things, by the observance of which the Roman commonwealth has flourished for many generations ; he having enacted many good and useful laws, the greatest part unwritten, but some committed to writing : All of which I do not think necessary to mention, but shall, only, give a short account of those I, chiefly, admire, and look upon as proper to illustrate the tenor of his other laws, and to shew how austere they were, how averse to vice, and how, nearly, resembling the lives of the heroes : However, I must, first, observe, that all legislators, as well Barbarians, as Greeks, seem, in general, to have been, rightly, sensible that all cities, as they consist of many families, are most likely to enjoy tranquillity, when the lives of private men are ⁴⁷ calm ; and to be agitated with many tempests, when

⁴⁷ Οταν οι των ιδιωων ευταθωςι βιωσι. mistaken the sense of this expression.
All the translators have, in my opinion, M. * * * has said *une vie réglée*; and

they are ruffled ; and that every able politician, whether he is a legislator, or a king, ought to introduce such laws, as will render private men just and temperate. But they do not all seem, equally, to have understood by what institutions, and by what laws, this may be affected ; and some of them have committed very great, and, I may say, essential errors in the principal, and chief parts of legislature. First, concerning marriages, and the commerce with women, from which a lawgiver ought to begin (as nature has begun from thence to form our lives) some, taking example from wild beasts, have allowed men, and women ⁴⁸ to converse together promiscuously, and without restraint, as the proper means to free mankind from the rage of love ; to banish jealousy, the parent of mutual slaughter ; and prevent many other mischiefs, which both private families, and whole cities are, often, exposed to through women : Others, by joining one man to

le Jay, *bonne conduite*. I believe the Latin translators missed them by rendering it *vivendi rationem exactam*. There is no doubt but, if every individual lives regularly, the city will be exceeding regular. This is not such a secret in politics, as to have induced our author to quote the authority of all the legislators to support it. His meaning is, that every city will continue quiet, as long as the individuals live *with ease* : For, nothing tempts men to disturb the quiet of any government so much, as domestic uneasiness, from what cause soever it flows. This sense our author has

thought fit to express, figuratively, by *οἰκὴν πλεον*, and to say, afterwards, *χρημὼνα ἀγην* ; to which *εὐεσθῶσι βίοι* corresponds in the same figure, they being all terms of navigation ; and none more so than *εὐεσθῶν πελάγος*, so often, used by the best authors. This figure none of the translators seem to have had the least suspicion of.

⁴⁸ *ἑκατὸς τὰς μιξείας*. This was Plato's system ; and a very extraordinary system it is ; His words are these ; *ἡ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰν ἄνδρα τῶν τελευτῶν πάντων πασας εἰς ἀκοινῶν ἵσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα μὲν ἀποβῆναι ;* for which whim, he is, deservedly, censured by Aristotle.

¹ Περὶ πολιτ. B. v. p. 655.

² Περὶ πολιτ. B. ii. c. i.

one woman, have expelled this rude and savage commerce ; however, concerning the observance of the marriage-rites, and the chastity of women, they never attempted to make any regulations whatsoever ; but gave up the thing, as impracticable : Others have neither allowed the use of women without marriage, like some Barbarians ; nor neglected the care of them, ⁴⁹ like the Lacedaemonians ; but have instituted many laws to keep them within bounds : And some have, even, ⁵⁰ appointed a magistrate to inspect the conduct of women : However, this provision was found insufficient to restrain them, and too remiss to reduce women of bad dispositions to the necessity of a modest behaviour.

XXV. But Romulus, without giving either to the husband an action against his wife for adultery, or elopement

⁴⁹ Ωσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Aristotle, also, finds great fault with the Lacedaemonian women, who, he says, abandoned themselves to all sorts of excess ; ζῶσι γὰρ ἀκολάσως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τρυφῆως : It seems Lycurgus endeavoured to bring them under some government, but they resisting, he gave it over : So that they, not their lawgiver, were the cause of these irregularities. But, continues Aristotle, we do not consider who ought to be excused, and who not ; but, what is right, and what not ; ἢ ἀλλ' ἵμεῖς ἢ τὸ σκεπόμεν τινὶ δεῖ συγγνωμὴν εἶναι, ἢ μὴ εἶναι ; ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ οὕτως, καὶ μὴ ὀρθῶς.

⁵⁰ Ἀρχὴν τινὰ κατέστησαν ἐπιμελησομένην εὐκοσμίας γυναικῶν. These magistrates were called by the Athenians γυναικο-

ισαί : Their duty was, not only, to inspect the conduct of the women, (which, one would think, might have given them full employment) but, also, to enter the houses of those, who gave entertainments, and to count the guests : The master of the house being unable, if their number exceeded thirty. * Athenaeus, from whom I have this account, quotes, upon this occasion, some verses of Menander, whose precious remains cannot be too often transcribed,

Παρά τοις γυναικονομοῖς δὲ τῆς
ἐν τοῖς γαμοῖς
διακονῆσας ἀπογεγραφθαι πυθομένου
Πάντας μαγίττας κατὰ νόμου καινόν τινα,
ἵνα συνθῶνται τῆς κεκλημένους εἰς
Πλείους τις ὧν ἐξέσιν ἐστὶν τύχη
ἐλθῶν.

* Ib. c. 7.

* B. vi. c. 11.

without cause; or to the wife an action against her husband for wasting her fortune, or for divorcing her without reason; without making any laws for the returning, or recovery of the portion, or regulating any thing of this nature; by a single institution, which, effectually, provides for all these things, as experience shews, he brought the married women, even, chearfully, to behave themselves with great order, and modesty: The law was this, “ That a woman, married “ to her husband by the holy laws, shall partake of all his “ fortunes, and sacrifices.” The ancients called holy and lawful marriages, by a Roman appellation, ⁵¹ *Farracia*, from the communion of *Far*, *Spelt*; which we call *Ζεα*; for this was the ancient, and, for a long time, the ordinary food of all the Romans; their country producing great plenty of excellent spelt. And, as we Greeks look upon barley to be the most ancient grain; and, for that reason, begin our sacrifices with barley-cakes mixed with salt, which we call *Ουλαι*: So the Romans, from an opinion that spelt is both

⁵¹ *Φαῖρακία*. I do not remember to have met with *Farratia* in any Latin author for this kind of marriage: The word used by them, upon that occasion, is, *Confarreatio*, derived from *Far*, as our author says, *a Cake*, which was used in that ceremony. *Far* is called *Spelt* in our language, though I never saw any of it in England; but I have seen it growing in Germany, where they make bread of it, which is as white as wheat bread; and, indeed, it resembles wheat in every thing, but the size of the grain, which is less; and

the bread, made of it, is thought to be less nourishing. It is, generally, supposed that these kinds of marriages were, totally, abrogated by the institution of Those of another kind, called, *Coemptio*, which was a fictitious purchase; the married couple being supposed to purchase each other. But we find, by a speech of Tiberius, in ^y Tacitus, that they were not, wholly, disused, even, in his time; *Omissâ confarreati adfuetudine, aut inter paucos retentâ—accedere ipsius caeremoniae difficultates, quae consulto vitarentur.*

^y Ann. B. iv. c. 16.

the most valuable, and most ancient of grains, in all burnt-offerings, begin the sacrifice with That ; and this custom remains to this day, without deviating into first-offerings of greater expence. The participation in the most holy and first food of the women with their husbands, and their union with them, founded on their sharing in all their fortunes, took its name from this participation of spelt, and, necessarily, produced an indissoluble connexion, nothing being capable of dissolving these marriages. This law obliged both the married women, as having no other refuge, to conform themselves, intirely, to the temper of their husbands, and the husbands to retain their wives, as necessary, and inseparable companions : For, if she was virtuous, and, in all things, obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house, as much as he was master of it ; and, after the death of her husband, she was heir to his fortunes, in the same manner as a daughter was to Those of her father ; if he died without children, and intestate, she was his sole heir ; and, if he left children, she had an equal share of his fortunes with them. But, if she committed any fault, ⁵² the injured person was her judge, and determined the

⁵² Δικαστην τον αδικημενον ελαμβανε, και τα μεγαλα της τιμης κυριον. Lipsius, who was a man of great learning, has given us the laws made by several of the Roman kings, collected, as he says, chiefly, from our author ; in which, he has been followed by many writers, who suppose the words, given by Lipsius, to have been the very words, in which these old laws were

enacted : For example, he has translated this law, mentioned by our author, into the language, used in the age of Augustus ; *Si stuprum commisit, aliudve quid peccasset, maritus iudex et vindex esto*. But the inscription in honor of Duilius for the first naval victory the Romans, ever, obtained, and his other successes against the Carthaginians, which is still extant, degree

degree of her punishment. In the case of adultery, or, where it was found that she had drank wine (which the Greeks would look upon as the least of all crimes) her relations, together with her husband, were appointed her judges; who were allowed by Romulus to punish both these crimes with death, as the greatest offences women could be guilty of: For he looked upon adultery as the source of impudence; and drunkenness, of adultery: Both these crimes continued, for a long time, to be punished by the Romans without mercy. And the length of time has shewn the goodness of this law concerning women: For it is allowed that, during the space of five hundred and twenty years, no marriage was, ever, dissolved at Rome. But, in the hundred and thirty seventh olympiad, and ⁵³ in the consulship

will convince any one that the Latin language, which changed so much from the year 493, or 494, in which Duillius was consul, as appears by this inscription, though his name is not in the *Fastii consulares*, and obtained this victory, to the time of Augustus, or about half a century before, must, in all probability, have changed much more from the time of Romulus, to That of Duillius, that is, in the space of 494 years. I shall transcribe a few lines of this inscription, for two reasons; the first, to shew what the Latin language was in those days; and the other, to do justice to the fidelity of Polybius, by laying before the reader some particulars, in which the account, given by that author of this naval battle, agrees,

surprizingly, with That, preserved in this authentic inscription. PRESENTED.
MAXVMO. DICTATORE. OLORVM. IN.
ALTOD. MARID. PVGNANDOD. VICET.
XXXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIEIS.
SEPTEMRESMOMQVE. DVCIS. QVIN-
RESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS.
XX. DEPRESET. “ Ηγεῖτο δ’ Ἀννίβας αὐτῶν
—τριακοντῖα μὲν τὰς πρῶτας συμβαλῆσας
ναυς αὐτῶνδρες ἀπεβάλον, συν αἷς ἐγενέτο
αἰχμηκλῶσιν καὶ τὸ τε τριῶν πλοίων—
εἰφυγον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι — πενήτηκοντῖα ναυς
ἀπεβλήοντες.

53. Ὑπαλειουσιων Μαρκε Πομπειν, καὶ
Γαῖς Παπειν. Valerius Maximus, and
Gellius are quoted, upon this occasion;
but both of them, or their transcribers,
have mistaken the year. Our author
says the first divorce happened in the
137th olympiad, that is, the first year

² B. i. p. 23, et 24.

of Marcus Pomponius, and Caius Papirius, Spurius Carvilius, no obscure person, is said to have been the first man, who divorced his wife, the censors obliging him to swear that he took another with a view of having children, his own being barren : However, he was, by reason of this action, though founded in necessity, ever after hated by the people.

XXVI. These, therefore, are the good laws, which Romulus enacted concerning women ; by which he rendered them more observant to their husbands. But Those he established to inspire children with reverence, and ⁵⁴ piety to their fathers, and to oblige them to honor, and obey them in all things, both in their words, and actions, are still more august, and of greater dignity, and, vastly, superior to our laws : For the Greek legislators limited a very short time for the son to be under the government of his father ; some, till the expiration of the third year after he was arrived to manhood : Others, as long as he continued unmarried : And some, till their names were registered in the colleges

of this olympiad : For That must be, always, understood, when the year is not mentioned : Now, the first year of the 137th olympiad was the 521st year of Rome ; and, though, I find, some accounts of the succession of the consuls place the consulship of Pomponius, and Papirius the year after, yet they were, according to our author, and, in my opinion, according to truth, consuls this year.

⁵⁴ Δικαιοσύνη. Our author uses this word, here, in a philosophical sense ; in which, δικαιοσύνη signifies *Virtue*,

generally ; as *αδίκη* signifies *Vice*. The former, therefore, must not be confined, in this place, to *justice*, which is only one species of *Virtue*, as the piety of children to their parents is another. This is the doctrine of that great moralist, Aristotle, whose ethics I have, already, observed, and shall, often, have occasion to observe our author, frequently, alludes to with approbation, ^a εοικε δε πλεοναχως λεγεσθαι η δικαιοσυνη, και η αδίκη, are the words of that philosopher.

^a Ethic. B. v. c. 1.

of the magistrates; as they had learned from the laws of ⁵⁵ Solon, ⁵⁶ Pittacus, and ⁵⁷ Charondas, in which there is acknowledged to be great wisdom. The punishments, also, they ordered for disobedience in children were not grievous; allowing their fathers to turn them out of doors, and to disinherit them, and nothing further. Whereas, gentle punishments are not sufficient to restrain the folly, and insolence of youth, or to restore those, who despise their duty, to a sense of it: For which reason, among the Greeks, great indecencies are committed by children against their parents. But the lawgiver of the Romans gave full power (as one

⁵⁵ Σολων. The learned world is so much acquainted with Solon, that I shall say no more of him than that he was not an Athenian, though he was their legislator, but of Salamis, and flourished about the 46th olympiad. ^b He died at Cyprus, aged eighty years, and ordered his ashes to be carried to Salamis, and scattered about that island. This, Plutarch, in his life of Solon, treats as fabulous, though, he says, many writers of great credit, and Aristotle, amongst the rest, have affirmed it. However, the authority of Aristotle is, certainly, much more to be depended upon than That of Plutarch, which is, absolutely, confuted by these verses, quoted from Cratinus by Laertius;

Οἰκῶ δὲ νῆσον, ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπων λόγος,
Ἐσπαρμένος καὶ πᾶσαν Αἰανίος πόλιν.

⁵⁶ Πιττακος. There were two men of note of this name, both Mitylenaeans,

^a Laert. life of Solon.

^c Life of Pittacus.

of whom one, surnamed Μικρος, was a lawgiver, and flourished at the same time with Croesus; because ^e Laertius transcribes a letter from him to that prince.

⁵⁷ Χαρωνδας. ^d Aristotle calls him a Catanæan; and says that he gave laws both to his fellow citizens, and to other Chalcidic cities. We find, by our author, that all these three lawgivers gave power to the father over his son no longer than till he was chosen a magistrate: For we must read ἀρχαια with the Vatican manuscript, instead of ἀρχαία in all the editions; since we find το των εφερων αρχαιεν in ^e Aristotle; and το των δημαρχων αρχαιεν more than once in our author; who justifies this reading by what he says, presently afterwards, that Romulus gave absolute power to the father over his son, though invested with the first dignity of the commonwealth; καὶ ἐν αρχαίς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐξέταζομενος.

^d Πολιτικ. B. ii. c. 10.

^e Id. ib. c. 6.

may

may say) to the father over his son, even, during his whole life ; whether he thought proper to expel him his house, to whip him, to load him with chains ; and, in that condition, to employ him in agriculture, or to put him to death ; though his son were, actually, in the administration of the public affairs, though invested with the greatest offices of the state, and distinguished by his zeal for the commonwealth. In virtue of this law, men of distinction, while they were haranguing from the rostra in opposition to the senate, and in favor of the people ; and, on that account, gaining great popularity, have been pulled down from thence, and carried away, by their fathers, to undergo such punishment, as they thought fit ; and, while they were leading away through the forum, none present, neither consul, tribune, nor the people themselves, who were flattered by them, and thought all power inferior to their own, could rescue them. I forbear to mention how many brave men, urged by their valor, and ardor to perform some great action contrary to their fathers command, have, by them, been put to death ; as Manlius Torquatus, and many others are said to have put their sons to death. Concerning whom, I shall speak in a proper place.

XXVII. However, the power, given to fathers by the Roman lawgiver, did not, even, stop here ; but he allowed the father, also to sell his son, without regarding the imputation of cruelty, and of a severity, inconsistent with natural affection, which this allowance might be liable to ; and (what any one, who has been educated in the loose manners of

the Greeks may wonder at above all things, and look upon as harsh and tyrannical) he, even, gave leave to the father to make an advantage of selling his son, as far as three times; giving, by this means, a greater power to the father over his son, than to the master over his slave: For a slave, who has once been sold, and, afterwards, obtains his liberty, is his own master ever after: But a son, when sold by his father, if he should become free, returned to his father's power; and, if he was, a second time, sold, and, a second time, freed, he was, still, as at first, his father's slave; but, after the third sale, he was discharged from his father. This law, whether written, or unwritten (for that I cannot, certainly, affirm) the kings observed in the beginning, looking upon it as the best of all laws. And, after the dissolution of the monarchy, when the Romans, first, thought proper to propose in the forum to the consideration of the whole body of the people all the customs, and laws of their own country, together with Those of foreign institution, to the end that the rights of the public might not be changed as often as the power of the magistrates, the decemvirs, who were authorised by the people to collect, and transcribe these laws, inserted This among the rest; and ⁵⁸ it now stands in the fourth of the twelve tables, which they exposed in the forum.

⁵⁸· Καὶ εἰν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν λεγομένων δωδεκά δέλτων. This law of Romulus, which our author says was confirmed by the decemvirs, is explained among the other laws of the twelve tables in a note on the eleventh book: But, to save the reader the trouble of turning

to that place, I shall give the words of it here; PATREI. ENDO. FIDIO. VITAE. NECISQVE. POTESTAS. ESTOD. TERQVE. IM. VENOM. DARIER. IOVS. ESTOD. SEI. PATER. FIDIOM. TER. VENOM. DVIT. FIDIOS. A. PATRE. LEBER. ESTOD.

However, that the decemvirs, who were appointed, three hundred years afterwards, to transcribe these laws, did not, first, introduce This among the Romans; but that, finding it, long before, in use, they durst not repeal it, we are assured by many reasons; but, particularly, by the laws of Numa Pompilius, the successor of Romulus, among which there is this; “If a father gives his son leave to
 “marry a woman, who, by law, is to partake of his sacrifices,
 “and fortunes, he shall, no longer, have the power of selling
 “his son.” Which he would never have enacted, unless the father had, by all former laws, been allowed to sell his son. But enough has been said concerning these things. I shall, in a few words, give an account, also, of another institution, by which Romulus regulated the lives of private persons.

XXVIII. For, being sensible that the means, by which a whole people (the greatest part of whom are hard to govern) can be induced to embrace a life of sobriety, to prefer justice to gain, to cultivate a perseverance in labor, and to look upon nothing more valuable than virtue, is not instruction, but the habitual practice of such employments, as lead to each virtue; and that those, who practise them through necessity, rather than choice, as soon as they are free from that restraint, return to their natural disposition: For these reasons, he appointed slaves, and foreigners to exercise those trades, that are sedentary, and mechanic, and promote shameful appetites, looking upon them as the destroyers, and corrupters both of the bodies, and minds

of all, who practise them; and these trades were, for a long time, held ignominious by the Romans, and exercised by none of them. The only employments he left to freemen were these two, agriculture and warfare: For he observed that men, so employed, are temperate, less intangled in the pursuits of forbidden love, and subject to that kind of avarice only, which leads them not to injure one another, but to enrich themselves at the expence of the enemy: But, finding that each of these occupations, separate from the other, is imperfect, and produces murmurs, instead of appointing one part of the men to till the earth, and the other to lay waste the enemy's country, according to the institution of the Lacedaemonians, he ordered the same persons to exercise the employments both of husbandmen, and soldiers; and accustomed them, in time of peace, to live in the country, and cultivate the land, ⁵⁹ except when it was necessary for them to come to market; upon which occasions, they were to meet in the city, in order to traffic; and, to that end, he appointed a market to be held every ninth day: And, in time of war, he taught them the duty of soldiers, and not to yield to any, either in the fatigues, or advantages, that attend it. For, by dividing, equally, among them the

59. Πλην εἰπὼν δεῖσθαι ἀγορὰς. The reader, I dare say, will wonder to find this translated by *le Jay excepté les négociants*. These *merchants*, as he calls them, were the husbandmen, who went to Rome every ninth day; as our farmers go to the next market town to sell the product of their lands, and buy

what they want. Indeed, the Roman husbandmen, often, went to Rome to transact affairs of much greater importance: For, upon their resolutions, the fate of their own country, at first, and, afterwards, of all mankind depended.

lands,

lands, slaves, and money they had taken from the enemy, he inspired them with a chearfulness to ingage in his military expeditions.

XXIX. If any of the citizens had injured one another, instead of delay, he used dispatch in determining their differences; sometimes, taking cognizance of them himself, and, sometimes, referring them to others; and, always, proportioned the punishment to the greatness of the crime: Finding, also, that nothing restrains men from all evil actions, so effectually as fear, he contrived many things to create it; as the erecting a tribunal, where he sat in judgement, in the most conspicuous part of the Forum; the most formidable appearance of the soldiers, who attended him, being three hundred in number, and the rods, and axes, borne by twelve lictors, who whipped those in the forum, whose offences deserved it, and beheaded others in public, whose crimes were of the greatest magnitude. This was the constitution of the government established by Romulus: For the things, I have mentioned, sufficiently, enable us to form a judgement of the rest.

XXX. His other actions, both in war, and peace, which, also, deserve the notice of history, are as follows. The neighbouring nations being very considerable both for their numbers, and their strength, and none of them friends to the Romans; he proposed to gain their affection by marriages (which, according to the opinion of the ancients, was the firmest bond of friendship) but, considering that, as the Romans were, newly, settled, and neither powerful in riches,

nor

nor supported by the reputation of any great achievement, those cities would not, of their own accord, unite with them ; but that, if violence, without abuse, were employed, they would submit to it, he determined, with the approbation of Numitor, his grandfather, to effect these marriages ⁶⁰ by seizing, at once, a number of virgins. After he had taken this resolution, he first made a vow to the god, who presides over secret counsels, to celebrate annual sacrifices, and festivals, if his enterprise succeeded : Then, having laid his reasons before the senate, and they approving the design, he proclaimed a festival, and public games in honor of Neptune ; and gave notice to the neighbouring cities, inviting all, who were willing, to be present at the assembly, and partake of the games : For he gave out that there would be prizes of all sorts to be contended for both by horses, and men. The concourse of strangers, who came with their wives, and children to assist at the festival, being very great, after he had performed the sacrifices, and games in honor of Neptune,

^{60.} Δι' ἀρπαγῆς παρθένων. Livy says that Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sent ambassadors to the neighbouring nations to propose an alliance, and to desire wives for his new people : This embassy, he says, was not well received by any of his neighbours, who despised the Romans ; and, at the same time, apprehended lest this power, rising up in the middle of them, might prove fatal to themselves, and their posterity ; and some of them asked the ambassadors, why they had

not opened an asylum for women also ? That being the only means to provide themselves with suitable matches ; ^f *Ecquid non foeminis quoque asyllum aperuissent ? Id enim demum compar connubium fore.* Whether this sneer, which seems not ill applied, was handed down to Livy by the old historians, or was the creature of his own invention, cannot now be known : But it must be allowed to come with a better grace from a Roman, than a Greek, historian.

^f B. i. c. 9.

the last day, on which he was to dismiss the assembly, he ordered the young men, when he should give the signal, to seize all the virgins, who were present at the shew, each taking the first he met with; to keep them that night without violating their chastity, and bring them to him the next day. The young men divided themselves into several bodies, and, as soon as they saw the signal, seized the virgins: Upon this, the strangers were in an uproar, and, immediately, fled, suspecting some greater mischief. The next day, when the virgins were brought before Romulus, he comforted them in their distress with this assurance, that his people, in seizing them, had no design to insult, but to marry them; and told them that this was an ancient Greek custom, and this method of contracting marriages, of all others, the most illustrious; exhorting them to cherish those, whom fortune had given them for their husbands: Then, taking an account of their number, which was found to amount to six hundred and eighty three, he chose an equal number of unmarried men, to whom he married them, each according to the customs of their respective countries; which he confirmed by granting to them ⁶¹ a communion of fire, and water, in

⁶¹. Ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος.
 Plutarch endeavours, by various reasons, to account for the custom, that prescribed to the bride to touch fire, and water: But they are all so trifling, that I shall not mention them. However, I must not omit the reason, given by M. *** in his note upon this passage; the design of making use of

fire, and water in marriages, was, he says, *pour marquer une parfaite union*; I suppose, because fire, and water agree so well together; as well, indeed, as many men, and their wives. Without entering into the reasons, therefore, of this custom, I shall only say that, as marriages were contracted by the use of fire, and water, so, when a man was

‡ Roman. Quæst. i.

the same manner as marriages are performed, even, to this day.

XXXI. Some write that these things happened in the first year of Romulus' reign ; but ⁶² Cneius Gellius says it was in the fourth, which is more probable ; for it is not likely that the chief of a new-built city would undertake such an enterprize, before he had established the government of it. Some ascribe the cause of this ravishment to a scarcity of women : Others, to his seeking a color for a war : But those, who give the most rational account of it, and to whom, also, I assent, attribute it to a design of contracting a friendship founded on affinity with the neighbouring cities. The Romans, even, to this day, continue to celebrate the feast, then instituted by Romulus, calling it, *Consualia*, in which a subterraneous altar, placed near the greatest circus, the ground being sunk for that purpose, is honoured with sacrifices, and burnt-offerings of first-fruits, and a course is run both by horses in chariots, and by single horses : The god, to whom these honors are paid, is called Confus by the Romans ; which name, according to some, signifies, in our language, Ποσειδων σεισιχθων, *Neptune, who shakes the earth* ; and they say that he was honoured with a subterraneous altar, because this god has the command of the earth. I am

banished. he was said to be interdicted fire, and water. The most remarkable instance I ever met with of this interdiction, is the *Rogation*, as the Romans called it, drawn up by Sextus Clodius against ^h Cicero ; *Velitis, jubeatis, ut*

M. Tullio aquâ et igni interdicatur? Or, as Cicero says it was drawn, *ut interdictum sit*, which he, justly, censured as an absurd expression.

^{62.} Γνωσιος Γελλιος. See the 25th annotation on the first book.

^h Pro Dom. c. 18.

sensible

fenfible there is another report ; that the festival is, indeed, celebrated, and the courfe of the horfes performed in honor of Neptune ; but that the fubterraneous altar was, afterwards, erected to fome ⁶³ ineffable genius, who prefides over, and is the guardian of, hidden counfels ; and that a fecret altar was never erected to Neptune, in any part of the world, either by the Greeks, or Barbarians : But it is hard to affert which of thefe opinions is the trueft.

XXXII. As foon as the report of the ravifhment of the virgins, and of their marriage, was fpread about the neighbouring cities, fome repented the proceeding ; others, confidering the motive, from whence it flowed, and the event it was attended with, bore it with moderation. But, in time, it occafioned feveral wars, of which, fome were of fmall confequence, but That againft the Sabines was very confiderable, and full of difficulty : All which ended happily, as the oracles had foretold to Romulus, before he made the attempt, fignifying that he fhould undergo great difficulties, and dangers, but that the event of them would be prosperous. The firft cities, that made war upon him,

⁶³ Δαίμονι ἀρρήτω. The translators are divided, as ufual, in rendering this. Portus, and le Jay have given to ἀρρήτος the fense of *unknown*, which is ἀγνώστος, as ⁱ Paul calls the *unknown* god, to whom the altar was erected at Athens. Sylburgius, and M. * * * have translated it properly. The ancients, it feems, worshipped fome divinities, whose names they held it impious to

pronounce ; and, for that reason, called them ἀρρήτους θεοί ; one of thefe was Proferpine, who is called ἀρρήτος κορη by ^k Euripides in that truly poetical description of the wandering of Ceres in fearch of her ;

Ποθῶ τας ἀποισχομένας
Ἀρρήτην κερας.

ⁱ AEs, c. xvii. §. 23.

^k In Helena, §. 1322.

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Ἀρρήτῃς κερας.

ⁱ Aſs, c. xvii. ſ. 23.

^k In Helena, ſ. 1322.

were ⁶⁴ Caenina, ⁶⁵ Antemna, and ⁶⁶ Crustumerium: Their pretence was the ravishment of the virgins, and the desire to revenge it: But their real motive was a jealousy of the rise, and swift increase of Rome, and a resolution not to suffer a common evil to grow up, and become formidable to all its neighbours. These cities, therefore, sending ambassadors to the Sabines, desired that, as they were possessed both of the greatest strength, and greatest riches, and thought themselves worthy of the empire over their neighbours, and had not the least share in the late abuse, they would take upon them the command of the war: For the greater part of the virgins belonged to them.

XXXIII. When they could not prevail, the ambassadors sent from Romulus opposing them, and courting that people both by their words, and actions, they grew uneasy at the loss of time (the Sabines, for ever, affecting delays, and putting off to a long day the deliberation concerning the war) and resolved to make war upon the Romans by themselves, not doubting but their own strength, if the three nations united their arms, would be sufficient to conquer one inconsiderable city. This was their resolution: But they did not use the necessary expedition to assemble all

⁶⁴ Καίννη· πολις Σαβιων. ¹ Festus writes it Cenena. This town stood near to Rome, but its situation is not, certainly, known.

⁶⁵ Αἰτμνα, or Antemnae, lay between Rome, and the confluence of the Anio, and the Tiber.

⁶⁶ Κρυστομεριον. This town is called

Crustumerium, and Crustumeria, both by Livy, and Pliny. It stood between the Tiber, and the Anio, about a mile north of Fidenae. ^m Cluver thinks that Crustumerium stood upon, or near the hill, on which there is, now, a tower, called, *Maringliano Vecchio*.

¹ Steph. Epitom.

^m Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8.

together

together in one camp, which was owing to the eagerness of the Caeninenfes, who led out their forces before the rest, and seemed the greatest promoters of the war. This people, therefore, having taken the field, and waſting the country, that lay neareſt to their own, Romulus led out his army; and, unexpectedly, falling upon the enemy, while they were, as yet, unprepared to receive him, he made himſelf maſter of their camp, which was, but newly, formed; then, following cloſe thoſe, who fled into the city, where they had, as yet, received no account of the defeat of their people; and, finding the walls, unguarded, and the gates open, he took the town by ſtorm, and the king of the Caeninenfes meeting him with a ſtrong body of men, he charged him, and, killing him with his own hands, took off his ſpoils.

XXXIV. The town being taken in this manner, he ordered the inhabitants to deliver up their arms; and, taking as many of their ſons for hoſtages, as he thought fit, he marched againſt the Antemnates. Their forces, alſo, he defeated, in the like manner, by falling upon them unawares, while they were, yet, diſperſed in foraging; and, having treated the priſoners like the others, he returned home with his army, carrying with him the ſpoils he had taken in battle, and the choiceſt part of the booty, as an offering to the gods; to whom, together with theſe, he offered many ſacrifices. Romulus himſelf came laſt in the proceſſion, clad in a purple robe, his hair bound with a crown of laurel, and, that he might maintain the royal dignity,

⁶⁷ in a chariot drawn by four horses. The rest of the army both foot and horse followed, ranged in their several divisions, hymning the gods in songs of their country, and celebrating their general with extemporary verses. They were met by the citizens with their wives, and children; who, ranging themselves on each side of the way, congratulated them upon their victory, and expressed, in every other instance, the greatest affection for them. When the

⁶⁷ Τεθριππῶ παρεμβέβηκως. ⁿ Plutarch has thought fit to censure Dionysius for saying that Romulus triumphed in a chariot; which custom, he says, was, afterwards, introduced, as some authors write, by Tarquinius, the son of Damaratus; and, as others, by Poplicola. However, he has not thought fit to name these authors. If he had, we should have been able to judge whether their authority deserved better to be opposed to That of our author, than his own. I believe, the reason he gives, a few lines before, for contradicting Varro, the greatest antiquary the Romans ever had, will not, greatly, recommend his authority to the reader. Varro had derived *Opima spolia*, *Spoils taken from a general by a general*, such as Those Romulus took, from *Opis*, which signifies *Riches*: This derivation Plutarch finds fault with, and says, very absurdly, that *Opima spolia* may, with greater propriety, be derived from *epus*. Casaubon observes, upon this occasion, That Dionysius, being a Greek, and unacquainted with the Latin language, as he supposes, in reading the account, given of this triumph of Romulus by

^o Livy, who says, *fabricato ad id apte ferculo*, mistook *ferculum*, for a chariot: This note both le Jay, and M. * * * have translated; the former owning from whom he had it, and the other not. Casaubon's fancy supposes two things; the first, that Dionysius had read Livy, which I do not believe; because he never mentions him among the other Latin historians, whom he, often, quotes; and I have, upon another occasion, shewn^p, I think, that it is probable Livy's history did not appear before That of our author: The other supposition is, that Dionysius, being a Greek, did not understand Latin enough to know that *ferculum* did not signify a chariot. In opposition to this, we must remember what our author has told us in his preface, that he had lived twenty two years at Rome, and made himself master of the Latin language: After which, it is ridiculous to imagine that a man of his parts, and application, should not, in so long a time, have understood Latin as well as an Eton, or Westminster scholar; most of whom, I dare say, know the signification of *ferculum*.

ⁿ Life of Romulus.

^o B. i. c. 10.

^p See the eighth annotation on the first book.

army entered the city, they found ⁶⁸ bowls full of wine, and tables spread with all sorts of victuals, which were placed before the houses of the most considerable persons, to the end that all, who pleased, might satisfy themselves. Such was the victorious procession, in which trophies were carried, and sacrifices offered up, called, by the Romans, *a Triumph*, which was first instituted by Romulus. But, in our time, these triumphs are become very expensive and ostentatious, and attended with a theatrical pomp, that seems calculated to shew their riches, rather than their virtue; and, in which, they have departed, in all respects, from their ancient frugality. After the procession, and the sacrifice, Romulus built a small temple, on the top of the Capitoline hill, to Jupiter, whom the Romans call ⁶⁹ *Feretrius*: For the ancient traces of it still remain, of which the longest sides are less than fifteen feet: In this temple, he consecrated the spoils of the king of the Caeninenfes, whom he had killed with his own hand. Jupiter Feretrius, to whom Romulus de-

^{68.} Κεράηρι οίνῳ ηκεράμεναις. Κεράν is used here by our author in the same sense the poets use the word, that is, *to fill*, without any regard to mixture; thus, ¹ Homer says,

κεράσσε δὲ νεκλὰς ἐρύθειν."

Upon which, the Greek scholiast, very well, observes, νυν ἐνεχέειν ἀπο τῆς ἀρχαίας συνήθειας· εἰς κέρας γὰρ ἐγγχεόντες ἐπίνον.

^{69.} ¹ Νέων—Διὸς Φερέτριου. This temple Augustus repaired; and, what is very extraordinary, he repaired it by the advice of Atticus, who was an Epicu-

rean; and, by his principles, ought not to have been solicitous about the reparation of temples. The philosophy of Epicurus gained ground among the Romans in proportion as they were losing their liberty, and, the parent of that liberty, their virtue: it being very natural for men, who were plunging their country into slavery, and vice, first to wish, and then to believe, that their actions were secure from the observation, and chastisement of PROVIDENCE!

dedicated these arms, may, without deviating from the truth, be called either Τροπαιχος, *The Trophy-bearer* ; Σκυλοφορος, *The Spoil-bearer*, as some are of opinion ; or Υπερφερης, *Excellent* ; because he excels all things, and comprehends universal nature, and motion.

XXXV. After the king had performed the sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for his victory, and offered up the choicest of the booty, before he entered upon any other business, he assembled the senate to deliberate with them in what manner the conquered cities were to be treated ; he himself first delivering the opinion he thought the best. After all the senators, who were present, had approved of the counsels of their chief, as safe and generous, and given great applause to all the other advantages, that were likely to flow from them to the commonwealth, not only for the present, but for ever after, he called together all the women, who belonged to the Antemnates, and Caeninenfes, and had been seized with the rest : And, when they appeared before him lamenting, throwing themselves at his feet, and bewailing the calamities of their country, he commanded them to cease their lamentations, and be silent ; then, spoke to them as follows : “ Your fathers, and brothers, together
 “ with all the cities, to which you belong, deserve to meet
 “ with every kind of severity, for having preferred an unnecessary and dishonourable war to our friendship : However, we have resolved, for many reasons, to treat them
 “ with moderation ; to which we are induced both by our
 “ fear of the indignation of the gods, ever ready to punish
 “ the

“ the arrogant, and by our apprehension of the envy of
 “ men ; and are, also, persuaded that mercy does not, a
 “ little, contribute to alleviate the common evils, to which
 “ mankind are subject, as we ourselves have, formerly,
 “ stood in need of That of others : And your behaviour to
 “ your husbands having been, hitherto, blameless, we are
 “ of opinion that this will be no small honor, and return
 “ for it : We suffer their offence, therefore, to go unpunish-
 “ ed, and take from your fellow-citizens neither their liberty,
 “ their possessions, nor any other advantages they enjoy :
 “ And to those, who chuse to stay there, as well as to such,
 “ as are desirous to remove hither, we grant full liberty to
 “ make their option ; not only without danger, but with-
 “ out fear of repenting. But, to the end they may never
 “ repeat their fault ; and, that no occasion may be found
 “ to induce the cities to break with us, the best remedy,
 “ and That, which will, at the same time, conduce to the
 “ reputation, and security of both, will be, to make those
 “ cities colonies of Rome, and to send a proper number of
 “ our own people from hence to inhabit them, jointly, with
 “ your fellow-citizens. Go away, therefore, satisfied ; and
 “ redouble your love, and regard for your husbands, to
 “ whom your parents, and brothers owe their preservation,
 “ and your countries their liberty.” The women, hearing
 this, were greatly, pleased, and, shedding tears of joy, left the
 forum. Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into
 each city, to whom these gave a third part of their lands to
 be divided among them by lot ; and those Caeninenfes, and
 Antemnates,

Antemnates, who desired to remove to Rome, he conveyed thither together with their wives, and children, they retaining the possession of their lands, and bringing with them all their effects. These, who were not less than three thousand, the king, immediately, incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae : So that, the Romans had then, for the first time, six thousand foot, in all, upon the register. Thus, Caenina, and Antemna, no inconsiderable cities, whose inhabitants were of Greek extraction (for they were, then, inhabited by the Aborigines, who had taken them from the Siceli, and who, as I said before, were part of those Oenotri, who came out of Arcadia) after this war, became Roman colonies.

XXXVI. Romulus, having finished these things, led out his army against the Cruftumeri, who were better prepared than the former to receive him : And, after he had reduced them both in a pitched battle, and in an assault upon their city, they having behaved themselves with great bravery, he did not think fit to punish them any farther, but made this city, also, a Roman colony, like the two former. Cruftumerium was a colony of the Albans, planted many years before the building of Rome. The fame of the general's valor in war, and of his clemency to the conquered being spread through many cities, several brave men joined him, bringing with them considerable powers, together with their whole families : From one of these leaders, who came from Tyrrhenia, and whose name was Caelius, one of the hills, on which he settled, is, to this day, called Caelius :

Whole

Whole cities, also, submitted to him, after the example of ⁷⁰ Medullia, and became Roman colonies. The Sabines, seeing these things, grew uneasy, and accused one another for not having crushed the power of the Romans, while it was in its infancy; instead of which, they were, now, to contend with it, when it was, greatly, increased: They determined, therefore, to correct their former error, by sending a considerable army into the field. And, soon after, assembling a general council in the greatest and most dignified city of the nation, called ⁷¹ Cures, they all gave their votes for the war, and appointed Titus, surnamed Tatius, king of the Curetes, to be their general. After the Sabines had come to this resolution, the assembly broke up, and every one, returning home, made preparations for the war, designing to advance to Rome, with a great army, the following year.

XXXVII. In the mean time, Romulus, also, made the best preparations he was able to receive them; being sensible that he was to defend himself against a warlike people.

⁷⁰ Μεδυλλια. This town stood in the neighbourhood of Rome, and near the confines of the Sabines; and was a colony of the Albans. It belonged to the Latines, as our author informs us in the third book; *Μιαν δε πολιν εκ της Λατινων εθνικης Μεδυλλιαν.*

⁷¹ Κυρις. This city, the capital of the Sabines, has, long since, lain in ruins: But it is supposed to have stood on the spot, where there is, now, a small monastery, called, *il Vescovio di Sabina,*

not far from the river Himella, now called *L'Alia*, and something more than twenty five Roman miles north from Rome. This city gave two kings to the Romans, Tatius, and Numa, and, also, gave name to the Romans themselves, who, from thence, were called Quirites.

^u Κυρις, εξ ης ωρμηθη οι της Ρωμης βασιλευσαντες Τιβερις Ταβιος, και Νυμας Πομπηλιος. Ενλευθεν δε και Κυριδας ονομαζουσιν οι δημηγορευτες της Ρωμαιας.

^s C. 34.

^t Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 9.

^u Strabo, B. v. p. 349.

With this view, he raised the wall of the Palatine hill, by building higher works upon it, as a farther security to the inhabitants, and surrounded the adjacent hills, the ⁷² Aventine, and That, now, called the Capitoline hill, with ditches, and strong palisades: Upon these hills, he ordered the husbandmen, with their flocks, to pass the nights, securing each of them by a sufficient guard; and, if any other place could contribute to their security, he fortified That, also, with ditches, and palisades, and placed a guard there. In the mean time, there came to him a man of activity, and reputation for military achievements, whose name was Lucumo, lately, become his friend; who brought with him, out of the city of ⁷³ Solonium,

⁷² Τον Ανεΐλινον. M. ***, in his note upon this passage, says that Dionysius contradicts himself by saying, in the third book, that Ancus Martius *fortified* this hill. However, the contradiction is not owing to our author, but to his misrepresentation of our author's sense; which will, plainly, appear by comparing the terms made use of by Dionysius in these two places. In this before us, he says that Romulus surrounded the Aventine hill with a ditch, and strong palisades; Τον Ανεΐλινον αποταφρευων, και χαρακωμασι κατ'εργοις περιλαμβανων. In the other passage, he says that Ancus Martius made no small addition to the city by inclosing the Aventine hill within its walls; τη πολαιμοιραν & μικραν προσεθηκε, εντειχισας τον λεγομενον Ανεΐλινον. The first, therefore, visibly, relates to the extemporary fortification made by Romulus to repulse the Sabines; and the other, to the

making this hill a part of the city.

⁷³ Εκ Σολωνις πολεως. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, which M. *** has translated, whereby it appears that there must be some mistake in the name of this city, there not having been any city so called in Tyrrhenia. * Cluver is there cited for reading Vetulonium instead of Solonium, which is a very reasonable conjecture; since Vetulonium was one of the twelve principal cities of Etruria, and so considerable, that the ensigns of magistracy, afterwards, in use at Rome, were thought to have been invented there; which gave occasion to Silius Italicus, quoted, also, by * Cluver, to say,

*Maeoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis :
Bis senos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces,
Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures :
Haec altis eboris decoravit honore curules,
Et princeps Tyrio vestem praetexuit ostro.*

^w B. ii. c. 2.

^x B. viii.

a considerable number of auxiliary forces consisting of Tyrrhenians. There came to him also, from the Albans, sent by his grandfather, a good number of soldiers with their attendants, and, with them, artificers for making warlike engines : These men were supplied with provisions, arms, and all other necessaries. When every thing was ready for the war on both sides, the Sabines, designing to take the field in the beginning of the spring, resolved, first, to send ambassadors to the enemy, with orders both to require the women to be sent home, and to demand satisfaction for seizing them ; to the end that, being denied it, they might seem under a necessity to enter upon the war : With this view, therefore, they sent ambassadors. But Romulus thought it reasonable that the women, since they themselves were not unwilling to live with their husbands, should be suffered to remain with them ; but consented to grant them any thing else they desired, provided they applied to him in a friendly manner, and did not begin the war : However, they, agreeing to nothing he proposed, marched out with their army, which consisted of twenty five thousand foot, and near a thousand horse. The Roman army was not much inferior in number, ⁷⁴ the

74. Δύω μὲν αἱ τῶν πεζῶν μυριάδες, ὀκταλυσίοι δ' ἵπποις. M. *** thinks it is not credible that the army of Romulus should be so numerous ; since, after he had incorporated the Caeninenfes, and Antemnates with his own people, the whole number did not exceed fix thousand, as we have seen ; and it is not to be believed, he says,

that Caelius, the Medullini, and the other cities could have supplied him with fourteen thousand more. But he seems to have forgotten that our author has, already, told us that many brave men had, before, joined him with considerable forces, besides Caelius ; that many cities had submitted to him, besides Medullia ; that Lucumo had

foot amounting to twenty thousand, and the horse to eight hundred. This army, being divided into two bodies, incamped before the city : One of which bodies, commanded by Romulus himself, was posted on the Esquiline hill ; the other, on the Quirinal hill, which was not, then, known by that name : This division was under the command of Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian.

XXXVIII. Tatius, king of the Sabines, being informed of their preparations, decamped in the night, and marched through the country without doing any damage to the inhabitants, and, before sun rise, incamped on the plain, that lies between the Quirinal, and Capitoline hills : But, observing all the posts to be, strongly, guarded by the enemy, and no place of strength left for his army, he found himself under great perplexity, not knowing how to employ his troops while he remained there. But he was relieved from this anxiety by an unexpected piece of good fortune ; the strongest of the fortresses being delivered up

joined him, also, with a good number of forces, besides the Alban soldiers, and the artificers sent by his grandfather : And I cannot think it incredible that all these together might amount to fourteen thousand men. There is an expression, made use of by our author a few lines before, which well deserved the attention of the commentators ; it is this, *κηρυκας επεμ-
πον επι ταυλα* ; here we find the preposition *επι* used for a cause with an accusative case ; whereas, most authors,

and Dionysius, among the rest, generally give it a dative case upon those occasions. However, Herodotus, who was much admired by our author, as we find in his critical works, uses this preposition in the same manner ; where, speaking of the erroneous opinion the Egyptians entertained that Cambyfes was the son of the daughter of Apries, he says, *Ἵ Κυρον γαρ ειναι τον πεμψαιλα παρα Αμασιν ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ, αλλ' & Καμβυσεα.*

γ In Thalia, c. 2.

to him by the following adventure. For, while the Sabines were passing by the foot of the Capitoline hill, to view the place, and see whether any part of the hill could be taken either by surprize, or force, they were observed from the eminence by a virgin, whose name was Tarpeia, the daughter of a man of distinction, who commanded in the place: This virgin, as both Fabius, and Cincius write, ⁷⁵ had a mind to the bracelets, which they wore on their left arms, and to their rings: For, at that time, the Sabines wore ornaments of gold, and were, in no degree, inferior to the Tyrrhenians in elegance. But, according to the account given by Lucius Piso, the censorian, in his history, the desire of doing a great action led her to deprive the enemy of their defensive arms, and, in that condition, to deliver them up to her fellow-citizens. But which of these accounts is the truest, may be conjectured by what happened afterwards. This virgin, therefore, sending out one of her maids by a little gate, which was not known to be open, desired the king of the Sabines to come, and confer with her in private, as having an affair of necessity, and importance to communicate to him: Tatius, in hope of having the place betrayed to him, accepted the proposal, and came to the place appointed; when the virgin, approaching ⁷⁶ as near as the

⁷⁵ Ερωσ εισερχεται των ψελλιων. ² Livy treats this account as a fable, and rather thinks she was bribed by Tatius to admit the Sabines: However that may be, our author has taken care to

secure himself under the authority of Fabius, and Cincius.

⁷⁶ Εις εφικτον. Sylburgius has translated this, *quam potuit latentissime*. This is not the sense of the word, which has

nature of the place would allow, informed him that her father was, upon some occasion, gone out of the fortrefs that night, but that ſhe kept the keys of the gates; and, if they came in the night, ſhe would deliver up the place to them upon condition that they gave her, as a reward for the treachery, thoſe things, which all the Sabines wore on their left arms. This being conſented to by Tatius, ſhe received his aſſurance on oath for the performance of this agreement, and gave the ſame to him; then, having appointed the ſtrongeſt part of the fortrefs, to which the Sabines were to repair, and the moſt unguarded hour of the night for the enterprize, ſhe returned without being diſcovered by thoſe within.

XXXIX. So far all the Roman hiſtorians agree, but not in what follows. For Piſo, the cenſorian, whom I mentioned before, ſays, that a meſſenger was ſent out of the place by Tarpeia in the night to give intelligence to Romulus of the agreement made by her with the Sabines (in conſequence of which ſhe propoſed, by taking advantage of the ambiguity of the expreſſion in that agreement, to demand their deſenſive arms) deſiring him, at the ſame time, to ſend a reinforcement to the fortrefs that night, by the aſſiſtance of which, the enemy, ⁷⁷ together with their com-

nothing to do with *ſecrecy*. Εφικλον, δυναλον. Heſychius. The fidelity of M. * * *, in tranſlating Sylburgius. though it is, often, of advantage to him, ſometimes leads him into a ſnare; as it has done upon this occaſion: For he has rendered his miſtake literally; *Tarpeia ſ'y rendit auſſi le plus ſecrete-*

ment qu'elle put. Portus, and, conſe- quently, le Jay, have tranſlated it very properly.

⁷⁷. Αὐτῇ τῷ στρατηλάτῃ. Caſaubon, very juſtly, obſerves that Portus, by deſiring to add the prae poſition *εὐ*, did not conſider that this Atticiſm is, often, to be met with in the Greek
mander,

mander, being deprived of their arms, might be taken prisoners: But, that the messenger, deserting to the king of the Sabines, acquainted him with the design of Tarpeia. However, Fabius, and Cincius, say there was no such thing; on the contrary, they affirm that the virgin observed her treacherous compact: But they all agree, again, in what follows. For they say that, upon the approach of the king of the Sabines with a detachment of his best troops, Tarpeia, in execution of her promise, opened the gate agreed upon, to the enemy; and, calling up the garrison, desired they would save themselves, immediately, by other outlets unknown to the enemy, as if the Sabines had, already, been masters of the place: That, after the retreat of the garrison, the Sabines, finding the gates open, and the place deserted, possessed themselves of it: And that Tarpeia, alledging that she had performed her part of the agreement, insisted upon receiving the reward of her treachery, according to their oaths.

XL. Here, again, Piso says that the Sabines being ready to give the virgin the gold they wore on their left arms, Tarpeia demanded their shields, not their ornaments: That Tatius repented the imposition, and, at the same time, thought of an expedient not to violate the agreement; which was to give her the shields, as the maid desired, but to find

authors. This is so true, that I scarce know a good writer, who does not, often, use it. I shall, therefore, content myself with quoting one instance of this Atticism from ^a Homer,

ιστ' αὐλῆσι βοεσσιν
Ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπῆς.
Upon which, the Greek scholiast says,
συν αὐλαῖς ταῖς βυσί.

² *Ὀδυσσ. υ. γ. 219.*

means

means that she should make no use of them; and, immediately, threw his shield at her with all his force, and ordered the rest to do the same: And that Tarpeia, thus pelted on all sides, fell under the number, and force of the blows, and died overwhelmed with their shields. But Fabius attributes this collusion in the performance of the agreement to the Sabines: For they, being obliged, by their contract, to give her the ornaments of gold, as she desired, repined at the greatness of the reward, and threw their shields at her, as if they had engaged themselves by their oaths to give her these. But what followed gives the greater appearance of truth to the opinion of Piso: For she was honoured with a monument in the place where she fell, and lies buried on the most sacred hill of the city: And the Romans every year, perform libations to her (I relate what Piso writes) whereas, if she had lost her life in betraying her country to the enemy, it is not probable she would have received any of these honors either from those she had betrayed, or from those, by whom she was killed; but, if there had been any remains of her body, they would, in process of time, have been dug up, and cast out of the city, in order to ⁷⁸ deter, and warn others from committing the like crimes. But let every one judge of these things as he pleases.

XLI. However Tatius, and the Sabines, being masters of a strong fortress, and having, without any trouble, taken the greatest part of the Romans baggage, ⁷⁹ carried on the

⁷⁸ Φοβος. The reader will observe that φοβος is used actively in this place, and signifies *terror*, not *fear*.

⁷⁹ Τον πολεμικόν διεφέρον. I am very glad I can do M. * * * the justice to say that he is the only one, of the four

war, now, with security: And, as the armies lay incamped at a small distance from each other, several attempts were made, and skirmishes happened on many occasions, which were not attended with any great advantages, or losses to either party. Afterwards, two pitched battles were fought, in which, all the forces on both sides engaged with the greatest animosity; and each of them lost a considerable number of men. While the time was thus prolonged, they both came to the same resolution, which was, to decide, by a general engagement, the fortune of the war: Whereupon, the leaders of both armies, consummate in the art of war, and the soldiers used to action, advancing to the plain, that lay between the two camps, performed many memorable actions, as well in attacking, as in receiving the enemy; in rallying, and renewing the fight with equal advantage. Those, who, from the ramparts, were spectators of this doubtful battle, which, often varying, alternately inclined to each side, when their own people had the advantage, inspired them with fresh courage by their exhortations, and shouts; and, when they were pressed, and pursued, prevented a total misbehaviour, by their prayers, and lamentations: By which, both armies were compelled to support the dreadful incidents of the battle, even beyond their strength. The engagement having, in this manner, lasted all that day,

translators, who has rendered this passage with propriety: All the rest have given it this sense; *that they protracted the war*; whereas, he has translated it

simply, *faire la guerre*. And this is the sense ^b Herodotus has given to *διαφερεν τον αιωνα*, *to live*, in the letter, he says, Amasis writ to Polycrates.

^b In Thalia. c. 40.

without any advantage on either side, and night coming on, they both, willingly, retired to their own camps.

XLII. The following days, they buried their dead, took care of the wounded, reinforced their armies, and, resolving upon another battle, met, again, in the same plain; and fought till night, when the Romans had the advantage in both wings; the right being commanded by Romulus himself; and the left by Lucumo, the Tyrrhenian: But, in the center, the battle remained as yet undecided; one man preventing the intire defeat of the Sabines; and, by rallying the troops, that gave way, he brought them, again, to dispute the victory with the conquerors: His name was Metius Curtius, a person remarkable for his strength, and personal courage; but, chiefly, celebrated for his contempt of every danger, and every fear. This man commanded in the center, and had overcome those, who opposed him: But, being desirous to restore the battle in the wings also, where the Sabine troops were, already, pressed, and their lines forced, he encouraged those about him; and, pursuing that part of the enemy's forces, that fled, and was dispersed, drove them to the gates of Rome: This obliged Romulus to leave the victory imperfect, and, returning from the pursuit, to hasten to that part of the enemy, that was victorious. This departure of Romulus with his forces gave an opportunity to the Sabines, who had been disordered, to renew the fight upon equal terms; and the whole danger, now, fell upon Curtius, and his victorious troops. For some time, the Sabines received the onset of the Romans, and fought with
great

great gallantry : But, being attacked by greater numbers, they gave way, and saved themselves by retiring to their camp ; Curtius securing their retreat, and preventing their being pursued, while they were in disorder ; which gave them an opportunity of retiring without precipitation : For he stood his ground, and fought, and received Romulus, when he attacked him in person. Here, ensued a great and glorious engagement between the leaders themselves : But Curtius, having received many wounds, and lost much blood, retired by degrees, till he came to a deep lake, round which it was difficult for him to advance, the enemy being posted on all sides of it ; and impossible to pass through it from the quantity of mud, that surrounded it, and the depth of waters, that were gathered together in the middle : When he came to the lake, armed as he was, he threw himself into the water : And Romulus, supposing he would, immediately, perish in the lake, and not being able to pursue him through so much mud, and water, turned upon the rest of the Sabines : But Curtius, with great difficulty, got safe, at last, out of the lake, without quitting his arms, and was led away to the camp. This place is now filled up ; but is called, from this adventure, the *Lake Curtius*, being about the middle of the Roman forum.

XLIII. Romulus, while he pursued the rest, advanced near the capitol, and had great hopes of making himself master of the place ; but, being weakened by many wounds, and hurt by a severe stroke with a stone, which, having been thrown at him from a high place, had hit him on the temple,

he was taken up half dead by those about him, and carried into the city. When the Romans, no longer, saw their leader, they were seized with fear, and the right wing fled: But the troops, that were posted on the left commanded by Lucumo, encouraged by their leader, a man much celebrated for military achievements, and who had performed many great actions during the course of this war, stood their ground for some time: But he himself being pierced through the sides with a javelin, and falling through weakness, they gave way also: Upon which, the whole Roman army fled; and the Sabines, imboldened by their flight, pursued them to the city: But, when they approached the gates, they were repulsed; the youth, whom the king had appointed to guard the walls, sallying out upon them with fresh forces; and Romulus, who, by this time, was, in some degree, recovered of his wound, coming out to their assistance with all possible expedition, the fate of the battle turned, and, greatly, changed in favor of the Romans: For those, who fled, recovered themselves from their late fear at the unlooked-for appearance of their leader; and forming, that instant attacked the enemy; while the Sabines, who were, then, ⁸⁰ driving the others into the city, and ⁸¹ made no doubt

⁸⁰. Καίεργοντες αὐτοὺς. Καίεργμενος, κατακεκλεισμένος. Hesychius. And this is the sense the translators ought to have given to this word; which Sylburgius, and le Jay have done. Portus has said, *qui vero tunc intra moenia se continebant*; which would be very well, if our author had said καίεργοντες ἐκ αὐτοῦ.

⁸¹. Καὶ μηδεμίαν οἰομένοις μηχανὴν εἶναι

το μὴ etc. This expression has great elegance, and is taken from Herodotus, whose style our author so often imitates, that I may venture to affirm no man can be qualified to translate the latter, who has not, in a good measure, acquainted, himself with the manner of the former. Cyrus (I mean the founder of the Persian empire) had a
of

of taking it by storm, when they saw this sudden and unexpected change, thought of providing for their own safety: But they found it no easy matter to retreat to their camp, being pursued from an eminence, and through a hollow way; and, in this rout, happened ⁸² the great loss they sustained. After they had thus fought a doubtful battle that day, and both met with unexpected turns of fortune, the sun, now, being near his setting, they parted.

XLIV. The following days, the Sabines held a council, in which they deliberated whether they should return with their forces, after they had done all possible damage to the enemy's country, or send for another army from home, and prosecute the war with constancy, till, by a victory, they

jealousy of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and then adds, *ἔκων εἰσι μηχανῇ ἀπο τῆς οὐσίας ταύτης ἔδεμιν το μη κενον ἐπιβελειν εμοι*. I need not point out to the learned reader the analogy between this expression, and That our author has made use of upon this occasion. The Latin translator of Herodotus has rendered this very properly, though not very elegantly, by *nulla dubitatio*. Our English translator of that author, Littlebury, I find, has left out the whole sentence. Had Sylburgius considered this passage of Herodotus, he could not have rendered That, before us, *nec ullum obstar machinamentum putabant quo minus*, etc. However, he has been followed, in his error, by M. ***, who has said *que rien ne pouvoit les empêcher de prendre leur ville*. This passage of Herodotus, also, shews

that Sylburgius had no reason to change το μη into τὸ μη, notwithstanding the authority of the Vatican manuscript, which, though it has restored numberless passages, is, certainly, defective in this.

^{82.} Ο πολὺς φόνος. This particle εἰ, which is very expressive in Greek, makes a great alteration in the sense: For, πολὺς φόνος γινέσθαι, which all the translators have expressed in their several versions, differs, widely, from ὁ πολὺς φόμος γινέσθαι; the first signifying *a great slaughter*, and the other, that *the great slaughter* happened upon that occasion. I know there is a great difficulty in rendering these powers of the Greek language, in any other: But, every reader expects that a translator should, at least, attempt it.

^c In Clio, c. 209.

should

should put an end to it in the most honourable manner. They considered that it would be of bad consequence to them, both to return home with the shame of having effected nothing, and to stay there, when none of their attempts succeeded to their expectation. As to a treaty with the enemy concerning an accommodation, which they looked upon as the only honourable means of putting an end to the war, they thought it not more convenient to them, than to the Romans. On the other side, the Romans were, not less, but, even more, perplexed than the Sabines, what course to take in the present juncture: For they could resolve neither to restore the women, nor to retain them; looking upon the first to be attended with an acknowledgement of their defeat, and with a necessity of submitting to every thing else, that should be imposed upon them; and the other with many dismal scenes in the desolation of their country, and the destruction of the flower of their youth: And, if they should offer to treat of peace with the Sabines, they despaired of obtaining any favourable conditions, for many reasons; but, chiefly, because haughty men treat an enemy, who courts them, with severity, rather than moderation.

XLV. While both were consuming the time in these considerations, daring neither to renew the fight, nor treat of peace, the wives of the Romans, who were Sabines, and the cause of the war, assembling together, without their husbands, after consultation among themselves, determined to make the first mention of an accommodation to both armies. The person, who proposed this measure to the rest of the women,

women, was called Herfilia, a woman of no obscure birth among the Sabines. Some have said that, being already married, she was seized with the virgins as a maid: But those, who give the most probable account, say, that she staid with her daughter by her own consent: For, according to them, her only daughter was, also, ravished among the rest. After the women had taken this resolution, they came to the senate; and, having obtained audience, they made a long harangue, in which they, earnestly, desired leave to go their relations; expressing great hopes of uniting the two nations, and of establishing friendship between them. When the senators, who were present with the king in council, heard this, they were, exceedingly, pleased, and looked upon it as the only expedient in their present difficulties. Upon which, a decree of the senate was made to this effect; That those Sabine women, who had children, should, upon leaving them with their husbands, have permission to go, in the quality of ambassadors, to their countrymen; and that those, who had many children, should take some of them, and use their endeavours to reconcile the two nations. After this, they went out, dressed in mourning; some of them, also, carrying their small children. When they arrived in the camp of the Sabines, lamenting, and falling at the feet of every one, they raised great compassion in all, who saw them, none being able to refrain from tears. The council being assembled on this occasion, and the king commanding them to give an account of the reasons, that brought them thither, Herfilia, who had advised
this

this resolution, and was at the head of the embassy, besought them, in a long and pathetic discourse, to give peace to those, who were interceding for their husbands, and for whose sake, they professed to have undertaken the war. As to the conditions of that peace, she said, the chiefs, assembling together by themselves, might settle them with a view to the advantage of both parties.

XLVI. After she had said this, all the women, with their children, threw themselves at the feet of the king, and remained prostrate, till those, who were present, raised them from the ground, promising to do every thing, that was reasonable, and in their power: Then, having ordered them to withdraw, and consulted together, they determined to make peace. And first, a truce was agreed upon between the two nations: After that, the kings had an interview, and a peace was concluded. The terms agreed upon, which they confirmed by their oaths, were as follows: That Romulus, and Tatius should be kings of the Romans, with ^{s3} equal right of suffrage, and equal honors: That the city, preserving its name, should, from its founder, be called Rome: And that each particular citizen should, as before,

^{s3}. ἰσοψηφες. I am surprised at the inaccuracy of the translators in rendering this word. Portus, and Sylburgius, by saying *pari potestate*, have misled the two French translators, who, certainly, never thought of the Greek text, when they rendered it *un pouvoir égal*, *une puissance égale*. ἰσοψηφες, undoubtedly, signifies a person, who has

an equal right of suffrage; and, in this sense, Thucydides uses the word in that noble speech, in which Pericles encourages the Athenians not to submit to the Peloponnesians, who, he says, labor under many disadvantages; and, among the rest, mentions this, that ^d πάντες τε ἰσοψηφοὶ οἴνε, καὶ ἐχόμοφυλοι, το ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος σπένδει.

^d B. i. c. 141.

be called a Roman: But that the people, collectively, should be comprehended under one general appellation, and, from the country of Tatius, be called ⁸⁴ Quirites: And that all the Sabines, who were willing, might settle at Rome, and bring with them the images of their gods; and that they should be incorporated with the tribes, and the curiae. After they had sworn to the observance of this treaty, and erected altars ⁸⁵ in memory of their oaths, about the middle of the holy way, as it is called, they mingled together, and all the generals returned home with their forces, except Tatius, the king, and three persons of the most considerable families, who staid at Rome, and received those honors, which their posterity after them enjoyed: These were Volusus Valerius, and Tullus, surnamed Tyrannus, with Metius Curtius, who swam cross the lake with his arms: Others staid, also, with their relations, and clients, not less in number than the former inhabitants.

XLVII. Every thing being settled, the kings thought proper, since the city had received a great encrease of people, to double the number of the patricians, by adding to the former illustrious families, as many of the new inhabitants;

⁸⁴ Κυρίτας. ° Livy assigns the same reason for this appellation: *Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliud daretur, Quirites a curibus appellati.*

⁸⁵ Ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσιν. The translators are unanimous in supposing, in their several versions, that they erected these altars in order to swear to the observance of the treaty upon them; with-

out considering that our author says they swore to perform the treaty before he mentions the altars: So that, I think, we must conclude that the altars were erected to perpetuate the memory of this treaty, which was confirmed in so solemn a manner; and, by which the two nations were united.

which addition they also called patricians: Of these, a hundred persons, previously chosen ⁸⁶ by the curiae, were incorporated with the ancient senators. Concerning these things, almost all the authors of the Roman history agree: But some few differ in the number of the additional senators: For they say that not a hundred, but fifty only were admitted into the senate upon this occasion. Concerning the honors also, which the kings conferred on the women, in return for their mediation, all the Roman historians do not agree: For some of them write that, besides many other considerable grants, they gave their names to the curiae, which were thirty, as I have said, That being the number of the women, who went upon the embassy. But Terentius Varro does not agree with them in this particular: For he says that Romulus gave the names to the curiae earlier than this, when he, first, divided the people; some of these names being taken from their chiefs; and others from the ⁸⁷ places

^{86.} Φρατρίαι. The French translators are unfortunate in rendering this period. M. *** has thought fit to call these, *les tribus*, instead of *les curies*, which he should have said. And le Jay has confounded the patricians with the senators, and made the hundred men, chosen by the curiae, to have been elected into the number of the patricians, instead of the senators, *pour prendre, comme les autres, le nom, et la qualité de patrices*. Patricians they were, to be sure, but they were senators also; which last quality he has omitted. By the original constitution of the Ro-

mans, the dignity of senator, as well as all the magistracies, could only be enjoyed by patricians: Thus, we shall find, that [†] Tarquinius Priscus, when he added another hundred persons to the senate, first made them patricians, and then senators.

^{87.} Απο παντων. Here is, certainly, a fault in the text, which runs through all the editions. This the translators have been so sensible of, that they have followed Gelenius, who, upon what authority I know not, has read απο των παλαι πατριδων. But the misfortune is, that the names of the curiae

[†] B. ii. c. 67.

inhabited by the curiae: He says, also, that the number of the women, who went upon the embassy, was not thirty, but three hundred and twenty seven; and does not think it probable that the kings would have deprived so many women of this honor, to bestow it only upon a few of them. I thought it became me neither to omit these things, nor to say more of them, than was proper.

XLVIII. Concerning the city of the Quirites, from whence Tatius, and his followers came (for the course of this narration requires that I should speak of them also, and say who they were, and from whence) we have received the following account. In the territory of Reate, when the Aborigines were in possession of it, a certain virgin of that country, who was of the first quality, dancing with others of her sex, went into a temple of Enyalius: The Sabines, and, from them, the Romans give to Enyalius the name of Curinus; without being able to affirm for certain, whether he is the god Mars, or some other, enjoying the same honors: For some are of opinion that each of these names is attributed to the same god, who presides over combats: Others, that these names belong to two several gods of war. However, this maid, while she was dancing in the temple,

were not taken from the countries, from whence the people, who composed them, originally, came; but from the places they inhabited: Which is confirmed by Plutarch, who, in his life of Romulus, has, plainly, taken many things from our author; and, like him, mentions this opinion, that the names of the curiae were taken

from the women; which he treats as an error: And the reason he assigns for it, may, very probably, help us to the right reading of this passage; *πολλαι γαρ εχουσιν απο ΧΩΡΙΩΝ τας προσηγορίας*. I would, therefore, read, with a small alteration, instead of *απο παντων, απο τοπων*.

was, on a sudden, seized with divine inspiration ; and, ceasing to dance with her company, ran into the sanctuary of the god : After which, being with child by this genius, as every body believed, she brought forth a son, whose name was Medius, and his surname Fidius, who being arrived to manhood, had not a human, but a divine form ; and was, of all men the most renowned for military achievements ; and, being desirous to build a city, ⁸⁸ at his own expence, he gathered together a great number of people of the neighbourhood, and, in a very short time, built the city, called Cures: Which he called by that name, as some say, from the genius, who was reputed to have been his father ; or, as others write, from a spear ; for the Sabines call spears, *Cures*. This is the account given by Terentius Varro.

XLIX. But ⁸⁹Zenodotus of Troezen, who has written the history of the Umbri, says that the Sabines, first, dwelt, in the Reatine territory, as it is called, of which they were the original inhabitants ; and that, being driven from thence by the Pelasgi, they came into the country they now inhabit ; and, changing their name with their habitation, from Umbri, were called, Sabines. But Portius Cato says that the Sabines

⁸⁸. Αφ' ἑαυτοῦ. Portus has led the two French translators into an error by rendering this *de suo nomine* ; which they have translated without considering that the name of this man was Medius Fidius, and That of the city Cures, which name cannot, possibly, be derived from the other. We may, certainly, conclude that Sylbur-

gius saw this difficulty, by his leaving it out. Αφ' ἑαυτοῦ, plainly, signifies, *at his own expence*, and the Latin translators ought to have rendered it, *suis sumptibus*.

⁸⁹. Ζηνοδοτος. I can find nothing worth relating concerning this historian.

received their name from ⁹⁰ Sabinus, the son of ⁹¹ Sancus, a genius of that country ; and that this Sancus was, by some,

⁹⁰. Ζαβινός. I see no reason to substitute Sabus, with Sylburgius, in the room of Sabinus, contrary to the authority of all the manuscripts, and editions, since ⁸ Virgil, also, calls him Sabinus,

*Italusque, paterque Sabinus
Vitifator.*

⁹¹. Σαγκον. This is the true reading ; and thus it must be restored in ^b Livy, where he says, in speaking of Vitruvius, *bona ejus Semoni Sanco censuerunt consecranda*. For this divinity of the Sabines was called ⁱ Semo, Sancus, Sangus, and Fidius ; the last of which I look upon to be a Roman name, and the other three to have been the name of that god, as they called him, in the Sabine language, which was not, like the Latin, originally, Greek, notwithstanding the small colony of Lacedaemonians, who came to settle among the Sabines : And, that their language was not, originally, Greek, appears from the following passage of Livy, where he refutes the opinion of those, who held that Numa had been instructed by Pythagoras, which, he observes, could not be, since the latter lived in the time of Servius Tullius, above a hundred years after Numa, and resided at Croton, in a distant part of Italy : After which, he asks this question, ^k *Ex quibus locis, ut si ejusdem aetatis fuisset* (Pythagoras) *qui famâ Sabinos, aut quo linguae commercio quærquam ad cupiditatem*

discendi excivisset ? If Justin had read either Dionysius, or Livy, or, even, conversed with any, who had read them, he would never have fallen into the ridicule of charging the Romans with having erected a statue to ^l Simon Magus, upon no other foundation than this inscription on the statue of this Sabine god, SEMONI. SANGO. DEO. FIDIO. which he supposes to have been *Simoni deo sancto*. My learned friend, ^m Dr. Gregory Sharpe, says, in his justification, that, *in this, he did not intend to deceive any one*. This I am very willing to allow ; but hope he will, also, allow that, if his sincerity acquits him of any design to deceive, his ignorance, and credulity render him a poor guide to follow. I wonder what the Roman Senate, to whom he addresses his apology, thought of this extraordinary discovery : But I suppose they had never heard either of him, or his writings. I observe, in reading this apology of ⁿ Justin, that he addresses it, not only, to the Roman senate, whom he flatters with the title of *ἁγία συνέλευσις*, *holy senate* (a strange title to be given by a father of the Christian church to an assembly of heathens) but, also, to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and to the people of Rome. The statue, here taken notice of by Justin, was, I find, not a great many years ago, dug up in an island of the Tiber, with the very inscription before mentioned, which had, so unfortunately, misled Justin.

⁸ Aen. B. 7. v. 178.

ⁱ B. viii. c. 20.

^l Ovid. Fastorum. B. vi. v. 213.

^k B. i. c. 18.

^m ¹ Apology, p. 51. Edit. Oxon.

ⁿ Apol. for the Christ. fathers, p. 134.

¹ P. 1st and 2^d.

called.

called Jupiter Fidius: He says, also, that their first habitation was in a certain village, called ⁹² Teftrina, situated near the city Amiternum: That, from thence, the Sabines made an incursion into the Reatine territory, which was, at that time, inhabited by the Aborigines; and, having, by force of arms, taken their most considerable city called ⁹³ Cotyna, they continued in possession of it: That, sending colonies out of the Reatine territory, they built many cities, in which they lived without fortifying them; and, among the rest, the city called Cures: And that the country they were in possession of, is distant from the Adriatic about two hundred and eighty stadia, and, from the Tyrrhene sea, two hundred and forty; and he says that the length of it was little less than a thousand stadia. There is, also, another account given of the Sabines in the histories of that country, which says that a colony of Lacedaemonians settled among them, when Lycurgus, being guardian to his nephew ⁹⁴ Eunomus,

⁹² Τεστρίναν. ° Cluver places this village near the city of Amiternum, and the river Aternus, now called, *Pescàra*. Amiternum stood between the head of this river, and Aquila, near to a small town, known, at this time, by the name of *S. Vittorino*.

⁹³ Κότυνας. As there is a great variety of opinions concerning the true reading of this word, I shall not trouble the reader with any conjectures relating to the situation of this controverted town.

⁹⁴ Εὐνομόν. The historians vary concerning the name of this man: ° Herodotus calls the nephew of Ly-

curgus Leobotes, Λυκῆρον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω ἀδελφίδεσσι μὲν ἑωῦτα. Lycurgus gave laws to Sparta about the same time that Carthage was built by Dido, and about 116 years before Romulus built Rome. No man was ever a greater benefactor to his country than Lycurgus; since, having found it almost the worst governed nation of all the Greeks, he reformed it by such a system of laws, as the best judges have, always, admired, and the wisest nations imitated. The Lacedaemonians, before Lycurgus, were so little disposed to receive good laws, that he despaired of their prevailing among

° Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8. ° In Clio, c. 65.

gave laws to Sparta: That some of them, disliking the severity of his laws, and separating from the rest, quitted the city intirely; and, after ⁹⁵ a long navigation in the main sea, made a vow to the gods (for they were desirous to land any where) to settle in the first place they should arrive at: That, at last, they made that part of Italy, which lies near the ⁹⁶ Pomentine plains, and called the place, where they first landed, ⁹⁷ Feronia, in memory of their being *carried* through the main; and built a temple to the goddess Feronia, to whom they had addressed their vows; which goddess, by the alteration of one letter, they, now, call F_ηronia: That some of them, going from thence, cohabited with the Sabines: And, for this reason, many of their institutions are Laconic; particularly, their inclination to war, their frugality, and a

them by their own merit; which obliged him to have recourse to the Delphic oracle, and to prevail on the priestess to recommend them to his country by her authority, which was then, universally, obeyed. This she did effectually, by recommending the author of them,

Μηδης, ω Λακωνες εμιν πειν πιστοι νηον,
Νηι εφιδου, και πασα Ολυμπια δομαλ' εχουσι.
Διζω η σε θεον μαθευσουμαι, η ανθρωπον.
Αλλ' ετι και πολλον θεον ελπομαι, ω Λακωνες.

The Delphic priestess must have had a great dependance upon the credulity of mankind to make Apollo first, gravely, doubt whether Lycurgus was a god, or a man; and then, wisely, determine that he rather believed him to be a god.

⁹⁵ Δια πελαγους πολλας. See the 163^d annotation on the first book. The ancients, at least, the Greeks, and Romans, were so little acquainted with navigation, that they called crossing the Mediterranean, for example, from Laconia to Italy, δια πελαγους φερεσθαι, *to sail through the main sea*, which appellation modern seamen scarce allow to any other navigation, than to the east, or west Indies.

⁹⁶ Πωμενινα πεδια. * These plains received their name from Pometia, the capital of the Volsci. * They lay between the rivers Astura, and Ufens; and, in these plains, stood the temple of *Feronia*, at the distance of three Roman miles from *Tarracina*.

⁹⁷ Φερονια. Απο της φερεσθαι.

* In Clio, c. 65.

* Strabo, B. v. p. 355.

* Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

severity in all their actions. But this is sufficient concerning the Sabines.

L. Romulus, and Tatius, immediately, enlarged the city, by adding to it two other hills, the Quirinal and Caelian; and separating their habitations, each of them had their particular place of residence. Romulus chose the Pallantine and Caelian hills, the latter being contiguous to the Pallantine; and Tatius the Capitoline, which he had, at first, possessed himself of, and the Quirinal, hills. And, cutting down the wood, that grew on the plain at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and filling up the greatest part of the lake, which, by lying in a hollow place, always abounded with the water, that came down from the hills, they converted this plain into a market place, which the Romans continue to make use of, even, to this day: There they held their assemblies, transacting their affairs in the temple of Vulcan, which stands a little above the forum. They built temples, also, and consecrated altars to those gods, to whom they had addressed their vows during their battles; Romulus, to ⁹⁸ Jupiter Stator, near the gate called ⁹⁹ Mugionia, which leads to the Palatine hill from the holy way, because this god had, in consequence of his vow, stopped his army in their flight, and brought them to renew the battle; and Tatius to the sun, and moon, to Saturn, and to Rhea; and, besides these, to Vesta, Vulcan,

⁹⁸. Οἰστρος Διὸς. This is a translation of *Jupiter Stator*. He is represented in the coins of Antoninus Pius, and Gordian, in a standing posture, his right hand leaning on a spear; and, in his left, he holds a *fulmen*.

⁹⁹. Μυκωνισι πυλῆξις. This was the *Porta Mugionia*, so called from *Mugius*, who had the guard of it: *Porta Mugionia Romae dicta est a Mugio quodam, qui eidem tuendae praefuit.* Festus.

Diana, and Enyalius, and to other gods, whose names are difficult to be expressed in the Greek language. And, in every curia, they dedicated tables to Juno, called ¹⁰⁰ Quiritia, which are extant, even, to this day. They reigned five years together in perfect harmony; during which time, they undertook a joint expedition against the ¹⁰¹ Camerini: For these people, having sent out bands of robbers, and done great mischief to the country of the Romans, neglected, though often called upon, to give them satisfaction: Having, therefore, overcome the Camerini in a pitched battle (for these did not decline the engagement) and, afterwards, taken their town by storm, they disarmed the inhabitants, and took from them a third part of their country; which when the Camerini were laying waste, they marched out against them the third day, and, having put them to flight, they divided all their possessions among their own people; but suffered as many of the inhabitants as were willing to live at Rome: These amounted to about four thousand, whom they distributed among the curiae, and made their city a Roman colony. Cameria was a colony of the Albans, planted long before the building of Rome; and, anciently, one of the most celebrated habitations of the Aborigines.

¹⁰⁰ Ηεξ Κουίτια. I look upon this to be a translation of *Juno Populonia*; because [†] Macrobius mentions a table dedicated in the temple of this Juno; *in Papiriano jure etiam relatum est, arae vicem praestare posse mensam dicatam; ut* in templo Junonis Populoniae augusta mensa est.

¹⁰¹ Κάμερινας. "Cameria stood in the confines of the Latines, and Sabines, and in the neighbourhood of Rome.

[†] Sat. B. iii. c. 11.

^u Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

LI. The fixth year, the sole government of the city returned to Romulus, Tatius having lost his life by a conspiracy, which the principal men of ¹⁰² Laurentum had formed against him upon this occasion: Some friends of Tatius, at the head of a band of robbers, had made an incursion into the territory of the Laurentes, where they took a great many of their effects, and drove away their herds of cattle, killing, and wounding those who opposed them. Upon the arrival of embassadors from the injured to demand justice, Romulus was of opinion that the authors of the injury ought to be delivered up to the sufferers: However, Tatius, espousing the cause of his friends, would not consent that any persons should be delivered up to their enemies before judgement; particularly, that Roman citizens should be delivered up to strangers; but ordered those, who complained they had been injured, to come to Rome, and proceed against ¹⁰³ them according to law. The embassadors, having obtained no sort of justice, went away full of resentment: And some of the Sabines, incensed at their proceeding, followed them, and set upon them while they were

¹⁰². Λαβινιαίων. There is a note of Casaubon upon this occasion, in which he contends, with great reason, that we must read Λαυρεντίων, instead of Λαβινιαίων; because, though Tatius was slain at Lavinium, the fact was committed by the Laurentes; which is confirmed both by ^w Livy, and ^x Plutarch.

¹⁰³. Αἰῶις. I cannot agree with Portus in reading αἰῶς, instead of

αἰῶις, which must not be referred to τοῖς ἀδικηθεῖσι, but to πολλοῖς, that, immediately, precedes it. And, that διαζέσθαι τινί is elegant Greek, signifying *to sue any one*, may be proved from the best writers; particularly, from ^y Aristophanes, who makes Strepsiades thus complain of his creditors,

ἀλλὰ λοιδόρουσι με,
ὥς ἀδικὸς εἰμι, καὶ ΔΙΚΑΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΦΑΣΙ ΜΟΙ.

^w B. i. c. 14.

^x Life of Romulus.

^y Νεφ. γ. 1138.

asleep

asleep in their tents, which they had pitched near the road (for they were overtaken by the night) and, not only, robbed them, but killed all they found in their beds : Those, who had early notice of the attempt, and an opportunity of making their escape, retired to their city. After this, embassadors, sent both from Laurentum, and many other cities, complained of this breach of the law of nations, threatening war, if they could not obtain justice.

LII. This outrage, committed on the persons of the embassadors, appeared to Romulus, as it really was, a most heinous offence, and such a violation of a sacred law, as called for a speedy expiation ; and, finding Tatius neglected it, he himself, without further delay, ordered those, who had been guilty of this outrage, to be seized, and delivered up in chains to the embassadors to be punished. Tatius was not only offended at the indignity, which he complained he had received from his colleague in delivering up the men, but also, moved with compassion for their situation (for one of the guilty persons was even his relation) and, immediately, taking a body of soldiers with him, he went in all haste to their assistance ; and, overtaking the embassadors on the road, rescued the prisoners. Not long after, as some say, going with Romulus to Lavinium, in order to perform a sacrifice, which was to be offered up by the kings to the gods of their ancestors for the prosperity of the city, the friends, and relations of the embassadors, who had been murdered, having conspired against him, flew him at the altar with the knives, and spits, used in cutting up, and

roasting the oxen, which had been killed for the sacrifice. But Licinius writes, that he did not go with Romulus, nor with a design to offer sacrifice; but alone, and with an intention to persuade those, who had received the injuries, to forgive the authors of them; and, that the people, being in a rage that the men had not been delivered up to them in pursuance of the determination both of Romulus, and of the Roman senate, and the relations of the dead assailing him in great numbers, he, being, no longer, able to escape their violence, was stoned to death. This was the end of Tatius, after he had been at war with Romulus three years, and his colleague five. His body was brought to Rome, where it was buried with great pomp, and the city performs every year public libations to him.

LIII. Romulus, being a second time, invested with the sole government of the city, expiated the crime committed on the persons of the ambassadors, by forbidding those, who had committed that outrage, the use of fire and water: For, upon the death of Tatius, they had all fled out of the city. After that, he acquitted the Laurentes, who had conspired against Tatius, and who, being delivered up by their citizens, and brought by him to a trial, were thought, with great justice, to alledge in their defence that they had punished violence by violence. After Romulus had finished these affairs, he led out his army against the city of the Fidenates, which is distant from Rome forty stadia, and was, at that time, both a large and populous city: For the Crustumerini, having sent provisions to Rome in boats, while the

the Romans were afflicted with a famine, the Fidenates attacked the boats in great numbers, seized the provisions, and killed some of the men, who defended them : And, being called upon to make satisfaction, they refused it. Romulus, incensed at this, made an incursion into their country with a considerable force ; and, having made himself master of a great booty, prepared to return with his army : But the Fidenates marching out against him, he gave them battle ; and, the action being very warm, and many falling on both sides, the Fidenates were overcome, and put to flight. Romulus, pursuing them close, entered the gate together with those, who fled. The city being taken by storm, he punished a few of them ; and, leaving a guard of three hundred men there, and, taking from the inhabitants a part of their territory, which he divided among his own people, he made this city, also, a Roman colony. This city was founded by the Albans at the same time with ¹⁰⁴ Nomentum, and ¹⁰⁵ Crustumerium, three brothers being the leaders of that colony, of whom the eldest built Fidenae.

LIV. After this war, Romulus undertook another against the ¹⁰⁶ Camerini, who had fallen upon the Roman colony, that was settled among them, whilst the city of Rome laboured under a pestilential distemper ; by which, the Came-

¹⁰⁴. Νομενίω. So it must be read, not Νομενίᾱ with the Vatican manuscript ; since Nomentum was the name of this town, which belonged, anciently, to the Latines. ² Nomentum lay beyond Fidenae, about twelve miles

to the north of Rome, and is, now, called *Lamentano*.

¹⁰⁵. Κρουστουμέριᾱ. See above ; note the 66th.

¹⁰⁶. Καμαρίνῳ. See above ; note the 101st.

² Cluver, Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 8.

rini were, chiefly, encouraged; and, imagining the Roman nation would be, totally, destroyed by this calamity, killed some of the colony, and expelled the rest. In revenge for this outrage, Romulus, after he had, a second time, made himself master of the place, put to death the authors of the revolt; and, not only, gave his soldiers the plunder of the city, but, also, took from the citizens half their lands, besides that part, which, had been, before, divided among the Romans settled there; and, having left a garrison in the city, sufficient to quell any future motion of the inhabitants, he returned with his forces. Upon the success of this expedition, he triumphed a second time, and out of the spoils he consecrated a chariot with four horses in brass to Vulcan; and, near it, he placed his own statue, with an inscription in Greek characters, setting forth his actions. The third war Romulus engaged in, was against a city, at that time, ¹⁰⁷ the most powerful of Tyrrhenia, called Veii,

¹⁰⁷ Εθνες Τυρρηνικας την μεγαλιν ιχυσαν
 τειε πολιν. M. * * * has said, *la plus
 forte place de tout le pais des Tyrrheniens*;
 and le Jay, *une ville tres-florissante*;
 neither of which is a translation of the
 Greek text, in which ιχυσσα signifies,
powerful. I find ^a Cluver is of opinion
 that we ought to read Φιδηναι instead
 of Αθηναι; his reason is, that our au-
 thor, afterwards, compares Rome,
 under Servius Tullius, with Athens;
 and he thinks it not probable that Veii
 should have been so large as Rome.
 But I cannot be of his opinion, be-
 cause it appears, by this passage of

Dionysius, that Veii was the most
 powerful city of Etruria; and we find
 that, after Rome had been laid in
 ruins by the Gauls, the Romans were
 with great difficulty prevented from
 removing to Veii: Upon which oc-
 casion, ^b Livy, very reasonably, ac-
 counts for their earnestness; *Quum
 pulcherrima urbs Veii, agerque Veienta-
 nus in conspectu sit, uberius, ampliorque
 Romano agro. Urbem quoque urbi Ro-
 mae, vel situ, vel magnificentia publicorum,
 privatorumque tectorum, ac locorum prae-
 ponebant*. This shews, sufficiently,
 that Veii might, very well, be compared

^a Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 3.

^b B. v. c. 24.

distant

distant from Rome about a hundred stadia : This city is situated on a high and craggy rock, and is as large as Athens. The Veientes made the taking of Fidenæ the pretence of this war ; and, sending embassadors, they summoned the Romans to withdraw their garrison from that city, and restore the territories they had taken from the Fidenates, and still retained, to the former possessors. But, not prevailing, they took the field with a great army, and incamped on an ¹⁰⁸ eminence near Fidenæ : However, Romulus, having, beforehand, received information of their motions, had marched out with the flower of his army, and lay ready at Fidenæ to receive them. When every thing was disposed for the battle, both armies advanced into the plain, and came to an engagement ; and continued fighting for a long time with great animosity, till night, coming on, parted them, after they

to Athens, and, consequently, to Rome according to the reasoning of our author. ^c Cluver thinks that a town now called *Scrofanò* stands on, or near the ruins of Veii. This city was in Etruria, and, consequently, lay on the west of the Tiber, and about twelve miles from Rome. ^d Florus, whose authority I should not quote, if it were not confirmed by other authors, describes the condition of Veii, in his time, that is, in the latter end of Trajan's reign, *laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus.*

¹⁰⁸. *Εν ἀποπλήῳ*. The translators are divided, as usual, in rendering this : Sylburgius has said, *in edito loco*, and M. * * *, *sur une éminence* ; Portus, *in*

loco occulto, and le Jay, *dans un lieu fort couvert*. If the reader has so much indulgence for these gentlemen, as to think they translated from the Greek text, and that each of them followed the sense of that Latin translator he seems most to admire by mere accident, I shall say nothing to defeat the operation of so much good nature. The following explanation of the word ἀποπλής is supported by the example of the best writers, who use it in both these significations ; ἀποπλήν, πορρωθέν ἐξωμένοι, ἢ ἀθεωρητόν. Suidas. But, if our author had designed to speak of an ambuscade, he would, surely, have given an account either of the success, or disappointment of it.

^c B. ii. c. 3.

^d B. i. c. 12.

had fought with equal bravery, and success. This was the event of the first battle.

LV. But a second being fought not long after, the Romans obtained the victory by the conduct of their general ; who, in the night, had possessed himself of an eminence, not far distant from the enemy's camp, and placed there in ambush the choicest both of the horse and foot, who, since the last action, came to him from Rome : And both armies meeting in the plain, and engaging in the same manner as before, when Romulus gave the signal to the troops, that lay in ambush on the eminence, these, shouting, attacked the Veientes in the rear ; and, being fresh, and the enemy fatigued with the labor of the day, they soon put them to flight : Some few of them were slain in the battle ; but the greatest part, throwing themselves into the Tiber, which runs near Fidenae, with intent to swim over the river, were drowned : For, being wounded, and spent with labor, they were unable to swim over : While others, not knowing how to swim, and, from a view of the danger, losing all presence of mind, were swallowed up in the eddies of the river. If, therefore, the Veientes had been sensible of their first error, and kept themselves quiet after this, no greater mischief had befallen them : But, hoping to repair their former losses, and imagining that, if they ¹⁰⁹ applied themselves to reinforce their

¹⁰⁹ Εἰ μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπιβαλοῖεν. All the translators have agreed in giving this sense to these words, *if they attacked the Romans with a greater force*; without considering that the verb ἐπιβαλοῖεν, in that case, will stand single, and govern nothing ; which I do not think very grammatical: This they

all seem to be so sensible of, that they are obliged to supply the sense by the word *enemy*, or *Romans* : I have rather chosen to give to ἐπιβαλοῖεν the sense of ἐπιχειροῖεν, according to which, μείζονι παρασκευῇ is, very properly, governed by it.

army,

army, they should, with ease, have the advantage in the war, they levied numerous forces, consisting both of their own troops, and of Those of their countrymen, who, in virtue of their league, came to their assistance, and, a second time, marched against the Romans. Upon this, another sharp battle was fought near Fidenae, in which the Romans were victorious, killing many of the Veientes, and taking more of them prisoners. Even their camp was taken, which was full of money, arms, and slaves; as, also, their boats, which were laden with great store of provisions, and, in which, the prisoners, being very numerous, were carried down the river to Rome. This victory gave occasion to the third triumph of Romulus, which was much more magnificent than either of the former: And, not long after, ambassadors being sent by the Veientes to put an end to the war, and to ask pardon for their offences, Romulus imposed this penalty upon them: To deliver up to the Romans the country, that lies contiguous to the Tiber, called ¹¹⁰ *the seven villages*; and to quit ¹¹¹ the salt-pits, that lie near the mouth of the river; and, also, to bring fifty hostages, as an assurance of their attempting no innovations for the future. The Veientes

¹¹⁰. *Ἐπὶ αὐτῶν.* ^d Cluver thinks this place lay between Veii, and the sea, and between the Tiber, and the river Aro, which rises from the Sabatine lake, now called, *Lago di Bracciano*. But I do not know how this situation of the place can be reconciled to what our author says presently, that Romulus divided among these new citizens

the lands lying on the Roman side of the Tiber; which lands seem to be Those ceded by the Veientes, in pursuance of the treaty.

¹¹¹. *Τῶν ἁλῶν.* ^e This place was, anciently, called, *Salinae*; and the adjacent territory is, still, called, from thence, *Campo di Saline*.

^d Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 2.

^e Cluver, ib.

submitting to all these things, he made a league with them for one hundred years; and ingraved the terms of it on pillars. He, then, dismissed, without ransom, all the prisoners, who were desirous to return home: But those, who chose to remain there, and who were by much the greatest part, he made citizens of Rome, and distributed them among the curiae, and divided among them, by lot, the lands lying on this side of the Tiber.

LVI. These are the memorable wars, in which Romulus was engaged. The reason why he conquered no more of the neighbouring nations seems to be owing to his sudden death, which took him away while he was yet ¹¹² in the vigor of his age for warlike achievements; concerning which, there are many different relations: Those, therefore, whose accounts of his actions are rather fabulous, say, that, while he was haranguing his men in the camp, the sky, which was, before, clear, changing to a sudden darkness, and a violent tempest bursting from the clouds, he disappeared; and these believe that the man was taken up into heaven by his father Mars. But those, who write the most probably, say, that he was put to death by his own people;

¹¹². Εἰς ἀκμαζόντι αὐτῷ τὰ πολεμια
πραττεῖν. This does not signify *in the
height of his glory for military exploits*,
which is the sense all the translators
give to this passage. I should not find
fault with this version if it were not for
that unlucky verb *πραττεῖν*, at the end
of this sentence, which gives a very
different sense to the whole: For this

verb, in the infinitive mood, denotes
the direction of the adjective, or par-
ticiples, that precedes it. The Romans,
also, enriched their language with this
piece of Greek elegance, of which
many examples might be brought
from their best writers. To this
Grecism, [†] Horace is obliged for his,
Audax omnia perpeti.

[†] L. i. Ode 3. v. 25.

and the reason they alledge for his murder is, that he released the hostages of the Veientes, without the common consent, contrary to custom; and that he did not behave himself in the same manner to the ancient citizens, and to Those, who were, newly, admitted, doing greater honor to the former, and despising the latter; and, also, that he shewed great cruelty, and haughtiness in the punishment of delinquents: For he ordered some considerable men, and those not a few in number, ¹¹³ accused of having robbed their neighbours, to be thrown down the precipice appointed for that purpose, assuming to himself alone the cognizance of their crimes: But, chiefly, because he was, now, become haughty and grievous to his people, and extended his power, governing more like a tyrant, than a king. For these reasons, they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him, and resolved to put him to death; and, having executed their resolution in the senate, they divided his body into several pieces, that it might not be seen; then, came out of the senate, every one hiding his part of him under his robes, which they, afterwards, buried privately. Others say, that he was killed, while he was haranguing the people, by the new citizens; and that they took the time of the darkness abovementioned, to commit the murder, the assembly of the people being, then, dispersed, and their chief

¹¹³ *Επι ληστειᾷ καὶ ἡγορευθεῖσας*. I cannot understand how Sylburgius came to render this, *Latrocinii convictos*; but I, easily, understand why le Jay translated it so. Upon this occasion,

I have great pleasure in doing justice to M. * * *, who has said, very properly, *ayant été accusés d'avoir fait des brigandages*.

left without a guard: And, for this reason, they say, the day, on which this act was committed, took its name from the flight of the people, and that, at this time, it is called ¹¹⁴ *Populifugia*: And, indeed, the incidents, prepared by the gods, with which ¹¹⁵ the conception, and dissolution of this man were attended, seem to give no small authority to the system of those, who make the apotheoses of mortal men, and place the souls of illustrious persons in heaven. For they say that, at the time when his mother was violated, whether by some man, or by a god, there was a total eclipse of the sun; that a general darkness, as in the night, covered the earth: And that, at his death, the same thing happened. This is reported to have been the death of Romulus, who built Rome, and, by her citizens, was chosen their first king. He left no issue; and, having reigned thirty seven years, died in the fifty fifth year of his age: For he was very young when he obtained the government; being no more than eighteen years old, as it is agreed by all, who have written his history.

LVII. The following year, there was no king of the Romans elected; but a certain magistracy, called by them,

¹¹⁴ Οχλος φυγη. Varro gives a much better reason for this name, than That founded on the opinion of those writers our author refers to. ⁸ He says it was called so, because the Romans were, then, put to flight by the Tuscans.

¹¹⁵ Περι την συγκρισιν τς ανδρος. All the four translators have, with great unanimity, mistaken the sense of

συγκρισις, and called it, *his birth*: But it is plain that it signifies *his conception*, by what our author adds presently, viz. that, at the time his mother was violated, there happened a total eclipse of the sun: Now, though Romulus might be conceived, he, certainly, could not come into the world at the time his mother was ravished.

8 De ling. Lat. B. v. c. 3.

an

an *Interregnum*, had the care of the commonwealth ; which magistracy was created in this manner : The patricians, who had been elected into the senate under Romulus, being, as I said, two hundred in number, were divided into decuriae ; then, drawing lots, the first ten persons, upon whom the lot fell, were invested by the rest with the absolute command of the city. However, ¹¹⁶ they did not all reign together ; but, successively, each reigning five days ; during which time, he had both the rods, and the other ensigns of the royal power. The first, after his power was expired, delivered over the government to the second ; and he, to

¹¹⁶. Εκείνοι δ' ἔχ' αἵμα πάντες ἐβασίλευον. Livy, who took no notice of the addition made to the senate by the admission of a hundred Sabines, when the two nations became united, still calls the senators, *centum Patres*. However, it is, I believe, universally, allowed that the senate, after the peace with the Sabines, consisted of two hundred : For, though ^b Plutarch, in speaking of this *interregnum*, says it consisted of one hundred and fifty senators ; yet, he himself had, before, told us, in his life of Romulus, that a hundred Sabines were added to the senate ; ἐκατόν μιν ἐκ Σαβινῶν πατρικιοὶ προσκαίειλεχθῆσαν ; and, before that, in the same life, ἐκατόν δὲ τὰς ἀρίστους ἀπέδειξε βελευίας (Ρωμύλος). But to return to ⁱ Livy ; his account of this interregnum is this : *Decem imperitabant, unus cum insignibus imperii, et licetioribus erat : quinque dierum spatium finiebatur imperium, ac per omnes in orbem ibat*. It is plain that ^k Plutarch had this passage of Livy

before him, when he mentioned this transaction, because he has translated it ; and as plain, that he has mistaken the sense of it : He has applied these words, *quinque dierum spatium finiebatur imperium*, not to the person who presided, as he ought to have done ; but to the whole decury : So that, according to him, each decury governed but five days : The consequence of which must be, as he says, that every member of the decury governed twelve hours, which he has divided into six hours of the night, and six of the day ; ἐξ μὲν ὥρας τῆς νυκτός, ἐξ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας. This is, I believe, the most extraordinary system of government that ever was invented, and worthy the fertile brain of a Delphic priest. But the words of Livy, plainly, import, that the president of every decury governed five days ; and, consequently, the whole decury, fifty ; as our author will, presently, tell us.

^b Life of Numa.ⁱ B. i. c. 17.^k Life of Numa.

the third; and, so on, to the last. After the ten first kings had reigned their appointed time of fifty days, ten others received the government from them; and, from those, in like manner, others. Afterwards, the people thought fit to abolish these decemviral governments, being uneasy at the changes of power, because all of them had neither the same views, nor the same dispositions. Upon which, the senators, calling the people together in their tribes and curiae, proposed to them to consider of the form of government, and to determine whether they thought fit to commit the care of the commonwealth to a king, or to annual magistrates. However, the people did not take that determination upon themselves; but referred it to the senators, with intention to rest satisfied with whichever form of government they should approve of. The senators were unanimous for monarchy; but did not agree from which of¹¹⁷ the two nations the future king should be chosen: For some thought that the person, to whom the administration was to be committed, ought to be taken out of the ancient senators: And others, that he ought to be chosen out of those, who were, afterwards, admitted, and whom they called the new senators.

LVIII. The contest being drawn out to a great length, they, at last, agreed to this alternative, either that the old

¹¹⁷ Εξ ὁποτέρων τάξεων. *Ex utrâ classe*, in Sylburgius, is very near the sense; and, in my opinion, better than *ex utro ordine* in Portus, whom M. * * * has followed; because this seems to insinuate, that the contest lay out of which

order, that is, whether out of the patricians, or plebeians, the king should be chosen: Whereas, the dispute lay between the senators of the two nations, the Romans, and Sabines.

senators should chuse none of their own body to reign over them, but, of the others, whomsoever they should think the fittest person; or that the new senators should do the same. The ancient senators accepted the choice; and, after a long consultation among themselves, came to this resolution: That, since, by their agreement, they themselves were excluded from the sovereignty, they would not, at least, confer it on any of the competitors; but find out some foreigner, who should espouse neither party, and declare him king; this being the most effectual means to put an end to faction. After they had come to this resolution, they chose a man, by birth, a Sabine, the son of Pompilius Pompon, a person of distinction, whose name was Numa: ¹¹⁸ He was in that stage of life, being near forty, in which prudence is the most conspicuous, and of an aspect full of royal dignity. The reputation of his great wisdom was not confined to the Quirites only, but extended itself, also, to all the neighbouring nations. After this election, they assembled the people, and one of the senators, who was, at that time, the interrex, advancing, told them, that the senators had, unanimously, resolved to adhere to a monarchical form of government, and that he, having power to nominate the future king, created Numa Pompilius king of the Romans. After this, he appointed embassadors of the patrician order, and sent them to conduct him to Rome, that he might be invested with the royal dignity. This happened in the third year

¹¹⁸ I intirely agree with Portus, that the following parenthesis, by some means or other, crept into the text

from the margin; *χρη δε την δευτεραν συλλαβην εκλεινοισας βαρυνουειν.*

of the sixteenth Olympiad, in which Pythagoras, a Lacedaemonian won the prize of the stadium.

LIX. Hitherto, I have nothing to alledge in contradiction to those, who have published the history of this person; but, in regard to what follows, I am at a loss what to say. For many have written, that Numa was a disciple of Pythagoras; and that, when he was chosen king of the Romans, he was studying philosophy at Croton. But the time, in which Pythagoras lived, contradicts this account: For he was not a few years, but ¹¹⁹four whole generations later than Numa, as we are informed by general history: Since the latter began his reign in the middle of the sixteenth Olympiad; whereas, Pythagoras resided in Italy ¹²⁰after the

¹¹⁹· Τεσσαρσιγενεαῖς ὅλαις ὕστερος ἐγένετο Πυθαγόρας Νυμῶ. I have, already, shewn¹, upon another occasion, that Livy makes Pythagoras to have lived above a hundred years after Numa. Our author has treated the character of Numa so fully, that I shall only add an observation of Livy, who, after he has proved the impossibility of his having been a disciple of Pythagoras, says, that Numa had a mind fraught with native virtue, and rather formed by the severe discipline of the Sabines, which he calls ^m *tetricam*, and *tristem*, than instructed in foreign sciences.

¹²⁰· Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντήκοσθην ολυμπιάδα διέτριψεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, in which it is contended that we should read ἐξήκοσθην, instead of πεντήκοσθην: This reading is, I find, supported by

great authorities; by That of our Dodwell in particular. I cannot, however, acquiesce in the opinion of Gellius, on which, it is, in part, founded. ⁿ He says that Pythagoras came into Italy in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus: But, we have seen^o, from Livy, whose authority no man will let down so far as, even, to compare it with That of Gellius, that Pythagoras taught in Italy in the reign of Servius Tullius. Now, Servius Tullius, as we find by our ^p author, succeeded Tarquinius Priscus, in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad, and was slain by Tarquinius Superbus in the fourth year of the ^q sixty first Olympiad. Between these two periods, therefore, Pythagoras must have come into Italy. I know that Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Pythagoras, says he flourished

¹ See the 88th annot.

^m B. i. c. 18.

ⁿ B. xvii. c. 21.

^o See the 88th annot.

^p B. iv. c. 1.

^q lb. c. 41.

fiftieth Olympiad. But I have yet a stronger argument to prove that the periods of time, in which they lived, are incompatible with the relations given of this person ; which is, that, at the time Numa was called to the sovereignty by the Romans, the city of Croton was not yet in being: For Myſcelus built it in the third year of the ſeventeenth Olympiad, which was four whole years after Numa had been choſen king of the Romans: So that, it was neither poſſible that Numa ſhould ſtudy philoſophy under Pythagoras the Samian, who flouriſhed four generations after him; nor that he ſhould reſide in ¹²¹ Croton, a city not then in being,

about the ſixtieth Olympiad. But this rather confirms, than contradicts, the authority of Livy: For Pythagoras was, certainly, in higher eſteem after he had opened a ſchool of philoſophy in Italy, than ever he had been before; and the ſixtieth Olympiad falls in with the latter part of the reign of Servius Tullius. But it is time to conſider the words of this paſſage. All the translators, except Portus, have rendered διέτριψεν εν Ιταλῳ, *he taught in Italy*; and, when they come to εν Κροτωνι διατριβειν preſently after, and to Πυθαγορευ διατριβην, they have all given to both the ſenſe of *reſiding*, which is the only ſenſe, in my opinion, the word will bear in all the three paſſages: For though Hudſon, in a note of one line upon this occaſion, has ſent us to Suidas for the ſenſe of the word διατριβη, which, no doubt, ſignifies, as he ſays, *a philoſophic exerciſe*, and even *a ſchool*; yet, neither Suidas, nor any other author, I believe, ever uſed διατριβειν,

in the ſenſe they have firſt given to it, that is, *to teach*.

¹²¹ Κροτων. This city, now called *Crotone*, ſtands near the ſea; and was, anciently, much celebrated for its magnificence. ^r It lay in the territory of the Brutii, now *Calabria*, in the ſouth-eaſt part of Italy, the river Aefarus, now *Eſaro*, running through it. The famous temple of *Juno Lacinia*, built on the northern part of the promontory *Lacinium*, now *Capo della Colonne*, ſtood about ſix Roman miles from it. It is poſſible this cape might have received its modern name from the gold column, that was in the temple of Juno Lacinia, which ^s Cicero ſays, Annibal, whiſt he was maſter of that country, had a great mind to take away: But firſt he ordered it to be bored through, that he might ſee whether it was gold, or only gilt; and finding it was ſolid gold, he deſigned to take it, when Juno threatened him in his ſleep, that, if he did, ſhe would

^r Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 25.

^s Divinat. B. i. c. 24.

when the Romans called him to the sovereignty. But, if I may give my own opinion, those, who have written his history, seem to have laid hold of these two things, which are confessed on all hands, I mean the residence of Pythagoras in Italy, and the wisdom of Numa (for he is allowed by every body to have been a wise man) and to have blended them together; and, without examining, as I have now done, the periods of time, in which they both flourished, to have made Numa a disciple of Pythagoras. Unless any one will suppose there was another Pythagoras, who taught philosophy before the Samian, with whom Numa conversed. But I do not know how this can be proved; since it is not supported (as far as I know) by the testimony of any author of note, either Greek, or Roman. But I have said enough of these things.

LX. When the persons I have mentioned, came to Numa to invite him to the sovereignty, he, for some time, refused, it, and persisted long in his resolution not to accept the invitation: But, at the pressing instance of his brothers, and, at last, of his father, who would not suffer him to reject the offer of so great an honor, he consented to be a king. As soon as the Romans were informed of all this by the ambassadors, they conceived a great affection for him, before they saw

take care he should lose his other eye: For he had, already, lost one at his first entrance into Italy. The name of the founder of Croton is written different ways, by different authors.

However, † Ovid, in speaking of the building of this city, calls him Myscelus with our author;

*Nam fuit Argolico generatus Alemonē quidam
Myscelus, illius Diis acceptissimus ævi.*

† Metamor. B. xv. ℣. 19.

him,

him, esteeming it as a sufficient argument of his wisdom, that, while others valued royalty beyond measure, looking upon it as the source of happiness, he alone despised it, as a thing of small value, and unworthy his attention: And, when he approached the city, they met him upon the road; and, with great applause, salutations, and other honors, conducted him into the city. After that, there was ¹²² an assembly of the people, in which the tribes, divided into

¹²²· Ἐκκλησίας δὲ μέγα τῶν συνάχθαι, etc. In this election of Numa, we have all the formalities of enacting laws, anciently, practised at Rome. At the election of Romulus, these could not be observed, because the people were not divided by him into tribes, and curiae, till he was, actually, chosen king. The reader, therefore, will give me leave to examine these requisites in passing laws; which I shall do the rather, because, in this examination, I shall have the assistance of Livy, who, contrary to his custom, is very particular in every thing relating to the election of Numa. The first, and, indeed, the principal, object, to which I shall apply this inquiry, will be to consider what the Roman historians understand (I speak of the original constitution of the Romans) when they say, *Patres auctores fiunt*. All the modern writers, at least, all I have seen, who have treated this subject, unanimously, agree, that these words signify a decree, passed by the senate, which was, upon that, sent to the people to be confirmed, or rejected, as they should think fit; in the same

manner, as with us, a bill, passed by the Lords, is sent down to the Commons. This opinion, I find, is, also, espoused by "Dr. Chapman, in his essay on the Roman senate, in which, he treats this subject in a greater detail, than any other author, who has written upon it. I am sensible that the words, *patres auctores*, are very imposing, and seem to imply, that the senate first passed the bill (if I may use that expression) which, it is supposed, was, after that, sent down to the people: But I am mistaken, if I do not convince the reader, that all laws, I still mean originally, were first passed by the people, and then sent up to the senate. The first authority I shall quote, which I, really, think decisive, shall be That of our author, where, as we have seen, he says, in speaking of the rights of the people, as established by Romulus, that, whatever was passed by a majority of the curiae, was sent up to the senate: Which custom, ^w he says, was inverted in his time: For then, the senate did not take cognizance of the votes of the people; but the people had an absolute power

^u P. 298.

^w B. ii. c. 14.

their curiae, passed a vote in his favor; and the resolution of the people being confirmed by the patricians; and, last

over Those of the senate. What, then, is the signification of these words, *patres auctores fiunt*? To this I shall answer, first, that, whatever the grammarians may think, *auctor* signifies, very properly, a supporter of any thing, without being the proposer of it. This I could prove by many authorities from the best writers; but, I, dare say, That of Livy will be thought sufficient: The passage I shall quote relates to a transaction, which I shall, presently, be obliged to take notice of upon another occasion. The words of^x Livy, that concern the present question, are these; *sed, ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius, collega ejus, auctor quum recentior, tum acrior erat*. Volero had proposed this law the year before, and Laetorius supported it, in conjunction with him, the year after. This verbal difficulty being removed, I shall proceed to confirm what I have said, by the form used at the election of Numa, which I shall lay before the reader in Livy's own words, in order to shew, that the original method of passing laws was, first, for the senate to make an order that such a thing should be laid before the people; then, if the people *willed, and ordered it, si vellent, juberentque*, it was carried up to the senate for their confirmation; which confirmation the Latin authors express by *patres auctores fiunt*, and the Greek writers, by *ἐπικυροῦσι*. This form of proceeding is described, in all its branches, by^y Livy upon this occa-

sion; *Tum interrex, concione advocatâ; Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit, inquit, Quirites, Regem create; ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si dignum, qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur, creaveritis, auctores fient*. Agreeably to this method of enacting laws, must be understood all the passages in our author, where he mentions a *πρυτανεύμα* of the senate, which means no more than the original order, made by the senate, *to refer the matter to the people, ferre ad plebem*; and not the actual passing a decree to be confirmed by the people, as Dr. Chapman, all along, supposes. This method of passing all acts continued till the institution of the *Tributa comitia*, that were held without any previous order of the senate, or the ceremonies of the augurs; which last had no other end but to impose upon the people, and keep them in a dependance upon the senate. The first time these *comitia* were, ever, held was in the affair of^z Coriolanus, in the year of Rome 263, and not in the 281^a, which Dr. Chapman says *gave the first rise to them*. The law, that gentleman, I believe, refers to, was, indeed, proposed by Volero in the year 282, when Lucius Pinarius, and Publius Furius were consuls: This year, Publius Volero was chosen one of the tribunes, and^a *rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebei magistratus tributis comitiis fierent*; or as^b Dionysius expresses it, *νομον εισφέρει περι των δημοερχικων αρχαιρεσιων, μετ' αυτων*

^x B. ii. c. 56.^y B. i. c. 17.^z Dionys. B. vii. c. 59. p. 298.^a Livy, B. ii. c. 56.^b B. ix. c. 41.

of all, the augurs having reported that the heavenly signs were auspicious, he entered upon the government. The

ἐκ τῆς Φρατρίακῆς ψηφισθορίας, ἣν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
καρρίαλιν καλεσιν, ἐπὶ ΤΗΝ ΦΥΛΕΤΙΚΗΝ.
There is nothing here, that tends to
introduce the *tributa comitia*; the view
of this *rogation* being no more than
that the plebeian magistrates should
be chosen at those *comitia*; which, of
itself, seems to suppose them to have
been, before, used, as I have shewn
they, actually, were at the trial of
Coriolanus. However, the senate, and
patricians gave so great an opposition
to this rogation of Volero, that it
dropped for that year. The next year,
Volero was re-elected, and one of his
colleagues was Laetorius, before-men-
tioned, Appius Claudius, and Titus
Quintius being consuls: And, not-
withstanding the violence of Appius,
the law was enacted; and, ‘as Livy
says, *tum primum tributis comitiis creati
tribuni sunt*; and ‘Dionysius, more
fully, ἀπ’ ἐκεῖναις τὰς χρόνους τὰ τῶν δημαρχῶν,
καὶ ἀγορανομῶν ἀρχαιρεσία μεχρὶ τὰ καθ’
ἡμᾶς χρόνους, διχὰς οἰωνῶν τε καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς
ἐπίλειας ἀπάσης αἱ φυλετικαὶ ψηφισθορίαι
ἐκκλησίαι. Nothing could be more
reasonable than this law: For, as the
tribunes were the representatives of the
people in all transactions between them
and the senate, all possible care was
to be taken to render the election of
them independent on the senate. This
could only be effected by their being
chosen in the *tributa comitia*, in which,
neither the previous vote of the senate,
nor the force of the augurs, who were
all patricians, were necessary, and the
vote of the meanest citizen was of

equal weight with That of the greatest
patrician; which was a right derived
down to the people from the first estab-
lishment of their government, when
every private citizen enjoyed the same
privilege in the *curiata comitia*, as they,
now, did by this law, which enabled
them to chuse their plebeian magi-
strates in the *tributa comitia*. This
original right the people had been
deprived of by the establishment of
the *centuriata comitia*, by Servius Tul-
lius, as our author will, at large, in-
form us. So that, this law rather con-
firmed the people in the right their
ancestors had, before, enjoyed, than
granted them any new privilege. And,
as to the reasonableness, and, even,
necessity of this law, ‘Livy will explain
it better than I can; *Haud parva res,
sub titulo primâ specie minime atroci
ferebatur; sed quae patriciis omnem po-
testatem, per clientium suffragia, creandi
quos vellent tribunos, auferret*. Dr.
Chapman seems sensible, that, by this
law, the people were restored to that
equality, they were, constitutionally,
intitled to; and yet contends that,
‘*though this practice of passing laws in
the tributa comitia was as unreasonable,
as it was unprecedented, upon the footing
it first stood, that is, as long as these were
assemblies of the commons of Rome only,
from which the patricians, or nobles,
were quite excluded, it was far from be-
ing so, when they were admitted after-
wards*. I wish the Doctor had told us
when, and, upon what occasion, the
patricians, or nobles, as he calls them,

‘ B. ii. c. 58.

‘ B. ix. c. 49.

‘ B. ii. c. 56.

‘ P. 312.

Romans say this person undertook no military expedition ; but that, being a pious and just man, he passed his whole reign in peace ; and established the best institutions for the government of the city. They relate, also, many surprising things of him ; attributing the effects of human wisdom to the suggestions of the gods : For they, fabulously, affirm that a certain nymph, called ¹²³Egeria, frequently visited

were admitted into these assemblies of the commons, called *comitia tributa*, from which, he says, *they were first quite excluded* : But this, I conceive, he will find it impossible to shew, for this reason, because in fact, they never had been excluded from these assemblies of the commons, which were not, in their own nature, assemblies of the commons only, but assemblies of all the Roman citizens, patricians as well as plebeians ; as were also the *comitia curiata*, and *centuriata* : In the first of these, the Roman citizens voted in their *curiae* ; in the latter, in their *centuries* ; and, in the *tributa comitia*, they voted in their *tribes* ; and the majority of the tribes carried it in these *comitia*, as the majority of the *curiae*, and of the *centuries* carried it in the other two *comitia*. Now, it is certain, that every Roman citizen, patrician, and plebeian, belonged to some tribe, or other ; and, consequently, every Roman citizen, whether he was a patrician, or a plebeian, had a right to vote in his own tribe, when the *tributa comitia*, were held. These facts are incontestable. The reason, therefore, that induced the people to pass this law was, not to prevent the

patricians from being present at, and voting in, the *tributa comitia* ; which, by their constitution, was impracticable ; but, to secure the election of their plebeian magistrates from the influence, not the presence, of the patricians ; as they had, before, transferred the trial of Coriolanus from the *centuriata comitia*, to the *tributa* ; since, as the patricians, and the equites, together with the richest plebeians, composed the 98 centuries of the first class, that is, a majority of the whole number of 193 ^ε centuries, they might, if they had agreed, have acquitted Coriolanus, had his crimes appeared ever so flagrant.

¹²³. *Ἑγερία*. No systematical religion, ever, pretended to make its fortune without the assistance of miracles : This has been, very well, understood from the Egyptians, and all, who borrowed their religion from them, either in whole, or in part, down to the French prophets, in the beginning of this century. No miracles are requisite to prove the existence, the infinite power, the infinite wisdom, and the infinite goodness of the GREAT CREATOR, and PRESERVER of all things ; Infinite perfections ! which our faculties are

^ε Dionys. B. vii. c. 59.

him,

him, and instructed him in the ¹²⁴art of reigning. Others assert, that it was not a nymph, but one of the Muses; and that this was manifest to every one: For they say, that mankind being, as may well be supposed, incredulous at first, and looking on the account relating to the goddess, as fictitious, he, with intent to give the unbelievers an evident proof of his commerce with this divinity, pursuant to her direction, made use of the following device: He invited to his house a great many of the Romans, all men of worth; and, having shewn them his apartments very ill provided with furniture, but, particularly, with every thing, that is necessary to entertain a numerous company, he ordered them to depart at that time, but invited them to supper in the evening; and, when they came at the appointed hour, he shewed them rich ¹²⁵beds, and side boards covered with cups of exquisite workmanship; and, when

too limited to comprehend, but not to acknowledge: The wonderful order of nature alone leads us, irresistibly, to this acknowledgment; and miracles, which are understood to be so many interruptions of this order, can prove nothing they are designed to prove, so effectually, as the continuance of this admirable frame proves its GREAT AUTHOR. And Christians ought not to lay too great a stress on miracles, since they are taught, by the ¹Old testament, that they have been wrought, and, by the ¹New, that they will be wrought, by impostors.

¹²⁴ Βασιλική σοφία. This wisdom of kings, or the art of reigning, is a

¹ Exod. c. vii. §. 11. and 22. c. viii. §. 7.

science, above all others, of the greatest consequence to mankind; since their happiness will be, always, proportionate to the degree, in which this science is possessed by their chief magistrates. This spirit ^k David prays for, according to the Septuagint, and the Vulgate; πνευματι ἡγεμονικῷ σηξον με; *Spiritu principaliconfirma me*: In Hebrew, רוּחַ נְבוֹנָה which signifies *a prophetic*, or, rather, *a prophet*, spirit. I am sorry to see this noble prayer from a prince debased in our translation of the Bible; *Stablish me with thy free spirit*.

¹²⁵ Στεωμένη κοίτη. Hesychius.

¹ Mat. c. xxiv. §. 24.

^k Psalm li. §. 12:

they

they were at table, he gave them an entertainment consisting of all sorts of meats, such a one as it was not easy for any man in those days to have prepared in a long time. The Romans were astonished at every thing they saw; and from that time, they entertained a firm belief that some goddesses conversed with him.

LXI. But those, who banish every thing that is fabulous from history, say that the report concerning Egeria was devised by Numa, to the end that, when once the people were possessed with a fear of the gods, they might pay a greater regard to him; and, willingly, receive the laws he was enacting, as derived from them: They add, that, in this, he followed the example of the Greeks; and imitated the wisdom both of Minos, the Cretan, and of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian. Of whom the first said he conversed with Jupiter; and, going, frequently, to the Dictæan mountain, in which the Cretan fables say, that Jupiter, newly born, was brought up by the Curetes, he used to descend into a holy cave; and, having composed his laws there, he produced them, affirming that he had received them from Jupiter: And Lycurgus, going to Delphi, said he formed his system of laws by the direction of Apollo. But, being sensible that an accurate account of the fabulous histories, and, particularly, of such as are attributed to the gods, would require a long discussion, I shall omit it, and lay before the reader the benefits, which the Romans seem to have received from the government of this person, according to the information I have procured from
the

the histories of their country. But I shall, first, give an account of the great disturbances, with which the city of Rome was agitated before his accession to the throne.

LXII. After the death of Romulus, the senate being in possession of the whole power of the commonwealth, and, having retained it during one year, as I have said, began to disagree among themselves, and fall into factions ; while one part of them contended for pre-eminence, and the other for equality : For the Alban senators, who, together with Romulus, had planted the colony, pretended, not only, upon delivering their opinions first, and enjoying the greatest honors ; but, also, on being courted by the new comers : On the other side, such of these, as had been afterwards admitted among the patricians, insisted that they ought not to be shut out from any honors, or be in a worse condition than the others : This was, particularly, urged by the ¹²⁶ Sabines, who, in virtue of the treaty, entered into between Romulus, and Tatius, were, equally, intitled to all the privileges of the city with the ancient inhabitants, for which they had made an ample return. The senate being, thus, divided, their clients, also, formed themselves into two parties, and each joined their respective factions. There were among the common people not a few, lately, admitted into the number of the citizens ; who, having never assisted Romulus in any of his wars, had been neglected by him, and

¹²⁶. *Μολισα δ' ὕστερ τε Σαβίτων*, etc. mentators to restore it, have proved
This period is so much corrupted, useless.
that all the endeavours of the com-

not suffered to partake either in the distribution of lands, or in the booty he had taken. These, having no settlement, but, being poor, and vagabonds, were, by necessity, enemies to their superiors, and ripe for innovation. Numa, having found the city in this ferment, first relieved the poor, by distributing among them some small part both of those lands, which had been in the possession of Romulus, and of those, that belonged to the public : After that, he reconciled the patricians ; not by depriving the founders of the city of any thing they were in possession of ; but, by bestowing some other honors on the new-comers : And, having adapted the whole body of the people, like an instrument, to the sole consideration of the public good ; and enlarged the circuit of the city, by the addition of the Quirinal hill (for, till that time, it was not inclosed with a wall) he turned his thoughts to other institutions, labouring to inculcate these two things, by the advantage of which he conceived the city would become flourishing and great : The first, Piety ; by informing his subjects that the gods are the givers, and preservers of all good things to mortal men : And the other, Justice ; from which he shewed them, that the possessors even of those advantages the gods bestow, derive an honest enjoyment of them.

LXIII. But I shall not enter into the detail of every law, and every institution, by which he carried each of these to a great perfection ; as fearing the length of such a discussion ; and, at the same time, not finding it necessary to a Greek history. However, I shall give a summary account of the prin-

principal things; and of such, as are proper to unfold the whole design of this person, beginning with the regulations, that concern divine worship. Those rites, therefore, which he found established by Romulus, whether supported by customs, or laws, he left untouched, looking upon them all as the best institutions: But, whatever he thought omitted by him, he added; consecrating many places to those gods, who had, hitherto, received no honors; erecting many altars, and temples, and instituting festivals in honor of each; appointing priests to take care of those festivals; and enacting laws concerning purifications, ceremonies, and expiations; and many other rites, and honors, in greater number than are to be found in any other city, either Greek, or Barbarian, even in Those, that value themselves the most upon their piety. He, also, ordered that Romulus himself, as one, who had been above the condition of mortal men, should be honoured, under the name of Quirinus, with a temple, and annual sacrifices: For, while the Romans were yet in doubt, whether the will of heaven, or human treachery had been the cause of his disappearing, a certain person, whose name was Julius, descended from Ascanius, who employed himself in agriculture, and a man of an irreprehensible life, and above the suspicion of telling an untruth for the sake of his private advantage, going into the forum, said, that, as he was coming to town, he saw Romulus departing from the city all armed; and that, drawing near to him, he heard him say these words, “ Julius, acquaint the
“ Romans with this from me; that, having finished my
X x 2 “ mortal

“ mortal life ; the genius, to whom I was allotted at my
 “ birth, is conducting me to the gods, and that I am
 “ Quirinus.” Numa, having reduced his whole system of
 religious laws into writing, divided them into eight parts ;
 that being the number of the different classes of religious
 rites.

LXIV. The first division of these holy rites he assigned
 to the thirty Curiones, who, as I said, performed the public
 sacrifices for the members of the curiae. The second, to
 those the Greeks call, Στεφανηφοροι, *Crown-bearers*, and the
 Romans, *Flamines* ; to whom, from their wearing caps, and
 veils, which they wear to this day, and call them, ¹²⁷ *Flam-*
mea, they give the name beforementioned. The third, to
 the commanders of the Celeres, who, serving in the quality
 both of horse, and foot, composed, as I said, the king’s
 guard : For these, also, performed certain appointed rites.
 The fourth, to the interpreters of heavenly signs, whose
 province it is to determine what they portend, both to

¹²⁷ Φλαμμεα. This, I dare say, is
 the true reading ; because *flammeum*
 was the name of the *flame-coloured* veil
 worn both by the *Flamines*, and brides.
¹ Varro, like our author, derives the
 name of *flamen*, from this veil ; *quod*
in Latio capite velato erant semper. The
 πῖλος, here said to have been worn by
 the *flamines*, was called, in Latin, *a-*
pex. ^m Lucan, in speaking of the pro-
 cession, performed by the several priests
 at Rome by the direction of Aruns, to
 expiate the horrid omens, that por-

tended the civil war between Pompey,
 and Caesar, when he comes to the
flamines, says,

Et tollens apicem generoso vertice flamen.

These *apices* were in shape very like
 a mitre. If St. Peter was ever at
 Rome, he must have seen these mitres
 upon the heads of the *flamines* ; which
 was, no doubt, a good reason for him,
 and might have been a good reason
 for his successors, never to wear one.

¹ L. iv. De Ling. Lat.

^m B. i. v. 604.

private persons, and to the public ; whom, from one branch of the speculation belonging to their art, the Romans call *Augures* ; and we should call them, *Οἰωνοπολῆς*, *Soothsayers by the means of birds* : These are skilled in all sorts of divination in use among them ; whether founded on signs appearing in the heavens, the air, or on the earth. The fifth, he assigned to the virgins, who are the guardians of the holy fire, and who are called by them, from the goddess they serve, *Vestals* ; Numa being the first person, who built a temple at Rome to Vesta, and appointed virgins to be her priestesses : Concerning whom my subject requires that I should give an account, which shall be short, and contain, only, such things, as are most necessary to be known : For this matter deserves an inquiry, and many Roman historians have thought it worthy to be inquired into in this place ; but those authors, who have not, diligently, examined the causes of this institution, have published trifling accounts concerning it.

LXV. Some ascribe the building of this temple to Romulus, looking upon it as a thing not to be imagined that a public temple of Vesta should not, at first, be built in a city, founded by a man skilled in divination, particularly, since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where there was an ancient temple of this goddess, and that his mother had been her priestess : They add, that religious worship being of two sorts, the first public, and common to all the citizens ; and the other, private, and appropriated to particular families, Romulus was, on both these accounts, under a
necess-

necessity of worshipping this goddess : For they say, that nothing is more necessary to men than a public temple of Vesta ; nor any thing more nearly concerning Romulus, as the heir of his family, he being descended from those, who brought the worship of this goddess from Ilium, and his mother having been her priestess. Those, therefore, who, for these reasons, ascribe the building of this temple to Romulus, rather than to Numa, seem, in general, to have reason to say that, when the city was building, a temple of Vesta ought, first of all, to have been erected ; particularly, by a man, not unskilled in religious knowledge. But, as to these particulars, which relate to the building of the present temple, and to the virgins, who are the priestesses of this goddess, they seem to have been ignorant. For neither did Romulus consecrate to the goddess this place, where the holy fire is preserved ; of which this is a strong proof, that it is without the city of Rome, called four square, which he surrounded with a wall ; whereas, all men place the common temple of Vesta in the best part of the city, but none without the walls : Neither did he appoint the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins ; remembering, in my opinion, the adventure, that befel his mother, who, while she was serving the goddess, lost her virginity ; as if he was sensible that the remembrance of this domestic misfortune would render him an improper person to punish, according to the laws of his country, any of the priestesses he should find to have been deflowered. For this reason, therefore, he did neither build a common temple to Vesta,
nor

nor appoint virgins to be her priestesses: But, having erected a temple for each of the thirty curiae, in which the members of it sacrificed, he appointed the chiefs of the curiae to be the priests of those temples; in which, he imitated the customs of the Greeks, that are still observed in the most ancient cities: For their *Πρύτανεῖα* are temples, which are served by the chief magistrates of the cities.

LXVI. Numa, after his accession to the government, did not remove the particular temples belonging to the curiae, but erected one temple common to them all, between the Capitoline, and Pallantine hills: For both these hills had, already, been encompassed with one wall; the forum, in which this temple was built, lying between them: He, also, enacted, that the keeping of the holy things, according to the custom established among the Latines, should be committed to virgins. There is some doubt what it is, that is kept in this temple; and, for what reason, the care of it is given to virgins: Some affirming that nothing is preserved there but the fire, which is visible to all the world; and they, very reasonably, make the custody of it to be committed to virgins, rather than to men; because fire being incorrupt, and a virgin undefiled, the chafest of all mortal things must be agreeable to the purest of those, that are divine: And they look upon the fire to be consecrated to Vesta; because that goddess being the earth, and ¹²⁸ placed in the

128. ΟΤΙ γῆ τε ὡς αἱ θεοὶ, καὶ τὸν μέγαν
ἡλίον τε καὶ τὸν κοσμὸν τῶπον. I cannot con-
ceive how le Jay could find any reason
to conclude from this passage that

Copernicus was not the author of his
system, which, he says, was known
long before him in Italy. It is plain
that the system, here spoken of, which
center

center of the universe, she lights up those fiery meteors, that are seen in the air. However, some say that, besides the fire, there are some holy things in the temple of this goddess, which are kept secret from the vulgar, and, with which, both the priests, and the virgins are acquainted: This they support with no small probability, by what happened at the burning of the temple, during the first Punic war between the Romans, and the Carthaginians concerning Sicily: For the temple being on fire, and the virgins flying from it, one of the pontifs, Lucius Caecilius, called Metellus, a consular person, the same, who adorned, with a hundred and thirty eight captive elephants, that memorable triumph, with which he had been honoured for having defeated the Carthaginians in Sicily, neglecting his own safety for the sake of the public good, ventured to force his way through the flames; and, snatching up the holy things, which the virgins had abandoned, saved them from the fire: For which, he received great honors from his fellow-citizens; as the inscription upon his statue in the capitol testifies. Upon the founda-

places the earth in the center of our planets, was, afterwards, embraced by Ptolemy, not by Copernicus, who places the sun there. There is no doubt but the opinion, presently, mentioned, that fiery meteors are produced by the exhalations of the earth is very philosophical; much more so than That of Aristotle, who attributes the birth of comets to those exhalations, *την εν της ξηρας αναθυμιασεως διαπυρον συνεσιν.* And here I cannot

help taking notice of an opinion concerning comets, ascribed by ^u Plutarch to the Pythagoreans, which the great Sir Isaac Newton has adopted. These philosophers, he says, held that comets were stars, or planets, that did not appear always, but periodically, and at stated times. *Των απο Πυθαγορα τινες μεν ασερα φασιν ειναι τον κομητην των εκ αι φαινομενων, δια τιος δε ωρισιμενε χρονε περιοδικως αναλλοιων.*

^u Η εν των τοις φιλοσ. αριστοκ B. iii. c. 2.

tion of this fact, which is allowed, they build some conjectures of their own : Some affirming that these holy things are part of Those, which were preserved in Samothrace ; Dardanus having removed them, out of that island, into the city he himself built ; and that Aeneas, when he fled from Troas, brought them, together with the other holy things, into Italy. But others say it is the Palladium, that fell from heaven, the same that was in the possession of the Ilienses, which Aeneas, being acquainted with it, brought into Italy, the Achaians having stolen away the counterfeit : Concerning which, a great deal has been said both by poets, and historians. However, I find, by very many circumstances, that, not only the fire, but some other holy things, unknown to the vulgar, are kept by the virgins : But, what they are, I shall neither give myself leave, curiously, to inquire, nor advise any other person to do so, who is desirous to preserve the religious reverence he owes to the gods.

LXVII. The virgins, who serve the goddesses, were, originally, four ; and elected by the kings, according to the laws established by Numa : But, afterwards, from the multiplicity of their functions, their number was encreased to ¹²⁹ six, and has so remained to this day : They live in the temple of the goddesses, into which none are hindered from entering in the day time ; but it is not lawful for any man

¹²⁹ E.g. These nuns, who have multiplied so much since, never exceeded the number of six to the time of their abolition by Theodosius, who, it is well known, drove these priestesses, and all the heathen priests out of their

temples. The reason I have to think their number was never encreased beyond six is drawn from a medal of Faustina the younger, and Julia, the wife of Severus, in which, no more than six vestals are represented.

to remain there in the night: They are under a necessity of continuing unmarried during the space of thirty years; which time they employ in offering sacrifices, and performing other rites, ordained by the law: During the first ten years, their duty was to learn their functions; in the second ten, to perform them; and, during the remainder of their time, to teach others. After the expiration of the term of thirty years, nothing hindered such as desired it from marrying, upon quitting their ¹³⁰ veils, and the other ensigns of their priesthood: And some, though very few, have done this, the end of whose lives has not been so very happy, as to tempt others to imitate them: So that, the rest, looking upon their calamities as ominous, remain virgins in the temple of the goddess till their death; and, then, the pontiffs, again, ¹³¹ chuse another to supply the vacancy.

¹³⁰ Στεμματα. I have translated these, *Veils*; because the vestals, really, wore veils, called in Latin, *suffibula*, which are thus described by Festus: *Suffibulum est vestimentum album, prae-textum, quadrangulum, oblongum, quod in capite virgines vestales, cum sacrificant, semper habere solent; idque fibulâ comprehenditur.* Almost all nuns wear these, or something, very nearly, answering this description. ° Gellius quotes Antistius Labeo, a man of great learning, in the time of Augustus, for many particulars relating to the vestals; among the rest, that they could not be admitted under six, nor above ten years of age. I imagine, because it was necessary they should be virgins.

¹³¹ Αποδεικνυται. *Capitur* was the

° B. i. c. 12. r Id. ib.

term appropriated to this election, which was performed in the following manner: ° The pontifex maximus chose twenty virgins, who, in an assembly of the people, drew lots which of them should succeed the deceased vestal; and the virgin, upon whom the lot fell, was *taken* by the pontifex maximus, *capiebatur*. Among the other honors enjoyed by the vestals, each had a licitor to attend her, when she went out; one of them having been insulted, as she was going home. This honor, and security they received in the triumvirate of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. † Ταῖς τε ἀειπαρθενοῖς (ἐδωκαν) ῥαβδαχὼ ἐν ἑκάστῃ χερσὶν ὅτι τις αὐτῶν ἀπο δειπνῶς πρὸς ἑσπεραν εἰκαδὲς ἐπανίστα ἡγνότητι τε καὶ ὑβρίδι.

† Dion. B. xlvii. p. 285.

They

They receive many distinguishing honors from their country, by which the desire of children, and of marriage is taken away: They are, also, subject to great punishments in case of delinquency; which, by the law, the pontifs are appointed both to inquire into, and punish: Those vestals, who commit lesser crimes, they whip with rods: But, if they suffer themselves to be debauched, they are delivered up, by the pontifs, to the most shameful, and the most miserable death. For, while they are yet alive, they are carried upon a bier, with all the formality of a funeral, their friends, and relations attending them with lamentations: Being arrived at the gate, Collina, they are placed in a¹³² subterraneous cell, prepared within the walls, in their

¹³² Εἰς σπήλον ὑπο γῆν κατεσκευασμένον. Plutarch, in his life of Numa, says that, in this cave, there was a bed, a burning lamp, a little bread, water, milk, and honey: For which he gives this reason; that they left these small supports of life there, to avoid the abomination of starving a person, who had been consecrated with the greatest formalities. But the Greeks, from whom this notion is supposed to have been derived, looked upon the starving any person, whether consecrated, or not, to bring a curse upon the public: And this is the reason, given by Creon, for a small support of life, to the chorus in Sophocles, when he declares his design of putting to death his niece Antigone in the same manner, for having performed funeral rites to her brother Polynices, contrary to his edict^r.

Ἀγῶν ἐρημὸς ἐνδ' αὖν ἢ βροτῶν σίτος,
Κυψῶ πείρωδες ζῶσαν ἐν κατὰρυχι,

^r In Antigone, γ'. 784.

Φοβῆς τοσῶτον ὡς αἶγος μόνον προθεῖς,
Ὅπως μίσημα πασ' ὑπεκφυγοὶ πόλιν.

The crime, for which these poor creatures were, so dreadfully, punished, was called *Incest*. Notwithstanding the severity of the punishment, many of the vestals were tried, and found guilty of a crime, which the superstition of their country, not nature, had made so heinous. One instance of this kind I shall mention from *Livy, because it gives great light to the passage now before us: *Eo anno, Minucia, vestalis—facto judicio, viva sub terram, ad portam Collinam, dextra via strata, defossa Sclerato campo. Credo ab incesto id ei loco nomen factum.* The reader will observe that this place, though called *campus*, was within the walls of the city, ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ, as our author says; which is confirmed by the testimony of many other writers.

* B. viii. c. 15.

Y y 2

funeral

funeral attire, without any sepulchral column, funeral rites, or other customary solemnities. There seem to be many indications of the priests, who does not perform the holy functions with purity; but the principal is the extinction of the fire, which the Romans dread above all misfortunes, looking upon it, from whatever cause it proceeds, as an omen, that portends the destruction of their city; and ¹³³they bring fire again into the temple with many expiatory rites; but concerning these, I shall speak in a proper place.

LXVII. However, it is, also, well worth relating, in what manner this goddess has manifested herself in favor of

¹³³ Καταγχοι παλιν εις το ιερον.
 * Plutarch says that, when this fire happened to be extinguished, they held it unlawful to supply it with common fire, but made use of vessels, which had the same effect with burning glasses; and, thus, they procured this new fire from the sun. This is what the emperor * Julian calls εξ ηλιας φλογα in his oration in praise of the sun, which he erects into a divinity; which oration is written, like all his works, with great elegance, great learning, and great superstition. And it may well be wondered that a Roman emperor, so bigotted to the most ridiculous tenets of the Pagan system, and, personally, abused by the Christian writers, contented himself with forbidding them to keep open schools: But it seems, he suffered his philosophy, in which he shews himself a great proficient, to influence his conduct, though it could not influence his re-

ligion; and was so far from reviving the dreadful persecutions of his predecessors, that, in a letter to Arfacius, the high priest of Galatia, among other orders relating to his conduct, and to That of the priests under his jurisdiction, he commands him to erect public houses in every city for the reception of strangers of all religions, as well as his own: "Ξενοδοχεια καθ' εκαστην πολιαν καταστησον πυκνα, εν' απολαυσωσιν οι ξενοι της παρ' ημων Φιλανθρωπιας, & των ημεερων μονον, αλλα και αλλων εσσις αν δεδηχη χρηματων. It must be observed that the *others*, he speaks of here, who were to have an equal benefit of this charity with the Pagans, must relate to the Christians, and Jews, both which he mentions a few lines after; because there were only three religions professed by the subjects of the Roman empire; that is, Christianity, Paganism, and Judaism.

* Life of Numa.

* Oration 4.

* Epist. 49.

those virgins, who have been, falsely, accused: For these things, however incredible they may be, meet with credit among the Romans; and their histories are full of them. I am sensible that the professors of the atheistical philosophy, if that deserves the name of philosophy, who turn all the manifestations of the gods, which have happened either among the Greeks, or Barbarians, into ridicule, will, also, laugh at these relations, and attribute them to the ¹³⁴ fictions of men; as if none of the gods concern themselves in any thing relating to mankind: However, those, who do not discharge the gods from the care of human affairs; but, after many inquiries, hold that they are favourable to the good, and averse to the wicked, will not look, even, upon these manifestations, as incredible. It is said that, once, the fire being extinguished through some carelessness of Aemilia, who had, then, the care of it, and had intrusted it to another virgin, who was, newly, chosen into their number, and, then, learning her duty; the whole city was in great disorder, and an inquiry made by the pontifs, whether some defilement of the priestess might not have occasioned the extinction of the fire. Upon this, they say that Aemilia, who was innocent, but distracted at what had happened, stretched out her hands to the altar, and, in the presence of the priests, and the rest of the virgins, said, “ O Vesta, “ tutelary goddess of this city, if, during the space of near “ thirty years, I have performed the holy functions to thee, “ with holiness and justice, and have preserved a pure mind,

¹³⁴ *Ἀλαζονείαις. Ἀλαζων, ψευδής. Hesychius.*

“ and

“ and a chaste body, appear in my defence, and assist me ;
 “ and do not suffer your priests to die the most miserable
 “ of all deaths : But, if I have been guilty of any impiety,
 “ let my punishment expiate the guilt of the city.” Having
 said this, she tore off a piece of the linen garment she had
 on, and threw it upon the altar : After this prayer, they say,
 that, from the ashes, which had been long cold, and re-
 tained no spark of fire, a great flame shone forth through
 the linen ; so that, the city did not stand in need either of
 expiations, or of a new fire.

LXIX. But, what I am going to relate, is still more
 wonderful, and more like a fable. They say that some-
 body, having, falsely, accused one of the virgins, whose
 name was Tucia ; and being unable to object to her the
 extinction of the fire, he supported his accusation by false
 inductions drawn from probable conjectures, and testimonies :
 And that the virgin, being ordered to make her defence,
 said, only, this, that she would clear herself from the ac-
 cufation by her actions ; and, having said this, and called
 upon the goddess to be her guide, she proceeded to the
 Tiber, the pontifs consenting, and all the citizens attending
 her : When she came to the river, she was so hardy as to
 undertake a thing, which, of all others, is looked upon as
 impossible, even, to a ¹³⁵ proverb ; and, having taken water
 out of the river in an empty sieve, and carried it as far as

¹³⁵ Το παρρημιαζομενον. The Greek by * Plato ; κερκινω υδωρ φερειν, To
 proverb, here alluded to, is mentioned *carry water in a sieve*.

* Ηεστ. παλαιοι. B. ii.

the forum, she poured it out at the feet of the pontifs. After which, they say, her accuser, though great inquiry was made after him, could never be found, either alive, or dead. But, though I have, yet, many things to say concerning the manifestations of this goddess, I look upon what has been, already, said, as sufficient.

LXX. The sixth branch of his religious institutions was attributed to Those the Romans call *Salii*, whom Numa himself appointed out of the patricians, chusing twelve young men of the most graceful appearance. The holy things, belonging to their order, are deposited on the Palatine hill, and they themselves are called *Palatini*: For the *Agonenses*, by some, called the *Collini Salii*, the repository of whose holy things is on the Colline hill, were instituted after Numa, by Hostilius, king of the Romans, in pursuance of a vow he had made in the war against the Sabines. All these *Salii* are a kind of dancers, and singers of hymns, in praise of the gods of war. Their festival falls out about the time of the Panathenaea, in what they call the month of March, being performed at ¹³⁶ the expence of the city, and

¹³⁶. Εορτή δημοέλης. Here again, the Latin translators have mislaid their followers: Portus has said *à toto populo publice celebrantur*; and le Jay, *que tout le peuple celebre*: Sylburgius, *agiturque publice*, and M. * * *, *elle se fait publiquement*. But the misfortune is, that none of these versions, or rather, neither of them, gives the sense of δημοέλης εορτή; which signifies *a festival performed at the expence of the pub-*

lic; and, according to this signification, the word δημοέλης is explained by Hesychius: Δημοέλη ιερά, εις α' θυμὰ δίδωσιν ἡ πόλις. This festival of the *Ancilia* stands in the old Roman calendar on the kalends of March. There were two festivals at Athens called Ἱαναθηναια, one celebrated every year, and the other, every fifth year; these were called μεγάλα Παναθηναια.

γ Harpocration in Παναθηναια.

continues several days; during which, they proceed dancing through the city to the forum, and the capitol, and to many other private, and public places. They wear embroidered vests, on which, are girded ¹³⁷ brazen breast-plates, and, over these vests, are buttoned robes, ¹³⁸ striped with scarlet, and bordered with purple, which they call *Trabeae*: This garment is peculiar to the Romans, and a mark of great honor. On their heads, they wear what they call, *Apices*, which are high caps, contracted into the shape of a cone; which the Greeks call ¹³⁹ Κυρβασιαι, *High-crowned-caps*. They have each of them a sword hanging at their girdle; and, in their right hands, they hold a spear, or a wand, or some such thing; and, in their left, a Thracian

¹³⁷ Χαλκηαις μίλαις. So it must be read with the Vatican manuscript, and not *μυλαις*, as it stands in all the editions. The sense of *μίλαι* will be explained by Livy, whose description of the dress of these Salii is, word for word, the same with That given by our author: *Tunicaeque pīctae insigne dedit, et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen*. The Latin translators have rendered *μίλαι*, in this place, *baltei*, whom le Jay has followed, and called them, *des baudriers*. But it appears from ^a Homer that these belts were different from breast-plates; the lower part of which last was fastened by strings, that went round the middle. Thus Menelaus, after he was wounded by Pandarus, says to his brother Agamemnon,

^a B. i. c. 20.

αλλα παρειθεν
Εἰρυσάλο ζωστη τε παναιολος, ηδ' ὑπενερθεν
Ζωματα, καὶ ΜΙΤΡΗ, τὴν χαλκηῆς καμὸν ἀνδρες.

Upon which occasion, *μίλαι* is thus described by the Greek scholiast; *χαλκη λειπς, ἣν ζωννυῖται περὶ τοῦ κενεωνά χαριν πλειονος ασφαλειας*. M. *** has translated the word with great propriety; *une plaque de cuivre sur la poitrine*.

¹³⁸ Φοινικοπαρυφες. Portus, and Sylburgius are of opinion that this word is superfluous; in which, I differ from them; and think that, if it was thrown out, we shall have the description of the *toga praetexta*, not of the *trabea*: The difference between which I imagine to have been the scarlet stripes, signified by *φοινικοπαρυφες*.

¹³⁹ Κυρβασια, ορθή τιὰς α'. Ταύτη δὲ εἰ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μόνον ἐχρῶντο. Hesychius.

^a Iliad. Δ. γ'. 185.

buckler,

buckler, which resembles a target, shaped like ¹⁴⁰a lozenge, and scalloped between the points; such as those are said to carry who, among the Greeks, perform the holy functions belonging to the Curetes: And, in my opinion, the Salii, if the word is translated into Greek, are Curetes; whom, because they are *Κεῖροι*, *Young-men*, we call, by that name, from their age: And the Romans call them Salii, from their violent motion: For, what we call *Εξαλλεσθαι*, and *Πηδᾶν*, *to leap, and dance*, is, by them, called, *Salire*: And, for the same reason, they call all other dancers, *Saltatores*, because their dancing, also, is attended with frequent springing, and, derive their name from the Salii: But, whether I have given them this appellation with propriety, or not, any one, who pleases, may gather from their actions: For, in the motions they perform in arms, keeping time to a flute, sometimes, they move all together, sometimes by turns; and, in dancing, sing certain hymns, after the manner of their country. Now, this dance, and motion, performed by armed men, with the noise they make by striking their bucklers with daggers, if we may draw any conjectures from ancient accounts, were instituted by the Curetes. I need not mention the fable, which is related concerning them, since almost every one is acquainted with it.

¹⁴⁰ *Περὶ ἑορδῆς*. This is from the Vatican manuscript; and is, no doubt, the true reading. ^bVirgil, in speaking of Penthesilea, says,

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis.

From this epithet *lunatis*, and the description of these bucklers by our author, I am apt to believe they resembled two crescents placed back to back.

^b Aen. B. i. v. 490.

LXXI. Among the bucklers, which both the Salii, and some of their servants carry hanging by their ¹⁴¹ handles, being very many in number, they say, there is one, that fell from heaven ; and that it was found in the palace of Numa, no one having brought it thither ; nor any buckler of that make having, ever before, been known among the Italians : That, from both these reasons, the Romans concluded this buckler was sent by the gods ; and that Numa, being desirous to have it carried through the city, with respect, by the most distinguished young men on holy days, and honoured with annual sacrifices ; but, at the same time, apprehensive both of the contrivances of his enemies, and of its being stolen away, he caused many other bucklers to be made resembling That, which fell from heaven, one Mamorius, an artificer, having undertaken the work ; so that, the shape of the buckler, which was sent by the gods, was, by the exact similitude of human workmanship, rendered indiscernible, and difficult to be distinguished by those, who might have a design, fraudently, to possess themselves of it. That this dance, after the manner of the Curetes,

¹⁴¹ Ηγήμενας ἀπὸ κανόνων. All the four translators agree in rendering κανόνες, *bacilli*, *conti*, *baguettes*, *perche* ; whereas, the word signifies the *handles* of a shield. And, here again, I shall support my translation by the authority of Homer, who makes Hector give this account of Nestor's shield,

Ἀσπίδα Νέστορος, τῆς οὐκ ἄλλης ἔσται ἰκταί,
Πάσαν χερσέων ἔχουσι, ΚΑΝΟΝΑΣ τε καὶ αἶψην.

And thus the word κανόνες is explained by the Greek scholiast ; ῥαβδοι αἷς ἐκράλυν τὰς ἀσπίδας. To these handles was fastened a thong, by which they hung up their shields in their tents, or slung them cross their shoulders in a march ; which is confirmed by Hesychius, who explains κανόνες in this manner, αἱ τῆς ἀσπίδος ῥαβδοι, ἀφ' ἧν εἰς τελαμῶν ἐξήπτο.

* Iliad. 0. 9. 193.

was

was customary among the Romans, and held in great honor by them, I gather from many things; but, chiefly, from what is practised by them in their processions both in the circus, and in the theatres: For, in all of them, young men, clad in handsom vests, with helmets, swords, and ¹⁴² bucklers, march in time: These are the leaders of the procession, and are called, by them, from a game, of which the Lydians seem to be the inventors, *Luliones*, representing, in my opinion, the Salii: Since they do not imitate the Curetes, in any thing, as the Salii do, either in their hymns, or dances: And it was necessary that the Salii should be free men, and natives of the country, and that both their fathers, and mothers should be living; whereas the others are of any condition. But to what purpose should I say any more of them?

LXXII. The seventh part of his religious institutions was allotted to the college of the *Feciales*: These may be called, in Greek, *Ειρηνοδίκαι*, *Judges in matters relating to peace*: They are chosen out of the best families, and exercise their holy office during life; Numa being the first, who instituted this holy magistracy, also, among the Romans: But, whether he took the example from those, called the ¹⁴³ *Aequicoli*, according to the opinion of some; or from

¹⁴² Παρμας έχοντες. M. *** has, in his preface, deservedly, censured le Jay for copying even the faults of the printer, who printed the translation of Portus, in which it stands *Pa'mas gestantes*, instead of *Parmas*: This error le Jay has, servilely, copied, and said,

des Palmes à la main. Had he cast his eye on the Greek text, which, I dare say, he never did, he could not, possibly, have fallen into this ridiculous error.

¹⁴³ Αικικλων. This correction is owing to ^d Cluver, who has, plainly,

^d Ital. Ant. B. ii. c. 16.

the city of the Ardeates, as Gellius writes, I cannot say : It is sufficient for me to give notice that, before Numa's reign, the college of the Feciales was not in being among the Romans. It was instituted by Numa, when he was upon the point of making war with the Fidenates, who had made incursions into, and ravaged, his territories, in order to try, whether they would come to an accommodation with him without entering into a war, which, being under a necessity, they submitted to. But, since the college of the Feciales is not in use among the Greeks, it is incumbent on me to relate how many, and how great affairs fall under its jurisdiction ; to the end that those, who are unacquainted with the piety of the men of those times, may not be surprised to find that the event of all their wars, was most successful : For it will appear that the springs, and motives of them all were most pious ; and, for this reason, chiefly, the gods were propitious to them in all the dangers, that attended them. The multiplicity of the affairs, that fall within the province of these Feciales, makes it no easy matter to enumerate them all ; but the substance of them is, as follows : To take care that the Romans do not enter into an unjust war against any confederate city : And, if others begin the violation of their treaties, to go as ambassadors, and demand justice, in the first place ; but, if they refuse to comply with

shewn that these were the people, called by the Roman authors, *Aequicoli*. They lived on both sides of the Anio. And Livy, though he ascribes the institution of the *Feciales* to Ancus Mar-

cus, derives their origin from the *Aequicoli* ; *Jus ab antiqua gente Aequiculis, quod nunc Feciales habent, descriptum, quo res repetuntur.*

* B. i. c. 32.

their

their demands, then, to give their sanction to the war. In like manner, if any, in alliance with the Romans, complain of having been injured by them, and demand justice, these men are to inquire whether they have suffered any thing in violation of their alliance ; and, if they find their complaints well grounded, to seize the guilty, and deliver them up to the sufferers. They are, also, to take cognizance of the crimes committed against ambassadors ; to take care that treaties are, religiously, observed ; to make peace ; and, if they find it entered into, contrary to the holy laws, to set it aside ; to inquire into, and expiate, the transgressions of the generals, as far as they relate to oaths, and treaties, concerning which I shall speak in a proper place. As to the function they perform in quality of heralds, when they go to demand justice of any city thought to have injured the Romans (for these things, also, are worthy of our knowledge, being transacted with great regard both to religion, and justice) I have received the following account. One of these *Feciales*, chosen by his colleagues, being clad in his robes, and bearing the ensigns of his holy dignity to distinguish him from others, proceeds towards the city, whose inhabitants have done the injury ; and, standing on the confines, calls upon Jupiter, and the rest of the gods to witness that he is come to ¹⁴⁴ demand justice on the behalf of the Ro-

¹⁴⁴ Οὐδὲν ἄλλω. The form of demanding justice by the *Fecialis*, together with his protestation, in case of refusal, and the declaration of war, are all set forth by ^f Livy in the very words, in which they were spoken by him : *Audi, Jupiter, inquit, audite, fines*, (cujusque gentis sunt, nominat)

^f B. i. c. 32.

mans :

mans: After which, he takes an oath that he is going to a city, that has done an injury; and, having made the most dreadful imprecations against himself, and his country, if, what he averred was not true; he then, enters their confines: Afterwards, he calls to witness the first man he meets, whether he was an inhabitant of the country, or of the city; and, having repeated the same imprecations, he advances towards the latter; and, before he enters it, he calls the keeper of the gate, or the first person he finds there to witness, in the same manner: Upon which, he proceeds to the market-place; and, being there, he informs the magistrates of the reasons of his coming, adding, every where, the same oaths, and imprecations. If they are disposed to make satisfaction by delivering up the guilty, he leads them away, and returns as from friends, he himself being now their friend: If they desire time to deliberate, he allows them ten days,

audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuncius populi Romani, juste pieque legatus venio, verbisque meis fides sit. Peragit deinde postulata. Inde Jovem testem facit: Si ego injuste impicque illos homines, illasque res dedier nuncio populi Romani mihi exposco, tum patriae compotem me nunquam firis esse. Then, if justice is refused, after three and thirty days, he makes this protestation; *Audi, Jupiter, et Tu Juno; Quirine, Diique omnes caelestes, Vosque terrestres, Vosque inferni, audite. Ego vos testor, populum illum (quicumque est, nominat) injustum esse, neque jus persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria majores natu consulemus, quo pacto jus nostrum adipiscamur.* After that, if the Roman people resolved upon the

war, and the senate gave their consent, the *Fecialis* returned to the frontiers of the people, against whom the war had been decreed; and, carrying a spear in his hand pointed with iron, or stained with blood, and burnt at the head, he declared war against them in the following words, after reciting the resolution of the people, and senate, *Ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populo hominibusque* (naming them) *bellum indico facioque.* Having said this, he threw the spear within their frontiers. M.***, very well, observes, that Livy, in computing thirty three days, includes the three days employed in demanding justice, and declaring war.

after

after which he returns, and waits till they have asked this three times : But, after the expiration of the thirty days, if the city still persists in refusing to do him justice, he calls both the celestial and infernal gods to witness, and goes away, saying no more than this, that the Romans will deliberate concerning them at their leisure. After his return to Rome, he, together with the rest of the Feciales, make their report to the senate, that they had done every thing, that was ordained by the holy laws ; and, if they thought proper to resolve upon a war, there was no obstacle on the part of the gods. But, if any of these things were omitted, neither the senate, nor the people had the power of resolving upon a war. This, therefore, is the account we have received concerning the Feciales.

LXXIII. The last branch of the religious institutions of Numa was That, which related to those, who are invested with the chief pontificate, and greatest power among the Romans. These, from one of their duties, which concerns the reparation of the wooden bridge, are, in their language, called ¹⁴⁵ *Pontifices* : Affairs of the greatest moment are subject to their jurisdiction. For they are the judges in all

¹⁴⁵ Ποντίφικες. Varro gives the same etymology of this word with our author ; and their authority ought to have screened this etymology from the ridicule, with which Plutarch treats it ; though, at the same time, he owns that it was received by the generality of the Romans. However, this is certain, that they could not be called

pontifices at the time of their institution ; because, the *pons Sublicius*, from the repairing of which they derived their name, was built by Ancus Marcius, the second king after Numa, as we find by ^h our author, and ⁱ Livy. So that, after this bridge was built, and the care of it became one of their functions, they were called *Pontifices*.

^e De Ling. Lat. B. iv. ^h B. iii. c. 45. ⁱ B. i. c. 33.

religious causes, wherein private men, magistrates, or the ministers of the gods are concerned: They enact laws relating to religion, where there are none either written, or supported by custom; and, where there are laws, and customs, they adopt such, as they think most proper to be observed: They inquire into the conduct of all magistrates, to whom the performance of any sacrifices, or any service of the gods is committed; and, also, into That of all the priests: They take care that their servants, and ministers, whom they make use of in religious matters, do nothing in violation of the holy laws: They are the teachers, and interpreters of every thing relating to the worship of the gods, and genius's, to private persons, who are unacquainted with it; and, if they find that any disobey their orders, they inflict a punishment on them proportionable to every offence: They are also, exempt from all judgement, and punishment; neither are they accountable to the senate, or the people. Concerning, therefore, these priests, if any one will call them *Ιεροδιδασκαλεις*, *the Teachers*, *Ιερονομεις*, *the Ministers*, *Ιεροφυλακας*, *the Guardians*, or, as we call them, *Ιεροφαντας*, *the interpreters of holy things*, he will not deviate from the truth. When any one of them dies, another is appointed in his place; who is ¹⁴⁶ not elected by the people, but by

¹⁴⁶. Ουχ' ὑπο τῆς δημοῦ αἰρεθεις. By the Domitian law, the Pontifices were chosen by the people. This law was brought in by Cn. Domitius, then, one of the tribunes, and passed in the 651st year of the city, Caius Marius

for the third time, and Lucius Aurelius being consuls. This * Velleius Paterculus, positively, asserts; *quo Anno Cneius Domitius, tribunus plebis, legem tulit, ut sacerdotes, quos antea collegae sufficiebant, populus crearet.*

^k B. ii. c. 12.

the pontifices themselves, who chuse the person they think the best qualified among their fellow-citizens. Being, thus, approved of, he receives the priesthood, provided the auguries are favourable to him. These, not to speak of others less considerable, are the greatest, and the most remarkable laws, enacted by Numa concerning divine worship, and divided by him according to the different branches of his religious institutions, by which the city encreased in piety.

LXXIV. Among the many regulations of Numa, tending to inspire frugality, and temperance, and to establish a love of justice, the guardian of concord, some are comprehended in written laws, others unwritten, and preserved by custom, and long usage: To treat of all which would be a work of great difficulty: I shall, therefore, mention only two of them, which have been the most extolled, and which will be sufficient for any one to form a judgement of the rest. The law, that appoints boundaries to every man's possession, renders the people content with their own, and hinders them from coveting what belongs to others: For, having ordered every one to circumscribe his own possession, and to place stones on the bounds, he consecrated these stones to *Jupiter Terminalis*; and appointed all to assemble at the

This law was enacted about ninety four years before our author published his history; and how he came to be unacquainted with it I cannot understand; unless it may be said that, in speaking of the laws instituted by Numa, he thought it sufficient to treat of them in the form, in which they were enacted by him: This, to me, seems much

more probable than that he should be uninformed in any point of the Roman history, with which any of us are acquainted. What could possess le Jay to translate so plain a passage, in this absurd manner, *on le choisit, non parmi le peuple, mais parmi ce qu'il y a de plus considerables citoyens?*

place, every year, on a certain day, and offer sacrifices to them; instituting a solemn festival, also, in honor to the gods, who preside over these boundaries: This festival the Romans call ¹⁴⁷ *Terminalia* from *Τερμινες*, *Bounds*, and the bounds themselves, by the change of one letter, in imitation of our language, they call *Termine*s. He, also, enacted, that, if any person demolished, or displaced these bound-stones, he should be looked upon as devoted to this god, to the end that any one might kill him, as a sacrilegious person, with impunity, and without being defiled with guilt. This law did, not only, take place in private possessions, but, even, in Those belonging to the public: For he circumscribed these, also, with boundaries, to the intent that the Terminal gods might separate the lands of the Romans from Those of their neighbours, and the public lands from such, as belonged to private persons. This custom is observed by the Romans to this day, as a monument of past ages, and a point of religion: For they look upon these bound-stones as gods, and sacrifice to them still, offering up no kind of

¹⁴⁷ *Τερμινάλια*. This festival was celebrated by the Romans on the seventh of the kalends of March, the twenty third of February. From the description, given by ^k Ovid of this festival, it appears that this Pagan divinity was, generally, nothing else but a stone, or a post, placed on the boundaries,

*Termine, sive lapis, sive es defossus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis, sic quoque nomen habes.*

These *ancients* were the Greeks, among whom *Τερμινες*, as our author says, signifies the same thing with *termen*, which was, visibly, derived from it: For we find by ^l Varro, that the old Romans used the word *termen* instead of *terminus*; *Apud Accium, non terminus dicitur, sed termen*. But, to preserve the analogy between the two languages, here alluded to, *termen* must be of the masculine gender.

^k Fastorum, B. ii. §. 641.

^l De Ling. Lat. B. iv. c. 4.

animal (for it is irreligious to stain these stones with blood) but cakes made with flour, and other first-fruits of the earth: But they ought still to observe the motive itself, in consideration of which it was ordered that these bound-stones should be called gods, and content themselves with their own possessions, without invading Those of others, either by violence, or fraud: Whereas, now, there are some, who without consulting their duty, or the example of their ancestors, instead of separating their own possessions from Those of others, make their desire of every thing, not the law, the boundary of their possessions; which reflects great dishonor on them. But we leave these considerations to others.

LXXV. By these laws, Numa formed the city to frugality, and temperance: Justice in contracts he introduced by inventing a regulation, which was unknown to all, who instituted the most celebrated commonwealths: For, observing that contracts, made in public, and before witnesses, are, from a regard to the persons present, generally, performed, and that few are guilty of any violation of them; but that those, which are transacted without witnesses, being many more in number than the former, rest on no other security than the faith of the contractors, he thought it incumbent on him to make this faith the chief object of his care, and to render it worthy of divine worship. For he found that Justitia, Themis, Nemesis, and Those the Greeks call Erinnyes, with others of that kind, had been, sufficiently, honoured by the ancients, in being erected into divinities,

and consecrated; but that Faith, than which there is no greater, nor more sacred virtue among men, was not yet worshiped, either by states in their public capacity, or by private persons: Having considered these things, he, first of all men, erected a temple to public Faith, and instituted sacrifices to be performed to her, at the public expence, in the same manner as to the rest of the gods. By this means, the public faith of the city, which was preserved inviolate to all men, could not fail, in time, to communicate the same fidelity to the behaviour of private men: And, indeed, so sacred, and inviolable a thing was faith in their estimation, that the greatest oath a man could take was, By his own faith; and more depended upon than any other testimony: And, if there happened any contest between two persons concerning the performance of a contract entered into without witnesses, the faith of either of the parties was sufficient to decide the controversy, and not suffer it to proceed any further: And the magistrates, and courts of justice founded their decrees, in most causes, on the oaths of the parties attesting by their faith. These regulations, then invented by Numa, which persuaded to temperance, and enforced justice, rendered the city of Rome more orderly than the best regulated family.

LXXVI. Those I am going to relate, rendered it both careful to provide itself with necessaries, and industrious to acquire the advantages, that flow from labor: For this person, considering that a city, formed to the love of justice, and to habitual temperance, ought to abound with all things
necessary

necessary to the support of life, divided the whole country into what they call Pagi, *Villages* ; and over each of these villages he appointed a magistrate, whose duty it was to inspect, and visit the lands lying in his own division : These, going their rounds frequently, took an account in writing of the lands, that were well, and ill cultivated, and laid it before the king ; who repaid the diligence of the careful husbandmen with commendations, and favor ; and, by reprimanding, and fining the slothful, excited them to cultivate their lands with greater attention : By which means, the people, being freed from wars, and exempt from any attendance on the affairs of the city ; and, at the same time, disgraced, and punished, for idleness, and sloth, became all laborious husbandmen, and looked upon the riches, which the earth yields, and which, of all others, are the most innocent, as more agreeable than the precarious affluence of a military life : And, by the same means, Numa became the darling of his subjects, the example of his neighbours, and the theme of posterity. It was owing to him, that, neither civil dissension broke the harmony of the city, nor foreign war interrupted the observance of these wise, and admirable institutions : For their neighbours were so far from looking upon the peaceful tranquillity of the Romans, as an opportunity of invading them, that, if, at any time, they were at war with one another, they chose the Romans for mediators, and were willing to put an end to their contests under the arbitration of Numa. I should, therefore, make no difficulty in placing this person among the first of those,

who

who are the most celebrated for their happiness: For he was of a royal family, had a majestic aspect, and cultivated that kind of literature, which, instead of useless eloquence, formed his mind to piety, and every other virtue: When he was young, he was thought worthy to be king of the Romans, who, upon the reputation of his virtue, invited him to that dignity, which he exercised, during his whole life, over an obedient people. He lived to be very old, without any infirmity, or misfortune, and died the easiest of all deaths, being worn out with age; the genius, who had been allotted to him from his birth, having continued the same favor to him till he was no more. He lived above fourscore years, and reigned forty three; leaving behind him, according to most historians, four sons, and one daughter, whose posterity remain to this day; but, according to Cneius Gellius, only one daughter, who was the mother of Ancus Marcius, the third king of the Romans after him. His death was, exceedingly, lamented by the city, who made a most splendid ¹⁴⁸ funeral for him: He lies buried upon

¹⁴⁸. Ταφας. Here again, the translators are ranged in their usual order: Portus was resolved to give the sense of this word; and, for that reason, he has rendered it both a funeral, and a monument, *funere splendidissimo, et monumento maxime insigni decoravit*; le Jay scorned to do less honor to Numa, than his guide, and has said, word for word, *on lui fit de superbes funerailles, et l'on dressa à sa memoire un magnifique tombeau*. Sylburgius is more modest,

and contents himself with the monument, *insigni monumento decoravit civitas*; and M. *** has copied his modesty in copying his words, *on lui érigea un superbe tombeau*. Now, I cannot agree with Sylburgius (for his translator is not concerned in the text) that ταφας signifies a monument, for which the Greek word is ταφος. This will be seen by ^m Julius Pollux, a writer of great authority, and of great use, who gives us every thing relating

^m B. viii. c. 14.

the Janiculum, on the other side of the Tiber. And this is the account we have received concerning Numa Pompilius.

<p>to funeral honors in their proper order. Περιδειπνον, ταφην, ενταφια, μνημα, ταφος, χωμα, σηλη. Here, ταφη precedes ταφος, and is, plainly, distinguished from it. Besides, if our author had designed</p>	<p>that ταφαι should signify a monument, he would have said κειναι, instead of κειλαι, which can relate only to the body of Numa.</p>
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The end of the second book.

A
F R A G M E N T
Out of the
S I X T H - B O O K
O F
P O L Y B I U S,

Containing a Dissertation upon GOVERNMENT in general, particularly applied to that of the Romans, together with a Description of the several Powers of the CONSULS, SENATE, and PEOPLE of Rome,

Translated from the Greek with Notes.

To which is prefixed a Preface, wherein the System of POLYBIUS is applied to the Government of *England*: And, to the above-mentioned Fragment concerning the Powers of the Senate, is annexed a Dissertation upon the Constitution of it.

Ita demum liberam Civitatem fore—si sua quisque jura ordo, suam Majestatem teneat.
Liv. B. iii. c. 63.

Ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι.

THE translation of this fragment of *Polybius* with the preface, and the dissertation on the *Roman* senate annexed to the translation, was published by me in 1743; which I mention to the end that, if the reader finds the same quotations, and the same consequences drawn from them in *Dr. Middleton's Treatise on the Roman Senate*, and *Dr. Chapman's Essay*, both on the same subject, and both published several years after mine, he may acquit me of plagiarism. I had, then, my reasons for not putting my name to the book, though my bookseller thought fit to affix my name, or something like my name, to what he called a second edition, without my knowledge, and to add to it a most impertinent title page of his own.

I have inserted this little book, which has been many years out of print, in my translation of *Dionysius*, because I look upon it that the description of the several powers of the consuls, senate, and people of *Rome*, given by so great an author as *Polybius*, will very much tend to explain, and confirm many passages in this history.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

Several considerations led me to lay before the public a translation of the following fragment of POLYBIUS: The principal of which was, the very great satisfaction I received, as an Englishman, in finding the whole reasoning of that excellent author as applicable to our own constitution, as to That, for which it was intended.

*The great advantages flowing from the happy temper, and equal mixture of the three orders, for which he so justly celebrates the Roman government, are all to be found in our own; with this circumstance in our favor, that our situation, as an island, forbids us either to fear, or aim at, conquests; by the gaining, as well as the suffering of which, that political harmony is in danger of being destroyed. By the spoils of conquered nations Cæsar was enabled to corrupt the Roman people, and bribe them to be the instruments of their own ruin, by erecting an absolute monarchy in his favor; which, growing, afterwards, wanton for want of a check from the other two orders, and weak for want of their assistance, became, at last, a prey to
a bar-*

a barbarous invader, often vanquished, and always despised, while the ballance of all three was preserved.

If my countrymen will attentively consider every argument, made use of by POLYBIUS, to shew the excellence of a government founded on an equal mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, they will, I dare say, have the same satisfaction I enjoyed; that is, they will find the system of policy, laid down by that great man, in the following dissertation on the constitution of the Romans, to be a description of the advantages enjoyed under That of England.

I would not be thought to say this in flattery to the government, under which I was born, and hope to pass the remainder of my life; not only my own reason, but, what is of much greater weight, even to myself, the authority of the greatest men of antiquity, convinces me that a government mixed like Those of Sparta, Rome, and England, is, of all others, the easiest, the securest, and the happiest to live under. If any of us are insensible of the blessings we enjoy, I must think it owing to our being accustomed to them. Custom, I know, can both deaden the sense of the greatest misfortunes, and pall the enjoyment of the greatest blessings; and custom may, possibly, make us view that state with indifference, which all other nations look upon with envy. But this indifference is far from being epidemical; the fears, the jealousies of innovations, all pardonable in a free state, however

however groundless, are to me a proof, beyond contradiction, that we love what we so much fear to lose: and how general must those fears be, when it is popular only to pretend to fear?

In all free governments there ever were, and ever will be, parties: we find that Sparta, Rome, Athens, and all the Greek colonies in Asia Minor had their aristocratical, and democratical parties; while the only contest among the subjects of the kings of Persia was, who should be the greatest slaves. The truth is, different understandings, different educations, and different attachments must necessarily produce different ways of thinking every where; but these will shew themselves in free governments only, because there only they can shew themselves with impunity. However, it was not the existence of the two parties I have mentioned, that destroyed the liberties of any of those cities, but the occasional extinction of one of them, by the superiority the other had gained over it: and, if ever we should be so unhappy as to have the ballance between the three orders destroyed; and that any one of the three should utterly extinguish the other two, the name of a party would, from that moment, be unknown in England, and we should unanimously agree in being slaves to the conqueror.

Parties, therefore, are not only the effect, but the support, of liberty: I do not at all wonder that they are perpetually exclaimed at by Those in power: they may have, sometimes, rea-
son

son to be dissatisfied with the parties themselves, but have much more to be so with the heads of them; for These are properly their rivals: the bulk of the party aims, generally, at no more than a reformation of what they think an abuse of power; the others, at the power itself, without considering the abuse, unless it be to continue it: The party quarrels with things, and the leaders with persons; consequently, a change of measures may appease the first; but nothing less than a change of ministers can satisfy the last. However, in one respect, these leaders often give some ease to ministers without designing it; for, as they generally attack them upon personal, rather than national points, their followers are unconcerned in the contest; and, considering themselves as spectators, rather than parties, do not think it incumbent on them to go great lengths for the choice of ministers; especially, since by the indifference their leaders shew for national points, when they are aiming at power (which is the season for giving hopes, as the gaining it is for disappointing them) their followers have but little reason to expect they will shew a greater warmth for them, when they have attained the possession of it.

But, whatever may be the success of the opposers, the public reaps great benefit from the opposition; since This keeps ministers upon their guard, and, often, prevents them from pursuing bold measures, which an uncontrolled power might, otherwise,

tempt them to ingage in: they must act with caution, as well as fidelity, when they consider the whole nation is attentive to every step they take, and that the errors they may commit, will not only be exposed, but aggravated: in the mean time, a thirst of power, irritated by disappointment, animates the application of the opposers of public affairs, infinitely more than the languid impulse of national considerations: By this means, they grow able statesmen, and when they come to be ministers, are not only capable of defending bad schemes, but, when they please, of forming good ones.

Another great advantage, that accrues to the people from this opposition, is, that each party, by appealing to them upon all occasions, constitutes them judges of every contest; and, indeed, to whom should they appeal, but to those, whose welfare is the design, or pretence, of every measure? And for whose happiness the majesty of kings, the dignity of peers, and the power of the commons were finally instituted. This is, undoubtedly, the end of their institution, and this end it is their glory, as well as duty, to accomplish: For, what greater honor can be done to the three orders, of which our government is so happily composed, than to look upon them as they really are, that is, as the channels, through which ease, plenty, and security are derived to millions of people?

I would

I would not willingly do injustice to persons so useful, at all times, to the public, whatever they may be to themselves, as the heads of an opposing party; but shall mention one point, to which I will appeal, as to a touchstone of their conduct, and, by which, it will evidently appear whether it is influenced by personal, or national, considerations; it is This: There is not, I believe, in Great Britain, a man, who is not convinced, nor a man, not actually in the administration, or not expecting one day to be in it, who will not own, that annual parliaments are an effectual cure for all the evils, that are felt, feared, or complained of: If this is so evident a truth, how comes it to pass that, for this last century, that is, ever since an opposition to a ministry was made the road to a succession in it, that so national a point has been neglected? How comes it to pass, I say, that so many successive oppositions have never, in the warmest season of their contest, taken one step to restore the people to a right confirmed to them by more than one act of parliament (1) and supported by the enjoyment of some hundred years? Are the heirs apparent to ministers to be looked upon as the only persons in the nation, who are unacquainted with the rights of the people? Or the champions of liberty the only persons unconcerned in the defence of it? The truth is, they all

(1) 4 Edw. III. 36 Edw. III.

expect to be, one day, ministers themselves, and are sensible that annual parliaments are so much the ancient right of the people, so obviously conducive, if not essential, to their security, their dignity, and power, that they are afraid any attempt to restore them should prove successful; and, consequently, that, by breaking the peoples chains asunder, in order to distress the ministers, they should forge others for themselves when they come to succeed them. Whenever there has been any attempt to enact, or restore triennial parliaments, it has ever been objected that triennial parliaments would produce triennial ministries; and they are afraid that annual parliaments should also produce annual ministries: Hinc illæ lachrymæ. But I see no reason for these fears; we do not find that, during the long tract of time the people enjoyed annual parliaments, the reign of good ministers was shorter than since they have been deprived of that right: And if, during that period, the reign of bad ministers was so, this becomes an accessional reason for their being restored to it. But, say they, every thing will be so fluctuating under annual parliaments, that no nation will treat with you, no war can be prosecuted with success: Have they then forgotten that the treaties of Bretigny, and Troyes were concluded, and the victories of Crecy, and Azincourt gained, under the auspices of annual parliaments?

It is thought by many people that the septennial act was the severest stab the liberties of the people of England ever received: Indeed the circumstances of the nation at the time of its being enacted, were some justification of it: There had lately been an actual rebellion raised against a prince, who, without flattery, (which is seldom bestowed upon dead princes) wanted nothing to be admired by his subjects, but to be known to them; and who, by a peculiar cast of good qualities, seemed formed by nature to reign over a free people. This rebellion was indeed extinguished, but though the storm was laid, the heaving of the sea continued. However, if these circumstances, while they subsisted, were a reason for enacting that law, now they are removed, they can be none for continuing it. I must, indeed, do one set of men the justice to allow that they have shewn themselves of that opinion, by endeavouring to restore triennial parliaments: But that attempt, if it had succeeded, would have proved a palliative remedy only, not a cure. Have not triennial parliaments been already tried, and found ineffectual? Were not several essential clauses in the act of settlement repealed, the peace of Utrecht confirmed, and the schism act passed by triennial parliaments?

It must be allowed that, in all free governments, the oftener the collective body of the people is resorted to, the oftener they will have legal opportunities of reforming those grievances,
that

that will, from time to time, unavoidably, steal into the legislative, as well as the executive part of every government; and, while they have legal methods of redress, they will never fly to Those, that are not so. This would be the great advantage of annual parliaments: For, to suppose that the representatives of the people will, at all times, be as vigilant to discover, and as zealous to reform, those grievances, or as careful of their conduct in every other respect, when they are independent of their constituents for seven years, as, when they annually depend upon their approbation, is to suppose that hopes, and fears have lost their influence on the minds of men. On the other side, if it should ever happen that the representatives, encouraged by this independence, should, instead of reforming grievances, encrease their number, and become themselves the greatest grievance; the people will, in that case, have no legal remedy, which is, in itself, contrary to the nature of government; it being ridiculous to imagine that the same law, which provides a remedy for every private wrong, should provide none for Those of the public; or, that the whole body of the people, for whose sake the law itself was instituted, should ever find themselves in such circumstances, as to lose the benefit of it. Yet, this must happen, if it be received as a standing maxim of law and justice, that their representatives, when once chosen for any number of years, let their abuse of power be never so glaring,

have still a right to sit out their term, and, what is worse, to extend it as far as the affairs of the nation, or their own may require. If this be admitted, it must also be admitted that no term can, by law, be prescribed to their sitting, because they have still a power, by law, of extending that term, and, consequently, of perpetuating themselves: This, however improbable, must, upon a supposition of the legality of the first extension of the original term, be allowed to be equally legal. From hence it appears how dangerous it is to remove the corner stones of government; and that, whenever they have been removed, either through necessity, or convenience, the first opportunity ought to be laid hold on to restore them to their former situation.

There is something so bewitching in power, that, without very compulsive laws, men are not easily brought to resign it: This tenaciousness of power has filled all histories, both ancient and modern, with attempts made to extend it beyond the term, for which it was originally delegated. Thus, the last Roman decemvirs, though chosen by their country but for a year, prolonged their term by their own act, and retained the power they had usurped, till the people forced it out of their hands, and punished them severely for their usurpation, and their memory stands branded in history (2) with all the infamy it deserves:

(2) Liv. B. iii. Dionys. Hal. B. xi.

While the names of Valerius, and Horatius, under whose conduct the people recovered their right of electing annual magistrates, are celebrated by their historians with all the praises, that gratitude can yield, or merit claim; monuments more lasting than brass, or marble: Those no storms can overturn, no flight of time deface; still are their praises read by applauding nations, who look upon those worthy patriots, as the benefactors, not of their own country only, but of all mankind.

The same attempt met with, I will not say, deserved, a better fate at Venice, (3) where in the year 1298, an act passed in the great council, which, till then, was annually chosen by the people, that all those, of which it was that year composed, or who had been members of it for the four last years, should, upon their obtaining twelve voices in the council of forty, be themselves, and their posterity, ever after, members of it and that all the other citizens should be, for ever, excluded from the administration of public affairs. From this time, the people of Venice, like all others under the like circumstances, have found how dangerous it is to be useless, and that, to have no share in the government, is to be a prey to Those who have.

Many are the expedients gentlemen have been driven to, in order to supply the want of annual parliaments; such as the pension act, the act for disabling those, who have accepted em-

(3) Amelot de la Houssaie. Hist. du Gouvern. de Ven.

ployments,

ployments, from sitting in the house unless they are re-elected, and some others of the like tendency: All which are, no doubt, very well calculated to answer the ends, for which such bills are generally brought in, that is, to defame the ministry, if they are not passed, and to distress them, if they are. But, I believe, the people have received no great benefit from any of these expedients. In this I am the more confirmed, because the promoters of them are so loud in their complaints of such abuses, as could not, possibly, be committed, if these laws were effectual: Their complaints, therefore, must be looked upon as an acknowledgement that they are not so; and, if these gentlemen persist in applying remedies, which they themselves know to be ineffectual, the nation will have reason to complain in their turn, and to say that they treat them as some physicians treat their patients, that is, they chuse rather to prescribe, than cure. As to the place bill, the people have a right to have That go hand in hand with the bill for annual parliaments; since, among other clauses of Nolumus (4) formerly inserted in the writs of summons, we find the following one, Nolumus autem quod aliquis de retinentia domini nostri regis aliquo aliter sit electus.

The people of Rome, Sparta, and Athens were not represented; but appeared in a collective body, whenever any thing was to be laid before them. This method of taking the sense of

(4) Whitelock's Memo. p. 432.

the whole body of the people, upon every occasion, might not be subject to great inconveniences either at Sparta, or Athens, by reason of the small extent of their respective territories, which, though very populous, contained but few inhabitants: But, at Rome, whose dominions were so extensive, and its citizens so numerous, I think it must have been subject to many, particularly, to one of these two; either all the Roman citizens, who were not actually engaged in the service of the commonwealth, must have come from the most distant parts of the world at every meeting of the people, or the whole power must have devolved upon the inhabitants of the city, and neighbourhood of Rome: I own, I have never met with any complaints of either of these inconveniences in any of their authors, and yet the alternative seems unavoidable. For which reason, notwithstanding the great deference, which is undeniably due to the wisdom of their institutions, I cannot help thinking that a representative, under proper regulations, answers all the purposes of the peoples voting in a collective body, and is subject to none of the inconveniences of it. But, to effect this, two things seem to be necessary; the first, that the people be annually represented, to the end they may have, annually, an opportunity of confirming, or reforming their choice; the second is, that they be equally represented; for a people unequally represented, will, of course, be unequally taxed. This is a mischief, which all modern

dern governments are more, or less, subject to, because none of them have been so wise as to follow the example of the Romans, in establishing a general register: This, perhaps, may not be practicable, at least, not adviseable, in a trading country; since credit, which is the life of commerce, and subsists by opinion, would be very much impaired, if not destroyed, by certainty; and, if every man's circumstances were known, a merchant would, no longer, have it in his power, by making use of other peoples fortune, to raise his own, and to grow rich, by being thought so. But, to apply what I have said, in a particular manner, to our own affairs, I will appeal even to those gentlemen, who find their advantage in this national misfortune, I mean the inequality of the land tax, whether it has not, in a great measure, been the occasion of this immense load of debts, under which we, at present, labour; I think it past dispute that this inequality has contributed to it more ways than one; in the first place, it has, frequently, made it necessary to have recourse to other funds, in order to raise those sums, which the land tax alone, if equally levied, would have annually produced. Secondly, this inequality in levying the land tax has often put ministers upon raising money by more equal methods; that is, finding it impracticable to raise the sums required by such means, as all people ought to contribute to in proportion to their possession, they have been obliged to raise them by such, as al-
must

must contribute to in proportion to their consumption. This has obliged them to create new funds, to extend the old, and apply the sinking fund, the nation's only hope, to purposes very different from Those, to which it was originally appropriated. These, and many more mischiefs would be cured, if the people of England were annually, and equally represented; and, if ever we are so happy as to see the promises, made by gentlemen, while they are opposing public measures, performed, when they come to have the conduct of them; and power administered with the same spirit, by which it was acquired, the nation then will, no doubt, have justice done them in these two important points; the obtaining of which would, in my opinion, render our constitution more perfect than any, that has yet appeared either in the ancient, or modern world. In the mean time, and until these two accomplishing regulations shall take place, we may have the satisfaction of considering both how near our government is arrived to perfection, and how fair a prospect it has of attaining it.

The following reason also did not a little contribute to my publishing this translation: I observed with pleasure the great success, which the life of Cicero has deservedly met with, and the happy turn it has given to conversation by banishing the trifles, that were, before, the unworthy subjects of it, and substituting in their room an inquiry into the constitution, the lan-

guage, and customs of a people, whose view was to conquer, polish, and instruct mankind. As a taste for learning does honor to every nation, where it flourishes, it is the duty of all persons to endeavour to revive that taste, where it is lost, and to preserve, and improve it, where it subsists; and nothing can contribute so effectually towards those ends as a constant supply of fresh materials; but on the choice of these depends the success: Scarce any thing has, of late, been offered to the public upon this subject, but mean translations of French performances, which, though every branch of learning is much indebted to the productions of that nation, have generally more vivacity, than solidity: This vivacity, the property of which is to entertain, rather than to instruct, has rendered their translations of the ancient authors so loose, they hardly deserve that name: One of the best, and most esteemed is that of POLYBIUS by Dom Vincent Thuillier: If I have found myself obliged to take notice of some inaccuracies, that have escaped him, it has been less with a view of censuring his translation, than of justifying my own. The difficulty of doing justice to the great authors of antiquity, by a translation of their works into a modern language, is so great, that I am infinitely more disposed to admire his work for the many excellences, with which it abounds, than to censure it for a few faults, which may be owing to a little inattention, or to the condition of human nature, whose fate it is never to be perfect;

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fect; but these errors are so rarely to be met with in that performance, that they lie among the many beauties of it, like a few pebbles, wantonly scattered by the hand of nature, in a mine of diamonds.

But there is another difficulty, which a translator of POLYBIUS has particularly to encounter, and which I shall mention more for my own sake, than for That of the French translator, because I may, possibly, have greater occasion for the excuse: This difficulty arises from the style of that author; which, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Casaubon, and of the French translator to own it, is not so elegant, nor perspicuous as might be wished: It is very well known that he has been censured for a want of attention to the beauties of style by one of the greatest critics, as well as one of the greatest historians, of antiquity, I mean Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5); and it is certain there are many words made use of by Polybius, that are not to be met with in any other author, and many words made use of by him in a sense, which no other author gives to them: This, joined to an obscurity, either natural, or affected, makes the reading him very difficult, and the translating him much more so. I have often wished that so complete an historian in all other respects, and one, whose sense is so strong, and compass of learning so great, had written with as great elegance, and

(5) Περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, c. 4.

harmony of style, as the author, who, in my opinion, so justly censures him for the want of them.

In my notes upon the fragment of Polybius, I have not taken any notice of an English translation of that author by Sir H. S. because, upon comparing it with the Greek text, and Casaubon's latin version, which is by much the best, I found it to be a translation of neither; for which reason, I violently suspect the author has translated some old translation published before Casaubon's edition appeared; which I am the rather inclined to believe, because there are two hiatus's in the English translation of this fragment, which are not in the Greek text, one answering to page 462, in Casaubon's edition, of two lines, and the other to page 464, of no less than 56 lines.

*In the dissertation upon the constitution of the Roman Senate, I have taken notice of the many difficulties I met with in treating that subject: To what is there observed, I beg leave to add the following consideration. Every one, who reads at all, must have read the memorial written by the late Earl Stanhope to the Abbé de Vertot, author of the Roman revolutions: In that memorial, his lordship states several difficulties relative to the persons, of whom the Roman senate was composed: This memorial that gentleman answers in such a manner, as shews that, if he did not think those difficulties unanswerable, he left them, at least, unanswered; so that, whoever reads his answer to
that*

that memorial, will, I believe, receive very little satisfaction, unless it be in reflecting that the praises so liberally bestowed, upon that occasion, by the writer of that answer, were as eminently deserved by the noble lord, to whom it was written. What I would infer from this, is, that, if a person, who was so perfectly acquainted with the civil, as well as military institutions of the ancients, as the late earl Stanhope, and who had passed his life in studying the actions, or following the examples, of the greatest men of antiquity; if a person, I say, so well qualified to decide, could doubt, and the author of the Roman revolutions not satisfy those doubts; I hope I may be intitled to some indulgence, should not every difficulty, which a curious reader may form to himself, be fully answered in that dissertation.

Τα τῶν πολιτευμάτων εἶδη· ἡ γενεσις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολὴ
τῶν πολιτείων εἰς ἀλλήλας. ὅτι ἀρίστη πολιτεία ἢ ἐκ πάντων
τῶν εἰδῶν συνεσώσα. καὶ ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ τοιαυτή.

ΤΩΝ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνικῶν πολιτευμάτων ὅσα πολ-
λακίς μὲν νυξίται, πολλακίς δὲ τῆς εἰς τὰ νῦν τῶν
μεταβολῆς ὁλοχρεῶς πείσαν εἰληφε, ῥᾶδιον εἶναι συμβαίνει
καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν προγεγονότων ἐξηγήσιν, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς μελλούσης
ἀποφασιν. τότε γὰρ ἐξαγγείλαι τὰ γνωσκόμενα ῥᾶδιον·
τότε πρὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς μελλούσης, σοχαζόμενον ἐκ τῶν ἡδὴ
γεγονότων, εὐμαρές· περὶ δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὅλως εὐχερές,
ἥτε περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐξηγήσασθαι, διὰ τὴν ποικίλιαν τῆς
πολιτείας· ἥτε περὶ τῆς μελλούσης πρὸς τὴν, ⁽¹⁾ διὰ τὴν
ἀνῴριαν τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ αὐτῶν ἰδιωμάτων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ'
ἰδίαν. Διόπερ, καὶ τῆς τυχεύουσας ἐπιστάσεως προσδίδεται, καὶ
θεωρίας, εἰ μελλοῖ τις τὰ διαφερόντα καθαρῶς ἐν αὐτῇ συν-
οψέσθαι.

Συμβαίνει δὲ τὰς πλείους τῶν βελομένων διδασκαλικάς
ἡμῖν ὑποδείκνυειν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τρία γένη λέγειν πολιτείων·
ὧν τὸ μὲν καλεῖται βασιλείαν, τὸ δ' αἰριστοκρατίαν, τὸ δὲ τρίτον δη-
μοκρατίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι πάντες εἰκότως ἀν' ἐπαποζηταί πρὸς αὐ-

(1) Διὰ τὴν ἀνῴριαν τῶν προγεγονότων περὶ
αὐτῶν ἰδιωμάτων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν.]
Dom Vincent Thuillier, the French
Translator, has rendered this, *parce
que l'on ne connoît point assez comment
elle se conduisoit autrefois, soit dans les*

*affaires générales, soit dans les particu-
lières*, which I do not take to be the
sense of the author, since ἰδιωμάτια
must, I believe, be understood to re-
late to the peculiar frame of the con-
stitution of the Romans, and not to

Of the several FORMS of GOVERNMENT: Of the origin, and natural transition of those governments to one another: That the best constitution is That, which is compounded of all of them; and that the constitution of the Romans is such a one.

Concerning those Greek commonwealths, which have often encreased in power, and often, to their ruin, experienced a contrary turn of fortune, it is an easy matter both to relate past transactions, and foretel Those to come; there being no great difficulty either in recounting what one knows, or in publishing conjectures of future events, from Those that are past. But, concerning the Roman commonwealth, it is not at all easy either to give an account of the present state of their affairs, by reason of the variety of their institutions; or to foretel what may happen to them, through the ignorance of the peculiar frame of their ancient government, both public and private, upon which such conjectures must be founded. For which reason, an uncommon attention and inquiry seem requisite, to form a clear idea of the points, in which the Roman commonwealth differs from Those of Greece.

It is, I find, customary with those, who professedly treat this subject, to establish three sorts of government; kingly government, aristocracy, and democracy: Upon which, one may, I think, very properly ask them, the conduct of their affairs. But, the best way of illustrating an author's meaning is to explain him by himself: Towards the end of this dissertation, POLYBIUS says, the Romans attained whatever they proposed, *through the peculiar frame of their government,* where he makes use of almost the same word he employs upon this occasion; *την ιδιοτητα το πολιτευματος.* In this I am supported by Casaubon's translation.

whether

τες, ποτερον ὡς μονας ταυτας, η και νη Δι' ὡς αριςτας ἡμιν
 εισηγνται των πολιτειων. κατ' αμφοτερα γαρ αἴτιοι μοι δο-
 κησι· δηλον γαρ, ὡς αριστην μεν ἡγήτεον πολιτειαν την εκ παν-
 των των προειρημενων ιδιωμάτων συνεσωσαν. τριτες γαρ τε-
 μερες εἰς λογῳ μινον, αλλ' ἐρίῳ πειραν εἰληφμεν· Λυκεργε-
 συσησανῆος πρωτε καὶ α τετον τον τροπον το Λακεδαιμονιων
 πολιτευμα. Και τοι εδ' ὡς μονας ταυτας προσδεκλεον· και
 γαρ μοναρχικας και τυραννικας ηδη τινας τεθεαμεθα πολιτειας,
 αἱ πλειον διαφερχσαι βασιλειας, παραπλησιον εχειν τι ταυτη
 δοκουν· ἢ και συμψευδονται και συγχωνῆαι παντες οἱ μοναρχοι,
 καθ' ὅσον οἱοι τ' εἰσι, τῷ της βασιλειας ονοματι. Και μην
 ολιγαρχικα πολιτευματα και πλειω γεγονε, δοκεῖν α παρομοιον
 εχειν τι τοις αριστοκρατικοις, αἱ πλειον, ὡς επος εἰπειν, διε-
 σασιν. οἱ δ' αὐτος λογῳ και περι δημοκρατίας.

Οτι δ' αληθες εἰσι το λεγομενον, εκ τετων συμφαιες. ετε
 γαρ πασαν δ· πρ μοναρχιαν ευθως βασιλειαν ῥητεον αλλα
 μονην την εξ ἐκόνων συγχωρεμειν, ⁽²⁾ και τη γνωμη το
 πλειον, η φοβῳ και βια κυβερεωμειν. εδε μην πασαν ολι-
 γαρχιαν αριστοκρατιαν νομιζεον· αλλα ταυτην ἢ τις αν κατ'
 εκλογην ὑπο των δικαιωτατων και φρονιμοτατων αιδρων βρε-
 βευῆται. ⁽³⁾ Παραπλησιως εδε δημοκρατιαν, εν ἢ παν

⁽²⁾ Και τη γνωμη το πλειον, η φοβῳ και
 βια κυβερεωμειν.] I am obliged to
 differ both from Casaubon, and the
 French translator, in rendering this
 passage. The former has said, *et quæ
 consilio potius quàm metu aut vi regitur*;
 and the latter, *et cū tout se fait plutôt
 par raison que par crainte, et par vio-*

lence. In the first place, I doubt whe-
 ther γνωμη is to be met with in the
 sense they have given to it, in any good
 author; whereas there is nothing so
 common as to find the word made
 use of for *consent* or *approbation*, whence
 come these phrases, κατὰ γνωμην, ac-
 cording to one's desire; παρὰ γνωμην,
 πληθος

whether they lay these down as the only forms of government, or, as the best: For, in both cases, they seem to be in an error; since it is manifest that the best form of government is That, which is compounded of all three. This we find to be founded not only in reason, but also in experience; Lycurgus having set the example of this form of government in the institution of the Lacedæmonian Commonwealth. Besides, these three are not to be received as the only forms; since we may have observed some monarchical and tyrannical governments, which, though widely different from kingly government, seem still to bear some resemblance to it. For which reason, all monarchs agree in using their utmost endeavours, however falsely, or abusively, to be styled kings. We may have also observed still more oligarchies, which seemed, in some degree, to resemble aristocracies, though the difference between them has been extremely great. The same thing may be said also of democracy.

What I have advanced will become evident from the following considerations: For, every monarchy is not presently to be called a kingly government, but only That, which is the gift of a willing people, and is founded on their consent, rather than on fear, and violence. Neither, is every oligarchy to be looked upon as an aristocracy, but only That, which is administered by a select number of those, who are most eminent for their justice, and prudence. In the same manner, that government ought not to be looked

contrary to one's desire; and, particularly, εκ μιας γνώμης, unanimously. Secondly, this sense of the word γνώμη seems to agree better with what immediately precedes it, εξ ἑκόντων συγχωρεμένη, and to be more properly opposed to what immediately follows it, ὁρῶ καὶ βιά.

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(3) Παραπλησιως καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ἐν ἧ παν πλῆθος κυρίον ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι πείαν αὐτο βεληθῇ καὶ προήγεται· παρὰ δὲ ὧ πατριον ἐστὶ καὶ συνηθες θεος σεβασθαι, γονεὺς θραπενειν, πρεσβυτερους αἰδεῖσθαι, νομοῖς πειθεσθαι.] The French translator has strangely mistaken this passage; he has not attended to the force of the

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upon

πληθος κυριον εσι ποιειν ὅτι ποτ' αν αυτο βεληθη και προθηλαι· παρα δε ὡ πατριον εσι και συνηθες θεος σεβεσθαι, γονεις θερα-
πευειν, πρεσβυτερας αιδεισθαι, νομοις πειθεσθαι· αλλα παρα
τοις τοιςτοις συσημασιν, ὅταν το τοις πλειοσι δοξαν νικα,
τστο δει καλειν δημοκραλιαν.

Διο και γενη μεν εξ ειναι ρηλεον πολιτειων· τρια μεν α
παντες θρυλλασι, και νυν προειρηται· τρια δε τα τστοις συμ-
φυη, λεγω δε μοναρχιαν, ολιγαρχιαν, οχλοκραλιαν. πρωτη
μεν εν ακαλασκευως και φυσικως συνιςαλει μοναρχια· ταυτη δ'
επειαι και εκ ταυτης γειναται μελα κατασκευης και διορθωσεως
βασιλεια. μελαβαλλεσης δε ταυτης εις τα συμφυη κακα,
λεγω δη εις τυραννιδα· (4) αυθις εκ της τστων καταλυσεως,
αριστοκραλια φυειαι. και μην ταυτης εις ολιγαρχιαν εκλεραπεισης
καλα φυσιν, τσ δε πληρης οργη μετελθουνη τας των προ-
εσωτων αδικιας, γειναται δημη· εκ δε της τστσ παλινυβρεας,
και παρανομιας, αποκληεσται συν χρονοις οχλοκρατια.

Γνοιη δ' αν τις σαφεστατα περι τσταν, ὡς αληθως εσιν,
οια δη νυν ειπον, επι τας εκχσαν καλα φυσιν αρχας και γενε-

particle δε, by which POLYBIUS has placed the latter part of this period in opposition to the former; but, the only way to make the reader sensible of this mistake, is to quote the words of the French translation. *En vain aussi,* says he, *donneroit-on le nom de démocratie à un état, où la populace seroit maîtresse de faire tout ce qu'il lui plairait, &c. où l'on seroit depuis long tems dans l'usage de révérencer les dieux, d'être soumis à ceux dont on tient le jour,*

de respecter les anciens, &c. d'élèir aux loix : on ne doit appeller démocratie qu'un état, où le sentiment qui l'importe sur les autres est celui du plus grand nombre. So that, according to him, religion, a respect to parents and elders, and obedience to the laws, are as repugnant to a democracy as licentiousness: But this is far from being the sense of POLYBIUS, as the reader will find, if he pleases to compare the French translation with the original.

upon as a democracy, where the multitude have a power of doing whatever they desire, and propose; but That only, in which it is an established law and custom to worship the gods, to honour their parents, to respect their elders, and obey the laws: When, in assemblies so formed, every thing is decided by the majority, such a government deserves the name of a democracy.

So that, six kinds of government must be allowed; three, which are generally established, and have been already mentioned; and three, that are allied to them, namely, monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. The first of these is instituted by nature, without the assistance of art: The next is kingly government, which is derived from the other by art and improvement; when this degenerates into the evil, that is allied to it, I mean, tyranny, the destruction of the tyrant gives birth to aristocracy; which degenerating also, according to the nature of things, into oligarchy, the people, inflamed with anger, punish the injustice of their magistrates, and form a democracy; from the insolence of which, and their contempt of the laws, arises, in time, the government of the multitude.

Whoever examines, with attention, the natural principles, the birth, and revolution of each of these forms of

(4) Αὐτὴς ἐκ τῆς τετῶν καταλύσεως ἀριστοκρατία φέται.] *De la monarchie vient la royauté, lorsqu'on y ajoute l'art & qu'on en corrige les défauts; & quand elle dégénère en tyrannie, dont elle approche beaucoup, sur les ruines de l'une & de l'autre s'élève l'aristocratie.* The French translator has rendered this, as if τετῶν related both to kingly government and tyranny, the destruction of both which gives, according to him,

birth to aristocracy; but, this is not the gradation set forth by POLYBIUS: First, monarchy is improved into kingly government, which afterwards degenerates into tyranny; then, the destruction of tyranny gives birth to aristocracy; thus, it is visible that according both to the sense, and the construction, τετῶν can relate to συμφυὴ καὶ only, that is, as our author himself explains it, to tyranny.

σεις και μέγαβολας επισησας. ὁ γὰρ συνιδὼν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ὡς
φυεῖ, μὲν ἔτι δυνάμει συνιδεῖν καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν, καὶ τὴν
ἀκμὴν, καὶ τὴν μέγαβόλην ἑκάστων, καὶ τότε, καὶ πῶς,
(5) καὶ πᾶς κατανῆσκει πάλιν. Μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πο-
λίτειας τὸτον ἀρμόσειν τὸν τρόπον ὑπέληφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως, διὰ
τὸ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰληφέναι τὴν τε συστάσιν καὶ
αὐξήσιν.

Ἀκριβέστερον μὲν ἔνι ἰσῶς ὁ περὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μέγαβόλης
τῶν πολιτείων εἰς ἀλλήλας, διευκρίνεται λόγῳ παρὰ Πλα-
τωνί, καὶ τισὶν ἑτέροις τῶν φιλοσοφῶν· (6) ποικιλῶ δὲ ὧν
καὶ διὰ πλείονων λεγομένων, ὀλίγοις ἐφικτός ἐστιν· διόπερ ὅσον
ἀνηκεῖν ὑπολαμβάνομεν αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἰσορίαν,
καὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐπινοίαν, τὸτο πειρασόμεθα κεφαλαιώδως διελ-
θεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνελλείπειν τι δοξὴ διὰ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐμψάσεως,
ὁ κατὰ μέρος λογῶ τῶν ἐξῆς ῥηθησομένων ἱκαίην ἀν' ἀποδοσὶν
ποιήσει τῶν νῦν ἐπαπορηθέντων.

Ποίας ἔνι ἀρχῆς λέγω, καὶ ποθεν φημι φυεσθαι τὰς πολιτείας
πρῶτον; Ὅταν ἡ διὰ κατακλυσμῶς, ἡ διὰ λοιμικὰς περιστά-
σεις, ἡ δὲ ἀφορίας καρπῶν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλας τοιαύτας αἰτίας φθορὰ
γενῆται τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενεῶς, οἷας ἤδη γέγονε παρειλη-
φάμεν, καὶ πάλιν πολλάκις ἐσεσθαι ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ· τότε δὴ
συμφθειζομένων πάντων τῶν ἐπιηδύματων, καὶ τεχνῶν, ὅταν
ἐκ τῶν περιλειφθέντων οἴονε σπερμάτων αὐτὴς αὐξήσῃ συν-
χρονῶ πληθῶν ἀνθρώπων, τότε δὴ πᾶς, κατὰ περ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων

(5) Καὶ πᾶς κατανῆσκει πάλιν.] *En* general, in my opinion; POLYBIUS
quelle forme il se changera, is much too *speaks of the rotation of governments,*
ζῶων,

government, will be convinced of the truth of what I have advanced: For he alone, who knows in what manner each of them is produced, can form a judgement of the encrease, the perfection, the revolution, and end of each; and when, by what means, and to which of the former states they will return. I thought this detail, in a particular manner, applicable to the Roman government, because the establishment and encrease of That was, from the beginning, founded on nature.

Possibly, the natural revolution of governments into one another, may be more accurately determined by PLATO, and some other philosophers; but those discourses, being full of variety, and of a great length, few are capable of understanding them; for which reason, we shall endeavour to give a summary account of so much of them, as is consistent with history (whose object is action) and the general understanding of mankind: For, if, by reason of the universality of this dissertation, any thing should seem to be omitted, the particular detail we shall afterwards enter into, will make sufficient amends for what may now appear doubtful.

What, therefore, are the beginnings of governments, and from whence do they originally spring? When, either by a deluge, a pestilence, a famine, or the like calamity, such as we know have happened, and reason teaches us will often happen again, the race of mankind is well nigh destroyed, and all their institutions, and arts destroyed with them; from the few that are left, as from so many seeds, a new generation, in process of time, encreases to a multi-

and of their return to the same point, from whence they set out. This he expresses a few lines after in other words, *viz.* περὶ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν μεταβολῆς τῶν πολιτειῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας; which

the French translator has again rendered generally by *changement des états*.

(6) Ποικίλος δὲ ὢν.] Left out by the French translator.

tude;

ζῶων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν συναθροιζομένων, ὅπερ εἰκὸς κατὰ τὸ
το ὁμοφυλον συναγελαζεσθαι διὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθενειαν·
ἀνάγκη τὸν τῇ σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ ψυχικῇ τολμῇ διαφε-
ροντα, τῶν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ κρατεῖν· καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄλλων γενῶν ⁽⁷⁾ τῶν ἀδοξοποιητῶν ζῶων θεωρεῖται. τὸ
χρὴ φύσεως ἔργον ἀληθινωτάον νομίζειν· παρ' οἷς ὁμολογε-
μένως τὰς ἰσχυροτάτας ὁρώμεν ἡγούμενας· λέγω δὲ ταύρας,
καπρὰς, ἀλεκτρυόνας, καὶ τὰ τοῖς παραπλησία. τὰς μὲν οὖν
ἀρχὰς εἰκὸς τοιαύτας εἶναι καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίβας ζῶηδον
συναθροιζομένων, τοῖς ἀλκιμωτάτοις καὶ δυναμικωτάτοις ἐπο-
μένων. οἷς ὁρᾷ μὲν εἶς τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχύς· ὄνομα δ' ἀν-
εἰποι τις μοναρχίαν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῖς συστήμασι διὰ τὸν χρόνον
ὑπογενῆται συντροφία καὶ συνηθία, τότε ἀρχὴ βασιλείας
φυεταί· καὶ τότε πρῶτως ἐννοία γίνεται τῶ καλῶ καὶ δίκαιῶ
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς. ⁽⁸⁾ ὁ δὲ
τροπῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων τοιοσδε.

Πάντων γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὁρμώντων κατὰ φύσιν,
ἐκ δὲ τῶν παιδοποιΐας αποτελεσμένης· ὅποτε τις τῶν ἐκτρα-

(7) Τῶν ἀδοξοποιητῶν ζῶων.] This word, like many others in POLYBIUS, is not to be found in any lexicon, either ancient, or modern, that I have seen; nor, I believe, in any other author; but, as it is formed from *δοξα* and *ποιεω*, with the negative particle placed before it, it can mean nothing but those animals, that are not governed in their actions by *opinions*; which sense, I think, the French translator ought to have expressed, and not to have contented himself with

saying negatively, *qui certainement ne suivent que ses loix*; that is, *celles de la nature*, which immediately precedes it.

(8) Ὁ δὲ τροπῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων τοιοσδε.] Thus rendered by the French translator, *c'est donc de cette sorte que les republicues, ou les sociétés civiles ont pris naissance*: If he had attended closely to the chain of reasoning, which our author has pursued in treating this subject, he would have been sensible that τῶν εἰρημένων, in this place, relates to the formation

tude; then it comes to pass, as in other animals, so in men, when they are got together (which it is reasonable to suppose they would be, as they are of the same kind, by reason of their natural weakness) that he, who excels in strength of body, and courage, must, of necessity, gain the command, and authority over the rest: And, as in animals of other kinds also, which are not influenced by opinions, we observe the same thing commonly falls out, this ought to be looked upon as the most genuine work of nature: Among these, the strongest are, by common consent, allowed to be the masters; such as bulls, wild boars, cocks, and animals of the like nature: In the same manner, it is probable that men also, when they first get together, like a herd, are governed by those of the greatest strength and courage; the measure of whose power is strength, and their government, monarchy. When the individuals, thus assembled, by living together, become, through time, habituated to one another, then is the foundation laid of kingly government; and then do mankind receive the first tincture of honor and justice, and of their opposites: The notions of which are first formed in the following manner.

Every one having a natural impulse to copulation, the consequence of which is procreation, when a child, who,

of the notions of *honor* and *justice*, *τις καλὴ καὶ δίκαια*, which immediately precedes it, and not to That of commonwealths, and civil societies: For, after he has set forth the undutifulness of children to their parents, and the ingratitude of the obliged to their benefactors, he makes the indignation arising in the breasts of those, who are witnesses to the instances he gives of both, to produce the first impression of the power of duty, which, he says, is the beginning, and end of *justice*. He goes on to shew that the applause

which valor meets with, and the contempt, with which a contrary behaviour is treated, create in the minds of men the notions of *honor* and *dishonor*, and of the difference between them. So that, I believe, the reader will agree with me, that this passage is not applicable to the formation of commonwealths, and civil societies, as the French translator has rendered it, but to That of the notions of *honor* and *justice*; and that *τοιοῦτοι* plainly relates to what follows, and not to what precedes.

by

φεντων εις ἡλικίαν ἰκομενῶ, μη νεμοι χαριν, μηδ' αμυναι-
 τστοις οἷς εκτραφειῶ· αλλα που τάναντια κακῶς λειν η δραν
 τστοις εἵχειροη· δηλον ὡς δυσαρξεν και προσκοπῖεν εικος τες
 ενούιας και συνιδοντας την γεγεννημενην εκ των γεννησαντων επι-
 μελειαν, και κακοπαθειαν περι τα τεκνα και την τστων θεξα-
 πειαν και τροφην. τς γαρ γενες των ανθρωπων ταυτη διαφε-
 ρονῖῶ των αλλων ζων, ἡ μοις αυτοις μετεσι νε και λοῖσμε·
 φανερον ὡς εκ εικος παρσρεχειν αυτες την προειρημενην δια-
 φοραν, καθαπερ επι των αλλων ζων· αλλ επισημαινεσθαι
 το γινομενον, και δυσαρξεισθαι τοις παρσι· προορωμενες το
 μελλον, και συλλογιζομενες, ὅτι το παρσπλησιον ἑκάστοις αυ-
 των συκυρησει. Και μην ὅταν πς παλιν ἑτερεῶ ὑπο θαῖρε
 τυχων επικερειας η βοηθειας εν τοις δεινοις, μη νεμη τῶ σω-
 σαντι χαριν, αλλα ποτε και βλαπῖεν εἵχειρη τστον· φανερον
 ὡς εικος τῶ τοιςτῶ δυσαρξεισθαι και προσκοπῖεν τες ειδούιας,
 συναῖαιακῖεντας μεν τῶ πελας, αναφεροντας δ' επ' αυτες το
 παρσπλησιον· (9) ἐξ ὧν ὑπογῖνεται τις εννοια παρ' ἑκάστῳ
 της τς καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια· ὅπερ εσιν αρχη και
 τελῶ δικαιοσυνης.

Ομοιως παλιν, ὅταν αμυνῖ μεν τις προ παντων εν τοις
 δεινοις, ὑφισηται δε και μειη τας επιφορας των αλκιμῶλατων
 ζων· (10) εικος μεν τον τοιςτον ὑπο τς πληθες επισημασιας

(9) Εξ ὧν ὑπογῖνεται τις εννοια παρ' ἑκά-
 στῳ της τς καθηκοντος δυναμεως και θεωρια.]
 Casaubon's edition of POLYBIUS,
 which is by much the best, has θεωριας,
 which I imagine to be a fault in the
 impression, particularly, since he has

not followed this sense in his transla-
 tion; I have altered it to θεωρια,
 which is more agreeable both to
 the sense, and to the construction,
 since εννοια τις θεωριας is scarce intel-
 ligible.

by the care of his parents, has attained the age of discretion, makes no grateful return, nor yields any assistance, to those, by whom he was brought up; but, on the contrary, endeavours to abuse them by his words, or actions, it is plain that those, who are witnesses of it, and know the pains and hardships their parents underwent in taking care of, and bringing up, their children, must be displeased, and offended at this behaviour: For, as there is this difference between mankind, and other animals, that the former are indued with understanding and reason, it is plain, they will not neglect the use of these faculties, by which they are so much distinguished from those animals, but observe what passes upon this occasion, and be displeased with it; particularly, when they look forward, and consider that the like misfortune may happen to each of them. Again, when any one, who has been assisted, and relieved by another in distress, instead of being grateful, endeavours to injure his benefactor, it is manifest that those, who are acquainted with such a proceeding, must be disgusted, and offended at it, not only because they compassionate the sufferings of their neighbour, but also because they themselves expect to meet with the like treatment: From whence some notion, and consideration of the power of duty is introduced into every man's mind; which is the beginning, and end of justice.

In like manner, when any one runs the hazard of his life in the defence of the community, resists, and withstands the most violent attacks of wild beasts, it may be expected that such a one will meet with the acclamations of the

(10) Εἰς τὸ μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπὸ τὰ πλεονάζοντα ἐπισημασίου τυχεῖν εὐνοίας καὶ πρῶτης αἰτίας.] The French translator has left out the most material part of this sentence, which serves as the founda-

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tion of every thing that follows. *Pourquoi au contraire donne-t-on tant d'applaudissements à celui qui &c.* are his words; whereas POLYBIUS says, that superior strength and valor are the qualifications of every people,

τυγχάνειν ευνοϊκής και προσάλικης· τον δὲ τὰν ἀνὴρα τείω πρᾶττον ἢ καταβύσεως και προσκοπής· ἐξ ἑπαλιν ευλογον ὑποβινεσθαι τινὰ θεωρίαν παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰχρᾶ και καλῶ, και τῆς τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα διαφορᾶς. και το μεν ζήλῳ και μιμησεως τυγχάνειν, δια το συμφερον· το δε φύλης. ὅταν εν οἷς ὁ πρὸς εως και την μεῖσ- την δύναμιν έχων, αἰ συνεπισχυῇ τοῖς προειρημενοῖς κατα τας των πολλων διαλεξείς, και δοξῇ τοῖς ὑποταττομενοῖς διανεμητι- κοσ εἶναι τῶ κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκασοῖς· εκ ετι την βίαν δεδίοτες, τῇ δε γνώμῃ το πλεον ευδοκούντες, ὑποταττονται και συσπῶζουσιν την ἀρχήν αὐτῶ, καιν ὅλως ἡ γηγαιος· ὁμοθυμαδον επαμυνόντες και διαβωι- ζόμενοι πρὸς τῶς ἐπιβῶλενοντας αὐτῶ τῇ δυνασείᾳ· και δὴ τῶ τοιᾶτῶ τρόπῳ βασιλευς εκ μοναρχῶς λανθάνει γενομενῶ· ὅταν ᾧρα τῶ θυμῶ και της ἰχυῶς μέγαλαξῇ την ἡγεμονίαν ὁ λογισμος. Αὐτῇ καλῶ και δικαίῳ πρώτη παρ' ἀνθρώποις καλῶ φύσιν εννοία και των ἐναντίων τῶτοις· αὐτῇ βασιλείας ἀληθινῆς ἀρχῇ και γενεσίς. ἔ γαρ μονον αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ και τοῖς εκ τῶτων ἐπὶ πολυ διαφυλάττεσι τὰς ἀρχάς· πεπεισ- μενοῖς, τῶς εκ τοιᾶτων γεγονότας, και τῶαφέντας ὑπο τοιᾶ- τοῖς, ᾧρα πλησίως ἔξεν και τὰς προαιρέσεις. Ἐαν δὲ ποτε τοῖς ἐκγονοῖς δυσἀρεσῆσῳσι, ποιοῦνται μέγα ταῦτα την αἵρεσιν των ἀρχόντων και βασιλεων, εκ ετι καλῶ τὰς σωμαλίκας και θυμικας δυνάμεις· ἀλλὰ και καλῶ τὰς της γνώμης, και τῶ λογισμῶ διαφορᾶς· πείραν εἰληφοτες ἐπ' αὐτων των ἐργων της ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ᾧραλλαγῆς.

lities, that first ingage the people to chuse the person, who is possessed of them, for their *common* use: This is pro-

perly expressed by the word *προσαλτικῆς*, and ought to have been preserved in the translation.

people, testifying their good will to, and desire to be governed by, him; while the man, who acts in a contrary manner, will be censured, and disliked: From whence, again, it is reasonable to believe that some consideration of honor and dishonor, and of the difference between them, will be produced in the minds of the people; and that the former will be admired and imitated, through the advantage that flows from it, and the latter avoided. When therefore, the person, who has the command over the rest, and is indued with superior strength, in his harangues to the people, for ever countenances the men I have mentioned, and has created in his subjects an opinion, that he constantly treats every one according to his merit; they are no longer afraid of violence, but rather willingly submit to him, and unite in supporting his government, even though he is far advanced in years, unanimously defending, and maintaining him against all those, who endeavour to supplant him in the command. By this means, a monarch insensibly becomes a king, that is, when the power is transferred from courage and strength, to reason: This is the first natural notion of honor and justice among men, and of their contraries; and this the beginning, and origin of true kingly government: For the people preserve the command not only to them, but to their descendants long after them; being persuaded that those, who have received their birth, and education from such men, will resemble them also in their principles. But, if, at any time, they are dissatisfied with their descendants, they then chuse magistrates and kings, with regard only to superior sense and reason, and not to bodily strength and courage; having, by experience been convinced of the difference between them.

Το μὲν ὅν παλαιὸν ἐνεγερθεὶς τὰς βασιλείαις οἱ κρι-
 θέντες ἅπασι, καὶ τυχόντες τῆς ἐξουσίας ταύτης· τοῖς τε δια-
 φερόντας οὐχόμενοι, καὶ τειχίζοντες, καὶ χωρὰν καὶ ἀκλι-
 μένοι· το μὲν τῆς ἀσφαλείας χάριν, το δὲ τῆς δαΐφιλίας
 τῶν ἐπιήδειων τοῖς ὑποτέταγμένοις· ἀλλὰ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀν-
 δαζόντες ἑκὼς ἦσαν πάσης διαβολῆς καὶ φθόνου, διὰ το μὴ
 περὶ τὴν ἐσθὴτα μεγάλας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀλλαγὰς, μὴτε
 περὶ τὴν βρωσὶν καὶ ποσὶν· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ πλεῖστον εἶχεν τὴν
 βίοντιαν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁμοσε ποιεῖμενοι τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰετὴν
 διαίταν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκ διαδοχῆς καὶ κατὰ γένος τὰς ἀρχὰς
 ἀνταλλάττοντες, ἑτοῖμα μὲν εἶχον ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀσ-
 φαλείαν, ἑτοῖμα δὲ καὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἱκανῶν τὰ πρὸς τὴν
 τροφὴν· τότε δὲ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐπομένους διὰ τὴν περισσίαν,
 ἐξάλλους μὲν ἐδήλως ὑπελάβον δεῖν εἶναι τοὺς ἡγούμενους
 τῶν ὑποτάττοντων, ⁽¹¹⁾ ἐξάλλως δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς ὥρας
 τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ ἀσκήσεις, ἀναλήρητους δὲ καὶ
 ὥρα τῶν μὴ προσήκοντων τὰς τῶν Αἰσθητικῶν χρείας καὶ
 συνουσίας· ἐφ' οἷς μὲν φθόνος γινόμενος καὶ προσκοπῆς, ἐφ'
 οἷς δὲ μίσος ἐκκαίμενος, καὶ δυσμενικῆς οὐρίας, ἐγένετο μὲν
 ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας τυραννὶς· ἀρχὴ δὲ καταλύσεως ἐγένετο,
 καὶ συστάσις ἐπὶ ἐκείνῃ τοῖς ἡγούμενοις· ἦν δὲ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν,
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γενναιοτάτων καὶ μεγαλοψυχωτάτων, ἐπὶ
 δὲ θάρραλεωτάτων ἀνδρῶν συνεβάνε γενεσθαι· διὰ τοῦτος
 τοῖς ἡγεῖσιν δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς τῶν ἐφελκῶν ὑβρεῖς. τὸ

(11) Εξάλλως δὲ καὶ ποικίλας τὰς περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαύσεις καὶ ἀσκήσεις.] *Plus promptement servi que ses sujets,*
 says the French translator; which, in

Formerly, therefore, those, who were once chosen kings, and invested with this dignity, grew old in the enjoyment of it: In the mean time, they fortified advantageous posts, furrounding them with walls, and possessed themselves of a territory; by the former, they consulted the security of their subjects; and, by the latter, they supplied them with plenty of provisions. While they employed themselves in this manner, they continued blameless and unenvied, because they differed very little either in their clothes, their table, or their manner of living, from the rest of the people, with whom they passed their lives: But afterwards, their posterity succeeding to the government by right of inheritance, and finding every thing provided for them, that was necessary for their security, and more than was necessary for their support; they were led by superfluity to indulge their appetites, and to imagine that it became princes to appear in a different dress from their subjects, to eat in a different, and more luxurious manner, with greater variety, and preparation, and to enjoy, without contradiction, even the forbidden pleasures of love; the first of which, produced envy and dislike, and the other, hatred and resentment; by which means, kingly government degenerated into tyranny; and, at the same time, a foundation was laid, and a conspiracy formed for the destruction of those who exercised it: The accomplices of which, were not men of inferior rank, but persons of the most generous, the most exalted, and also the most enterprising spirit; because such men can least bear the insolence of those in power. The

my opinion, is much too general an *variety* both of the meats, and dressing.
expression, since it leaves out the *va-*

people,

δε πληθὺς, ὅταν λαβὴ προσάτας, συνεπιχυονὶς κατὰ τῶν ἡγχιμένων, δια τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας· το μὲν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μοναρχίας εἶδος ἀρδὴν ἀνῆρειτο, ⁽¹²⁾ το δὲ τῆς αὐτοκρατίας αὐτὴς ἀρχὴν ἐλαμβάνε καὶ γενέσιν.

Τοῖς γὰρ καταλυσασὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, οἶονε χαλεπὸν ⁽¹³⁾ ἐκ χειρὸς ἀποδίδοντες οἱ πολλοὶ, τούτοις ἐχρῶντο προσάτας, καὶ τούτοις ἐπέτρεπον ὧς σφῶν. οἱ δὲ, το μὲν πρῶτον ἀσμενίζοντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν, οὐδὲν πρὸς βελτιότερον ἐποίουντο τῆ κοινῇ συμφέροντος, καὶ κηδεμονικῶς καὶ φυλακτικῶς ἕκαστα χειρίζοντες, καὶ τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆ πληθὺς. ὅτε δὲ, διαδέξαντο παλιν παῖδες ὧς πατέρων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξουσίαν ⁽¹⁴⁾, ἀπειροὶ μὲν ὄντες κακῶν, ἀπειροὶ δὲ καθόλου πολιτικῆς ἰσότητος καὶ παρρησίας, τεθρομμένοι δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν ταῖς τῶν πατέρων ἐξουσίαις, καὶ προαγωγαῖς· ὀρμησάντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἀδίκον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μεθὰς καὶ τὰς αἵμα ταύταις ἀπληγεὺς εὐωχίας· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν ὕβρεις καὶ παίδων ἀρπαγὰς· μετέστησαν μὲν τὴν αὐτο-

(12) Το δὲ τῆς αὐτοκρατίας ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ἀρχὴν ἐλαμβάνε καὶ γενέσιν.] Both the Latin and French translators have very properly avoided an absurdity, which the rendering αὐτὴς in the common acceptation of the word must necessarily have led them into; though I wish they had given it the sense, in which Eumæus has taken it upon this occasion, which is, *thereupon, after that*, or *something to that effect*. There is a passage in Homer, in which that word can be used in no other sense: It is in the dialogue between Ulysses,

and Eumæus, where the latter says, *How could I expect to live in reputation among men, or implore the assistance of Jupiter with any confidence, if, having brought you to my house, and treated you in a hospitable manner, I should, after that, put you to death?*

Εὐμῆϊ· ὅτω γὰρ καὶ μὲν εὐχόμενός, ἀρετὴν τε, Ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰματίῳ δόξα, καὶ μέγιστα, Ὅ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐκείνου ἀγαθόν, καὶ ξείνου δόξα, ΑΥΤΟΙΣ δὲ δόξα καὶ, ὅλον δ' ἀπὸ ξείνου ἔλκεται,

Προφῶν δὲ κενεπέη Διὶ Κρονίωνι λείπονται;
Odyss. E. ver. 402.

people, therefore, having these to lead them, and, for the reasons before mentioned, uniting against their rulers, kingly government, and monarchy were extirpated, and aristocracy thereupon began to be established.

For the people, as an immediate acknowledgement to those who had destroyed monarchy, chose these leaders for their governors, and left all their concerns to them. These, at first, cheerfully accepting the trust, preferred the advantage of the public to all other considerations, and administered all affairs, both public and private, with care and vigilance: But here again, the sons of these, having succeeded their parents in the same power, they, being unacquainted with evils, absolute strangers to civil equality and liberty, and educated, from their infancy, in the splendor of the power, and dignities of their parents, and some of them, giving themselves up to avarice, and the desire of unjust gain, others, to drunkenness, and intemperate entertainments, and others, to the abuse of women, and ravishment of boys, by this behaviour, changed the aristo-

(13) ΟΙΟΝΕΙ ΧΑΕΛΝ ΕΚ ΧΕΙΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΙΤΕΣ ΕΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ.] The French translator has said, *Le peuple, sensible au bienfait de ceux qui l'avoient délivré des monarques, mit ces généreux citoyens à sa tête & se soumit à leur conduite.* So that, he has left out *εκ χειρος*, which gives great beauty to this passage, and which Caubon has very properly rendered by *à vestigio*.

(14) Απειροι μὲν ὄντες κακῶν.] *Gens peu accoutumés au travail* is, surely, not the sense of this passage; POLYBIUS

means *the evils*, which the people had suffered under their tyrants, and with which these successors of their deliverers were unacquainted. This he afterwards explains, when, speaking of the infancy of democracy, he says that, *while any are living, who felt the power and domination of the few, they acquiesce under the present establishment.* ΜΕΧΕΛ ΜΕΝ ΑΝ ΕΤΙ ΣΩΖΩΝΤΑ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΕΡΟΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΣΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΙΘΕΝ ΕΙΛΗΦΟΤΟΝ, which is the same thing he says here, only in more words.

cracy

κρατίαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν· ταχὺ δὲ κατεσκευάσαν ἐν τοῖς
 πληθεσὶ παλιν τὰ ᾧραπλησία τοῖς ἀγρίῃ ῥήθεις. διὸ καὶ
 ᾧραπλησιον συνέβαινε τὸ τελεῖν αὐτῶν γινεσθαι τῆς καλῆς
 εὐροφῆς τοῖς περὶ τὰς τυραννῆς αὐτυχημασιν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις
 συνθεασάμενος τὸν φόβον καὶ τὸ μισθὸν κατ' αὐτῶν, τὸ
 παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπάρχον, καπετα θάρρησιν λέγειν ἢ
 πράττειν τι κατὰ τῶν προεσῶτων, παν ἑτοῖμον καὶ συνεργὸν
 λαμβάνει τὸ πλεθόν· λοιπόν, ἕς μὲν φονευσάντες, ἕς δὲ
 φυλαδευσάντες, . . . ὅτε βασιλεῖα προΐσαθαι τολμῶσιν· ἐτι
 δεδιότες τὴν τῶν προτέρων ἀδικίαν· ὅτε πλείοσιν ἐπιτρέπειν
 τὰ κοινὰ θάρρῃσι· παρὰ πόδας αὐτοῖς ἔσῃς τῆς προτέρων
 ἀγνοίας· ⁽¹⁵⁾ μόνῃς δὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλπίδος ἀκε-
 ραῖς τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ ταύτην καταφέρονται· καὶ τὴν μὲν
 πολιτείαν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχικῆς δημοκρατίαν ἐποίησαν, τὴν δὲ τῶν
 κοινῶν προνοιαν καὶ πῖσιν εἰς σφας αὐτὰς ἀνελάβον.

Καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἂν ἐτι σῶζονται τινες τῶν ὑπεροχῆς καὶ
 δυναστείας πειρᾶν εἰληφοτῶν, ἀσμενίζοντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ καλῆς
 εὐασίας, περὶ πλείους ποιοῦνται τὴν ἰσηγορίαν, καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν.
 ὅταν δ' ἐπιγενῶνται νέοι, καὶ παισὶ παιδῶν παλιν ἢ δημο-
 κρατία ᾧραδοθῇ, τότε καὶ ἐτι διὰ τὸ συνηθὲς ἐν μεγάλῳ τι-
 θεμένοι τὸ τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας, ζητοῦσι πλέον εἶναι
 τῶν πολλῶν· μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὰτ' ἐμπιπῶσιν οἱ ταῖς ἔσiais

(15) Μόνῃς δὲ σφίσι καταλειπομένης ἐλ-
 πίδος ἀκερῶν τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς.] *Il ne restoit
 donc plus au peuple d'autre espérance que
 dans lui-même.* I imagine, the diffi-

culty of rendering ἀκερῶν properly,
 prevailed upon the French translator
 to leave it out; though he must have
 been sensible that the energy of the
 ὑπερέχοντες.

cracy into an oligarchy; and soon inspired the people with the same passions they were before possessed with; by which means, their catastrophe became the same with That of the tyrants : For, if any person, observing the general envy and hatred, which these rulers have incurred, has the courage to say, or do any thing against them, he finds the whole body of the people ready to assist him : Thereupon, they put some of them to death, and banish others ; but dare not, after that, appoint a king to govern them, being still afraid of the injustice of the first ; neither dare they intrust the government with any number of men, having still before their eyes the errors, which these had before committed : So that, having no hope unallayed, but in themselves, they lay hold on that ; and, by converting the government from an oligarchy to a democracy, take upon themselves the care, and charge of the public affairs.

And, as long as any are living, who felt the power, and domination of the few, they acquiesce under the present establishment, and look upon equality, and liberty as the greatest of blessings. But, when a new race of men grows up, and the democracy falls into the hands of their childrens children, these, no longer regarding equality and liberty, from being accustomed to them, aim at a greater share of power than the rest, particularly those of the greatest fortunes ; who, grown now ambitious, and, being

whole sentence turns upon the force of that word, which will plainly appear upon considering the context ; POLYBIUS says that the people, having been abused both by their kings and the few, whom they had successively

intrusted with the government, were equally afraid of both ; so that, they had no hope that was not *mixed* with very just apprehensions, but in themselves.

ὑπερεχούτες· λοιπον ὅταν ὀρμησῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρχεῖν, ⁽¹⁶⁾ καὶ
 μὴ δυνῶνται δ' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τυγχάνειν τῶν,
 διαφθείρουσι τὰς πόλεις, δειλαζούτες καὶ λυμαίνοντο τὰ πλῆθη
 καὶ πανταίῃ τῷ τρόπῳ. ἐξ ὧν ὅταν ἀπαξ δωροδοκῶς καὶ δωροφα-
 γῶς κατασκευάσῃ τὰς πόλεις, διὰ τὴν ἀφρονα δόξοφα-
 γίαν, τότε ἤδη πάλιν τὸ μὲν τῆς δημοκρατίας καταλύεται.
 μεθίσταται δ' εἰς βίαν καὶ χειροκρατίαν ἢ δημοκρατία. συνειθισ-
 μενον γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος ἐσθίειν τὰ ἀλλοτρία, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας
 εἶναι τὰς ζῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν πέλας, ὅταν λάβῃ πρόσαπτον μέγα-
 λοφρονα καὶ τολμήρον, ἐκκλειόμενον δὲ διὰ πένειαν τῶν ἐν τῇ
 πολιτείᾳ τιμιῶν· τότε δὴ χειροκρατίαν ἀποτελεῖ, καὶ τότε
 συναθροίζομενον ποιεῖ σφαγὰς, φυγὰς, γῆς ἀναδασμῶς· ἕως
 ἀν ἀποτεθῇ μενον πάλιν εὖρη δεσποτὴν καὶ μοναρχον.

Αὕτη πολίτειων ἀνακυκλώσις. ⁽¹⁷⁾ αὕτη φύσεως οἰκονομία, καθ'
 ἣν μέλαβλλει καὶ μεθιστάται, καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ
 κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας. Ταῦτα τις σαφῶς ἐπεγνώκως, χρό-
 νοῖς μὲν ἰσῶς διαμαρτυρῆσαι λέγων ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλοντῶν περὶ
 πολίτειας· τὸ δὲ πᾶς τῆς αὐξήσεως ἕκαστον ἐστὶν ἢ τῆς φθορᾶς, ἢ
 πᾶς μεταστῆσαι, σπανίως ἀν διασφαλλοίτο, ⁽¹⁸⁾ χωρὶς οὐ γῆς ἢ
 φόβου ποιεῖμεν τὴν ἀποφασιν. Καὶ μὴν περὶ γε τῆς Ρω-

(16) Καὶ μὴ δυνῶνται δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς
 ἰδίας ἀρετῆς τυγχάνειν τῶν.] I have ta-
 ken the liberty to make two altera-
 tions in the text with regard to this
 sentence; the first is very obvious, all
 the editions have αὐτῶν, for which I
 have substituted αὐτῶν: The second,
 though not so obvious, may, possibly,
 appear as well founded. All the edi-

tions (not excepting Casaubon's) join
 τῶν τὸ διαφθείρουσι τὰς πόλεις; so that,
 according to them, the construction
 will run thus, οἱ ὀρμησάντες ἐπὶ τὸ φιλαρ-
 χεῖν, τῶν διαφθείρουσι τὰς πόλεις, mean-
 ing their own fortunes, which must,
 no doubt, be the sense, but cannot be
 supported by this construction; to a-
 void this difficulty, therefore, I think

unable to obtain the power they aim at, by themselves, and their own merit, dissipate their wealth in alluring, and corrupting the people by every method: And when, to serve their wild ambition, they have once taught them to receive bribes and entertainments, from that moment the democracy is at an end, and changes to force and violence. For the people, being accustomed to live at the expence of others, and to place their hopes of a support in the fortunes of their neighbours, if headed by a man of a great and enterprising spirit, but who, through his poverty, is excluded from public offices, will then have recourse to violence; and, getting together, will murder, banish, and divide among themselves the lands of their adversaries, till grown wild with rage, they again find a master, and a monarch.

This is the rotation of governments, and this the order of nature, by which they are changed, transformed, and return to the same point. Whoever, therefore, is perfectly acquainted with these things, may, possibly, be mistaken in point of time, when he speaks of the future state of any government; but, if he gives his opinion without passion, or envy, he will seldom mistake in the degree of the encrease, or corruption of each, or in the change that attends them. This consideration, above all others, will lead us to the

there is a necessity of supposing *αρχαι* to be understood; to which *τῶν* may very naturally be referred; unless the reader chuses rather to read *τοτε* instead of *τῶν*.

(17) *Αυτὴ φύσει οἰκονομία, καθ' ἣν μεταβάλλει καὶ μεθιστάται, καὶ πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ τὰ κατὰ τὰς πολιτείας.*] Thus rendered by the French translator; *Telle est la révolution des états, tel est l'ordre suivant lequel la nature change la forme des républiques.* This general

manner of rendering an expression of the same import has been already taken notice of in the 5th annotation: Upon this occasion, I shall only say that neither *révolution*, nor *changement* expresses the sense of *πάλιν εἰς αὐτὰ καταντᾷ*, which implies a *return to the former State*, since there may be a *revolution*, a *change*, without such a *return*.

(18) *Χωρὶς οἰζῆς ἡ φθορᾶ.*] All the editions have *χωρὶς οἰζῆς ἀφθορᾶ*, which is knowledge

μαίων πολιτείας καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπίστασιν μάλισ' ἂν ἐλθοίμεν
εἰς γνῶσιν καὶ τῆς συστάσεως, καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως, ⁽¹⁹⁾ καὶ τῆς
ἀκμῆς· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν πάλιν ἐσομένης ἐκ τούτων με-
ταβολῆς. εἰ γὰρ τίνα καὶ ἔτεξαν πολιτείας, ὥς ἀρτίως εἶπα,
καὶ ταύτην συμβαίνει καὶ αὐτὴ φύσιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔχουσαν τὴν συ-
στάσιν, καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν, καὶ αὐτὴ φύσιν ἔξειν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀνάλη-
ψιν μεταβολὴν. σκοπεῖν δ' ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθσομένων.
Τὸν δ' ἐπὶ βραχὺ ποιησομεθα μνημὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς Λυκουργιο-
μοθεσίας· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐκ ἀνοικείου ὁ λόγος τῆς πρεσβείας.

Εἰκεν γὰρ ἕκαστα τῶν προειρημένων συνιοῦσας ἀναγκαιῶς
καὶ φυσικῶς ἐπιτελεσμεία, καὶ συλλογισαμένῳ ὅτι παν εἰδὲ
πολιτείας ἅπλυν καὶ κατὰ μιαν συνέστηκως δύναμιν, ἐπισφα-
λες γίνεσθαι, διὰ τοῦ ταχέως εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ φύσει παρεπε-
σμένην ἐκτρέπεσθαι κακίαν. ⁽²⁰⁾ καθάπερ γὰρ σιδηρῶ μὲν ἰσχυρῶς,
ξύλοις δὲ θρίπες καὶ τερηδόνες συμφύει εἰς λυμαί, δι' ὧν καὶ
πασαί ταις ἐξωθεν διαφύωσι βλάβαι, ὑπ' αὐτῶν φθειροῦνται
τῶν συγγενόμενων· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν συγ-
νέει καὶ αὐτὴ φύσιν ἕκαστη καὶ παρεπέται τις κακία· βασιλεία μὲν

scarce to be understood; for which reason, I have ventured to read *ἡ φθον* instead of *αφθον*. *Sans préjugé*, says the French translator, which is a translation of neither.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Καὶ τῆς ἀκμῆς.] *La splendeur*, in my opinion, does not express *ἀκμή*, since a thing may be in *splendor*, and not in its *perfection*; this may, I think, with great propriety, be said of the very commonwealth our author is here speaking of, I mean That of the Romans, which, it is well known, was in

great splendor, both before it had arrived to its perfection, and after it was past it: This is so true that no other state ever attained so great power as the Roman commonwealth was possessed of above a century before it was in its perfection, and as long after it had passed it. So that, though its *splendor*, at both those periods, outshone that of all other states, when in their meridian, yet it was far outshone by itself, when arrived to that point.

⁽²⁰⁾ Καθάπερ γὰρ σιδηρῶ μὲν ἰσχυρῶς, ξύλοις

knowledge not only of the establishment, the encrease, and perfection of the Roman commonwealth, but also of its future return to its former state: For, as the original institution, and encrease of this commonwealth is, as much as any other, as I said before, founded on nature, so its future return to its former state is also founded on nature. This will appear from the following discourse: At present, we shall just take notice of the laws of Lycurgus; the consideration of which will not be improper to the present purpose.

He, therefore, observing that every thing, that has been said, was founded on necessity, and the laws of nature, concluded that every form of government that is simple, and consists but of one kind, by soon degenerating into that vice, that is allied to it, and naturally attends it, must be unstable: For, as rust is the natural bane of iron, and worms of wood, by which, as by inbred evils, though they escape all foreign mischief, they are sure to be destroyed; so, in like manner, there is a certain vice implanted by the hand of nature in every form of government, and by her

δε θριπτες και τεκιδονες συμφυεις εσι λυμαι.] This fine thought has suffered very much in the hands of the French translator; he seems to have been misled by the word *συμφυεις*, which signifies *natural* or *allied to*, as well as *born with*; and, by taking it in the last sense, has made POLYBIUS betray an ignorance in French, which I am persuaded he was very incapable of in his own language: But, before I go any farther, let us hear what he says; this it is, *comme la Rouille naît avec le fer, & les vers avec le bois*: Now, it is certain that neither rust is *born* with iron, nor worms with wood; the first being

the effect of some, or of all the corrosive acid salts, with which the air is impregnated, and which are perpetually floating about in it, together with the attenuated particles, that are continually flying off from all other bodies; all which particles form a chaos, wherein I am persuaded every production of nature has its representative. And, as for worms, they are no more *born* with wood, than rust is with iron; worms make use indeed of wood for their protection, and, possibly, for their nourishment; but, if, from the toughness of its parts it is improper for the former, as the heart of oak, or from
ordained

ὁ μοναρχικὸς λεγόμενός τροπος, αἰσοκρατία δὲ ὁ τῆς ολιγαρχίας, δημοκρατία δὲ ὁ θηριώδης καὶ χειροκρατικός· εἰς ἕς ἕχ οἶον τε μὴ ἔπαντα τὰ προειρημένα συν χρόνῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς μεταστροφάς κατὰ τὸν ἀντιλογόν. ἂν προῖδόμενός Λυκέρτος, ἕχ ἀπλήν, ἔδε μονεῖδη συνεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσας ὁμᾶ συνήθειζε τὰς ἀρετάς, καὶ τὰς ιδιοτήτας τῶν αἰσῶν πολιτευμάτων· ἵνα μηδὲν αὐξανόμενον ὑπὲρ τὸ δεόν εἰς τὰς συμφύεις ἐκτρέπῃται κακίας· ἀνίσταμένης δὲ τῆς ἑκάστῃ δυνάμεως ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων μηδὲμιν νεύη, μηδὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ κατάρρεπῃ μηδὲν αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ἰσορροπεύει καὶ ζυγιστάμενον, ἐπὶ πολὺ διαμενῇ⁽²¹⁾ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀνίπλοιας λόγον αἰετὸ πολίτευμα· τῆς μὲν βασιλείας κωλυομένης ὑπερῆφανειν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δῆμῃ φόβον, δεδομένης καὶ τῷ μερίδι ἱκανῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ· τῆς δὲ δῆμῃ πάλιν μὴ θάρρυντός καταφρονεῖν τῶν βασιλέων, διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν γεροντῶν φόβον· οἱ κατ' ἐκλογὴν αἰσινδὴν κεκρίμενοι πάντες ἐμμελλον αἰετῷ δίκαιῳ προσνεμεῖν ἑαυτοὺς· ὥστε τὴν τῶν ἐλαττωμένων μερίδα διὰ τὸ τοῖς ἐθέσιν ἐμμενεῖν, ταυτὴν αἰετὴν γινέσθαι μείζω, καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῇ τῶν γεροντῶν προσκλίσει καὶ ῥοπῇ. τοιγαρὶν ἔτω συστήσαμενός, πλείστον ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν χρόνον διεφυλάξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Ἐκεῖνός μὲν

its bitter taste, for the latter, as the cedar, the worm seldom attacks it: So that, wood may be, and frequently is without worms; they are consequently not essential to, nor *born with*, it: And, that rust is not more essential to iron, nor *born with* it, appears from this; let a piece of iron be kept in a recipient inaccessible to all air, and

to the corrosive salts, with which it abounds, and it will be no more effected with rust, than gold, on which those salts have no power. As our language has no word to express either *θριπες* or *τεργιδονες*, I have been obliged to comprehend them both under the general name of *worms*; if the reader pleases to turn to the 5th chapter of the 5th

ordained to accompany it : The vice of kingly government is monarchy, that of aristocracy, oligarchy ; and of democracy, rage and violence ; into which all of them, in process of time, must necessarily degenerate, in the manner I have mentioned. These inconveniences were foreseen by Lycurgus ; who, to avoid them, formed his government not of a simple nature, and of one sort, but united in one all the advantages, and properties of the best governments ; to the end that no branch of it, by swelling beyond its due bounds, might degenerate into the vice which is congenial to it ; and that, while each of them were mutually acted upon by opposite powers, no one part might incline any way, or outweigh the rest ; but that the commonwealth, being equally poised and ballanced, like a ship acted upon by contrary powers, might long remain in the same situation ; while the king was restrained from excess by the fear of the people, who had a proper share in the commonwealth ; and, on the other side, the people did not dare to disregard the king from their fear of the senate, who, being all elected for their virtue, would always incline to the justest side ; by which means, that branch which happened to be oppressed, this institution being observed, became always superior, and, by the accessional weight of the senate, out-ballanced the other. Lycurgus, therefore, having formed his commonwealth according to this system, preserved the Lacedæmo-

book of Theophrastus, he will there find these insects not only distinguished, but described. I am afraid *congenitæ pestes* in Casaubon is liable to the same exception.

(21) Κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀντιπλοίας λόγον] I do not remember ever to have met with ἀντιπλοία in any other author ; possibly, therefore, it may be, like

many other words in POLYBIUS, a term of his own coining, or, rather, of his own compounding : The Latin and French translators have understood it of a ship equally acted upon by contrary winds, which, I believe, the seamen will not allow ever to happen : I, at first thought it might signify a ship acted upon by contrary currents, which,

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εν λοῖῳ τινὶ προΐδμενος, ⁽²²⁾ ποθεν ἕκαστα καὶ πῶς πεφυκε
συμβαίνειν, ἀβλαβῶς συνεψησάτο τὴν προειρημένην πολιτείαν.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τελευτᾷ ταῦτο πεποινηταί τῆς ἐν τῇ πα-
τρίδι καὶ εὐστασιως, ἔμην διαλοῖε· δια δὲ πολλῶν αἰώνων καὶ
πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰτῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως
αἰετμενοὶ τὸ βελτίον· ἔτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταῦτο μὲν Δυκερῶ τε-
λευτᾷ, καλλίσον δὲ σύστημα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείων.

Δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν κριτὴν ἔχ' ἐκ τῶν παραλειπομένων δοκι-
μαζέειν τὰς γραφοντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν λεγόμενων. καὶ μὲν ἐν
τέτοις τι λαμβάνη ψευδῆ, εἶδεναι διότι κακείνα ὥραλειπείαι
δὲ ἀγνοίαν· εἰ δὲ πάντ' αὐτὸ λεγόμενον ἀληθές ἢ, συγχωρεῖν, διότι
κακείνα ὥρασιωπάται κατὰ κρίσιν, ἔκ ἀγνοίαν.

Ἦν μὲν δὴ ⁽²³⁾ τρεῖς μέρη τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολιτείας, αἵπερ
εἶπα πρότερον, ἀπάνια· ⁽²⁴⁾ ἔτω δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ἰσως
καὶ πρεπονίως συνετετακτο καὶ διώκετο διὰ τέτων, ὥς μὴδενα
ποτ' αὖ εἶπειν δυνασθαι βεβαίως, μὴδὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ποτερ'
αἰσιοκρατικὸν τὸ πολιτευμα ⁽²⁵⁾ συμπαν, ἢ δημοκρατικόν, ἢ μο-
ναρχικόν· καὶ τέτ' εἰκότως ἦν πασχεῖν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν

though possible, is too uncommon to
serve for a comparison; I would, there-
fore, suppose the ship to be rowed a-
gainst the wind, or tide, or, rather, a-
gainst both, which will have the effect
here intended by POLYBIUS, that is, to
keep it in the same wonderful situation:
However, as the Greek text does not
particularly describe the contrary pow-
ers, by the force of which the ship is
kept in the same place, I have not
thought it necessary to enter into that

particular in the translation.

(22) Ποθεν ἕκαστα, καὶ πῶς πεφυκε συμ-
βαίνειν.] This is, I think, rendered too
generally by the French translator,
prévoyant la cause & le temps de certains
événements.

(23) Τρεῖς μέρη τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολι-
τείας.] *Les trois sortes de gouvernements*
dont j'ay parié composoient la république
Romaine, says the French translator,
who, by rendering it thus, has left out
τὰ κρατύντα τῆς πολιτείας, which is the

ὑπάλων

nians in liberty longer than any other people we have heard of, ever enjoyed it: So that, he, by foreseeing from a certain way of reasoning, from whence, and, by what means, every thing naturally proceeds, guarded that commonwealth against every danger.

The Romans have arrived at the same end in forming their commonwealth, not indeed, by any chain of reasoning, but by weighing every incident, that offered itself in the many struggles, and difficulties they were engaged in, and always embracing that measure, which was most advantageous. By this means, they arrived at the same end, which Lycurgus attained, and formed the most glorious system of government now in being.

A good critic ought not to judge of a writer by those things he omits, but by those he relates; and, if he discovers any untruth in the latter, conclude that the former were omitted through ignorance: But, if every thing he relates be found true, let him grant that the others were omitted through choice, not ignorance.

All the three principal orders of government I have mentioned, were found in the Roman commonwealth; but every thing, in particular, was constituted and administered with that equality and propriety by these three, that it was not possible for any person, not even for a Roman citizen, to assert positively, whether the government, in the whole, was aristocratical, democratical, or monarchical; neither was this doubt ill founded: For, when we cast our eyes

proper character of the three branches of government our author has been treating of.

(24) Οὕτως δὲ πάντα κατὰ μέρος ἰσως καὶ ἀκριβέστερως συλλεγεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖτο διατάττειν.] Toutes trois étoient tellement bilanciées l'une par l'autre. This is so far

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from being the sense of the original, that, had I not met with it in this place, I should not have imagined it was intended for a translation of it.

(25) Συμπαν.] The French translator says, *que personne, même parmi les Romains, ne pouvoit assurer, sans crainte*

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ὑπατῶν ατενισαίμεν ἐξουσίαν, τελείως μοναρχικὸν ἐφαίνει' εἶναι καὶ βασιλικόν· ὅτε δὲ εἰς τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου, πάλιν αἰσιοκρατικόν. καὶ μὴν εἰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ἐξουσίαν θεωροῖη τις, ἐδοκεῖ σαφῶς εἶναι δημοκρατικόν. ὧν δ' ἕκαστον εἰδὼς μέρων τις πολιτείας ἐπεκρατεῖ, καὶ τότε, καὶ νῦν ἐτι, πλὴν ὀλίγων τιῶν, ταυτ' ἐστίν.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπαῖοι προ τε μὲν ἐξαίειν τὰ στρατοπεδία παρόντες ἐν Ῥώμῃ, πασῶν εἰσι κυριοὶ τῶν δημοσίων πράξεων. οἱ τε γὰρ ἀρχόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ὑποτατίζονται καὶ πειθαρχοῦσι τοῖς, πλὴν τῶν δημαρχῶν· εἰς τε τὴν συγκλήτου ἔτοι τας πρεσβείας ἀγχοῖν προς δε τοῖς προεφημενοῖς, ἔτοι τὰ κατεπειγόντα τῶν διαβελίων ἀναδιδόασιν· ⁽²⁶⁾ ἔτοι τὸν ἔλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι. καὶ μὴν ὅσα δεῖ δια τε δημῶ συντελεῖσθαι τῶν προς τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀνηκόντων, τοῖς καθηκεὶ φρονιζέειν, καὶ συναγεῖν αἰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ⁽²⁷⁾ τοῖς εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα, τοῖς βραβεύειν τὰ δοκούντα τοῖς πλείοσι. καὶ μὴν περὶ πολέμου κατασκευῆς, καὶ καθολικῆς τῆς ἐν ὑπαίθεσι οἰκονομίας, σχεδὸν αυτοκράτορα τὴν ἐξουσίαν

de se tromper, si le gouvernement y étoit aristocratique, ou populaire, ou monarchique. Thus, by leaving out *συμπαν*, the French translator has maimed this sentence; for, in reality, the Roman government was aristocratical, popular and monarchical, *in its parts*; but, *in the whole*, it was none of the three.

(26) Οὗτοι τὸν ἔλον χειρισμὸν τῶν δογμάτων ἐπιτελοῦσι.] *Le droit de faire les senatus-consultes leur appartient.* Whoever reads this, will, I dare say, conclude that the right of *making the decrees* of

the senate belonged to the consuls; which every body knows was not the case; neither does POLYBIUS say any more than that the consuls were *solely intrusted with the execution of the decrees of the senate.*

(27) Τοῖς εἰσφέρειν τὰ δόγματα.] *D'y proposer ce dont il s'agit.* This is so loose a translation, and, at the same time, seems to imply so great an ignorance of the Roman constitution, that I am surpris'd a man of so great learning as the French translator, could

on the power of the consuls, the government appeared intirely monarchical and kingly ; when on That of the senate, aristocratical ; and, when any one considered the power of the people, it appeared plainly democratical. The several powers, which each of these orders then obtained, and still continues to obtain, with some few exceptions, are as follows.

The consuls, when they are at Rome, and before they take the field, have the administration of all public affairs : For all other magistrates are subject to, and obey, them, except the tribunes of the people : They introduce embassadors into the senate : They also propose to the senate those subjects of debate, that require immediate dispatch ; and are solely intrusted with the execution of their decrees : To them belongs the consideration of all public affairs, of which the people have cognizance ; whom they are to assemble upon all occasions, and lay before them the decrees of the senate, then pursue the resolutions of the majority. Besides this, the consuls have almost an absolute power in every thing, that relates either to the preparations of war, or to the conduct of it in the field : For they may give what

suffer it to escape from his pen. It is very well known that all laws were first proposed in the senate, before they were laid before the people, when assembled in the *comitia curiata*, or *centuriata*, though not in the *tributa* ; for which reason, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the rest of the Greek authors, who have written the Roman history, call a previous order of the senate, *προεσλεύμα* : The phrase made use of, upon these occasions, by the Latin authors, alludes to the same custom : Thus, after Livy has given an account of the design formed by

the Roman soldiers to surprize Capua, and very pathetically described their reconciliation with their fellow citizens, at the head of whom Valerius Corvus, as dictator, was sent to reclaim them : For it seems, the Romans were, at that time, unacquainted with civil slaughter, and unexperienced in all other wars but in Those against a foreign enemy : After this reconciliation, Valerius Corvus returned to Rome, where he got an act proposed in the senate, and, afterwards, passed by the people, for the impunity of the soldiers, who had formed the design upon Capua. Livy's

εχασί· και γαρ επιτατλειν τοις συμμαχικοις το δοκυν, και τας χιλιαρχας καθισαναι, και διαγραφειν τας στρατιωτας, και διαλειν τας επιτηδεις, τατοις εξεσι· προς δε τοις ειρημενοις, ζημιωσαι των υποταττομενων εν τοις υπαιθροις, ον αν βεβληθωσι, κυριοι καθεσασιν· εξασιαν δ' εχασι και δαπαναν των δημοσιων οσα προθειντο, παρεπομενυ ταμις, και παν το προσαχθεν ετοιμως ποιειν. ως' εικοτως ειπειν αν, οτε τις εις ταυτην αποβλεψει την μεριδα, διоти μοναρχικον απλως και βασιλικον εσι το πολιτευμα. ει δε τινα των η των λεγεσθαι μελλοντων ληψεται μεταθεσιν η κατα το παρον, η μετα τινα χρονον, εδεν αν ειη προς την νυν υφ υμων λεγομενην αποφασιν.

Και μην η συγκλητη· πρωτον μεν εχει την· τα ταμιεις κυριαν. και γαρ της εισοδου πασης αυτη κρατει, και της εξοδου πασης. ετε γαρ εις τας κατα μερ· χρειας εδεμιαν ποιειν εξοδον οι ταμιαι δυνανται χωρις των της συγκλητης δοματαων, πλην την εις τας υπατας. της δε πασης πολυ των αλλων ολοσχερεσατης και μεγαλης δαπανης, ην οι τιμηται ποιουσιν (28) εις τας επισκευας και κατασκευας των δημοσιων κατα

words are these, B. vii. c. 41. *dictator equo citato ad urbem reversus, auctoribus patribus tulit ad populum ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset.* It is true that, at other times, he applies these words to the confirmation given by the senate to the acts passed by the people. But, whoever has read Livy with attention, must be sensible that this phrase is, upon many other occasions, made use of by him to express what the Greek Historians call *προβουλα*; and it is very possible that, if

he had translated this passage of Polybius, as he has many others, he would have said *his, quorum patres auctores fuerant, ferre ad populum*, for *τατοις εσφειν τα δογματα*. I am sensible that Dion Cassius, B. lv. distinguishes *δομα* from *αγκτωριτας*, which word he makes use of, because, as he says, it is not possible to translate it into Greek; this *auctoritas* was a resolution of the senate passed when there was not a full house, that is, as many as the law required for the passing a *senatus-consultum*.

πενταετηριαν·

orders they please to their allies ; and appoint the tribunes : They may raise forces, and enlist those who are proper for the service : They also have a power, when in the field, of punishing any who serve under them ; and of expending as much as they please of the public money, being always attended by a quæstor for that purpose, whose duty it is to yield a ready obedience to all their commands : So that, whoever casts his eyes on this branch, may, with reason, affirm that the government is merely monarchical, and kingly. But, if any thing I have already mentioned, or may hereafter mention, shall, either now, or after some time, be altered, this ought not to affect the present relation.

The senate have, in the first place, the command of the public money : For they have the conduct of all receipts, and disbursements : Since the quæstors cannot issue money for any particular service, without a decree of the senate, except those sums they pay by the direction of the consuls. The senate have also the power over all those disbursements, that are made by the censors every fifth year in

tum, which, with POLYBIUS, he calls *δογμα* : But this will not invalidate any thing that has been said, when it is considered that the law he speaks of was instituted by Augustus, who, as Dion tells us in the same place, when he fixed the number of senators, whose presence should be necessary for enacting decrees of every kind, appointed the particular days, on which they were to assemble ; and, in order to oblige the senators to be present on those days, encreased the fine, to which such as assented themselves without a lawful excuse, were before liable. This was in the year of Rome 743,

Claudius Nero Drusus, and T. Quintius Crispinus being consuls ; the same year Drusus died, which some will have to have been the year 741 of Rome.

(28) *Εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς.*] *Aux réparations*, in the French translator, very well expresses the first ; but what becomes of *κατασκευὰς* ? that, it seems, is omitted : This deserves the more to be taken notice of, because, when the same expression is afterwards repeated by our author, the same translator says very properly, *érrection de nouveaux édifices, réparation des anciens* : So that, I must look upon the former in the same light every candid reader repairing

πενταετηρίαν· ταύτης ἡ συγκλητὴ ἐστὶ κυρία, καὶ διὰ ταύτης γίνεται τὸ συγχώρημα τοῖς τιμηταῖς. ὁμοίως καὶ ἴσα τῶν ἀδικημάτων τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν⁽²⁹⁾ προσδίδται δημοσίας ἐπισκεψέως· λέγω δὲ οἷον προδοσίας, συνωμοσίας, φαρμακείας, δολοφονίας, τῇ συγκλητῇ μέλει περὶ τούτων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ τις ιδιώτης ἢ πόλις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαλυσεὺς ἢ ἐπιτιμητὺς, ἢ βοηθείας, ἢ φυλακῆς προσδεῖται, τούτων πάντων ἐπιμέλεις ἐστὶ τῇ συγκλητῇ. καὶ μὴν εἰ τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τινὰς ἐξαποστέλλειν δεοὶ πρεσβείαν τινὰ, ἢ διαλυοσάν τινὰς, ἢ ᾧ ἀκαλεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία ἐπιταξέσθαι, ἢ ᾧ ἀληψόμενῃ, ἢ πολεμεῖν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι, αὕτη ποιεῖται τὴν προνοιάν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ᾧ ἀγενομένων εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβείων ὡς δεόν ἐσιν ἕκαστοις χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὡς δεόν ἀποκριθῆναι, πάντα ταῦτα χειρίζεται διὰ τῆς συγκλητῆς. πρὸς δὲ τὸν δῆμον καθαπαξ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τῶν προειρημένων. ἐξ ὧν πάλιν ὅποτε τις ἐπιδήμησαι μὴ παρόντος ὑπάτε, τελείως ἀριστοκρατικὴ φαίνεται ἡ πολιτεία. ὁ δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων πεπεισμένοι τυγχάνουσι, διὰ τὸ τὰ σφῶν πράγματα σχεδὸν πάντα πρὸς τὴν συγκλητὴν κυρεῖν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκοτῶς ἐπιζητήσει ποία καὶ τίς ποτε ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἀλλοτριωμένη μερὶς ἐν τῷ πολιτευματί; τῆς μὲν συγκλητῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος, ὧν εἰρηκάμεν κυρίας ὑπαρχῆς, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς εἰσοδῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξοδῆς χειριζομένης ἀπάσης; τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν ὑπάτων πάλιν αὐτοκρατορᾷ μὲν ἐχούτων δύναμιν περὶ τὰς τε πολέμους ᾧ ἀ-

ought to view it, that is, as a slip of the memory only.

σκέυας,

repairing, and erecting public buildings, which are of all others the greatest, and the most considerable ; and, for which, the cenfors must have the allowance of the senate. This order also takes cognizance of all crimes committed in Italy, that require a public inspection, such as treasons, conspiracies, poisonings, and assassinations. Moreover, if any private person, or city in Italy stands in need of an accommodation, animadversion, relief, or defence, all these are within the province of the senate : And, if it is necessary to send an embassy out of Italy to reconcile differences, to use exhortation, or, indeed, to signify a command, to admit an alliance, or declare war, the senate has the care of these things. In like manner, when ambassadors come to Rome, the senate determines in what manner they are to be treated, and what answer is to be given to them. Nothing that has been mentioned belongs to the people : For these reasons, again, when a foreigner comes to Rome in the absence of the consuls, the government appears to him purely aristocratical : Which opinion prevails with several of the Greeks, and also with several kings, because almost all their transactions with the Romans are ratified by the senate.

From what has been said, who would not have reason to ask what share in the government, and of what nature that share is, which is left to the people ? Since the senate is invested with all the particular powers already mentioned, and with the greatest of all, the conduct of all receipts and disbursements ; and since, on the other side, the consuls, as generals, have an absolute power in regard both to the prepa-

(29) Οσα—προσδεται δημοσιας επισημει-
 [αews.] Qui méritent une punition pub-
 lique, is not, in my opinion, the sense of this passage ; because it confounds the inquiry into a crime with the punishment of it.

σκευας, αυτοκρατορα δε την εν τοις ὑπαιθεροις εξουσιαν;
 (30) ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις και τῷ δήμῳ, και κατα-
 λειπεται γε βαρύνῃ. (31) Τιμης γαρ εσι και τιμωριας εν
 τη πολιτεια μονῶ ὁ δῆμῶ κυριῶ· οἷς συνεχονῆαι μονοις και
 δυνασταις, και πολιταις, και συλληβδην πας ὁ των ανθρωπων
 βιῶ. παρ' οἷς γαρ η μη γνωσκεισθαι συμβαινει την τοιαυτην
 διαφοραν, η γνωσκομενην χειριζοσθαι κακῶς, παρὰ τουτοις
 ουδεν οἷον τε καλῶ λογον διοικεισθαι των ὑφεστων. πως γαρ
 εικος; (32) ἐν ἰσῇ τιμῇ οντων των αγαθων τοις κακοις. κρινει
 μεν εν ὁ δῆμῶ και διαφορα πολλακις, ὕταν αξιοχρεων η το
 τιμημα της αδικιας, και μαλιστα τας τας επιφανεις εσχηκο-
 τας αρχας. θανατα δε κρινει μονος. και γινεται τι περι ταυ-
 την την χρειαν παρ' αυτοις αξιον επαινα και μνημης. τοις
 γαρ θανάτου κρινομενοις επαν καλῶδικαζωνῆαι, διδωσι την
 εξουσιαν το παρ' αυτοις εθῶ απαλλατῆσθαι φανερωσ, καὶ
 ετι μια λειπήσθαι φυλη των επικυρουσων την κρισιν ἀψηφοφο-
 ρητῶ, ἐκασιον ἐαυτου καταγνωῆα φυγαδειαν. εσι δ' ασφαλεια

(30) Ου μην αλλα καταλειπεται μερις
 και τῷ δήμῳ, και καταλειπεται γε βαρύν-
 τη.] *Cependant le peuple a sa part, &
 une part très-considérable; not only
 très-considérable, but la plus considéra-
 ble; which is the plain import of the
 text, and stands confirmed by the whole
 tenor of the Roman history, but more
 so by their conquests.*

(31) Τιμης γαρ εσι και τιμωριας εν τη
 πολιτειᾷ μονος ὁ δῆμος κυριος.] *Il est seul
 maitre des récompences & des peines, says
 the French translator. Casaubon has
 rendered it in the same sense, solus in
 civitate populus præmiū & pænæ est ar-*

*biter. I am sorry I am obliged to
 differ from them both. In the first
 place, I do not remember ever to have
 met with the word τιμη for a reward;
 2dly, I think it manifest that it cannot
 be taken in that sense upon this occa-
 sion, if one considers what follows;
 which, in my opinion, is always the
 surest method of coming at the sense
 of an author: POLYBIUS then, after
 he has told us that the people have the
 sole power of honors, and of punish-
 ments, gives the particular instances,
 whercin they exercise that power; he
 begins with punishments, and tells us*

rations of war, and, when in the field, to the management of it. Notwithstanding all this, there is still a share in the government left for the people, and that the most considerable: For they only have the power of distributing honors, and punishments; to which alone both monarchies and commonwealths, and, in a word, all human institutions owe their stability: For, wherever the difference between those two is not understood, or, being understood, is injudiciously applied, there nothing can be properly administered. How should it, since the worthy, and unworthy are equally honoured? The people, therefore, often take cognizance even of those causes, where the fine to be imposed is considerable, particularly, where the criminals are persons, who have exercised great employments: But, in capital cases, they alone have jurisdiction; concerning which, there is a custom among them worthy to be remembered with commendation: This custom gives to those, who are tried for their lives, the power of departing openly, and of condemning themselves to a voluntary banishment pending the trial, provided there remains one tribe, that has not yet given its vote; and the banished person may live in safety either at

that they take cognizance of those causes, where the fine is considerable, particularly, where the criminals have exercised great employments; and that they alone have the power of life and death. He then says that the people have also the right of conferring the magistracy on those they think worthy of it, *και μὴν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δῆμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις*. Where, I think it is evident that *ἀρχαί* is designed by our author to explain *τιμή* before mentioned, and *ἀθλον*, which immediately follows, to signify *des récompences*.

(32) *Εν ἰσῇ τιμῇ οὐτῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς*
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κακοῖς.] This seems to be a paraphrase of the following verse of Homer, who puts this complaint into the mouth of Achilles,

Εν δὲ ἰῇ τιμῇ ἡμεν κακός, κτε καὶ εὖθλος.

Il. I. ver. 319.

Whoever has read POLYBIUS with attention must be sensible that, upon many occasions, he shews himself very well acquainted with Homer. It is astonishing with what respect, I may say, veneration, the greatest authors of antiquity speak of that great man; and that not only poets, but orators, and historians propose him as their

I i i

Naples,

τοῖς Φευσσίν ἐν τε τῇ Νεαπολίτῳ καὶ Πραίνεσσιν, ἐτι δὴ
 Τιβερηνῶν πόλει, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πρὸς ἃς ἔχουσιν ὄρκια.
 Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ δῆμος δίδωσι τοῖς ἀξίοις· ὅπερ ἐστὶ
 καλλίστον ἀθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ καλοκαγαθίας. ἔχει δὲ τὴν κυρίαν
 καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν νόμων δοκιμασίας. ⁽³³⁾ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ
 εἰρήνης οὗτος βεβλῆναι καὶ πόλεμος. Καὶ μὴν περὶ συμμα-
 χίας, καὶ διαλύσεως, καὶ συνθηκῶν, ἕτος ἐστὶν ὁ βεβαίων
 ἕκαστα τούτων, καὶ κυρία ποίων ἢ τῶν ἀντίων. ὥστε πάλιν ἐκ
 τούτων εἰκοτῶς ἂν τίνα εἰπὴν ὅτι μέγιστον ὁ δῆμος ἔχει μερί-
 δα, καὶ δημοκρατικὸν ἐστὶ τὸ πολίτευμα.

model in their respective kinds of writing. And, indeed, the sentiment, which is the subject of this annotation, was long before copied from Homer by Xenophon, who makes Chryfantas say, Καὶ τοὶ ἐγώ γε, ἔδεν ἀνίσωτερον νομιζῶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, τὰ τῶν ἰσῶν τὸν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιόθαι. Ἐν Κυρῶ παιδείᾳ. B. 2. p. 128. Ed. of Hutch.

(33) Καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ἔτι βεβλῆναι καὶ πόλεμος.] As the French translator has differed from Casaubon in rendering this passage, and I from both; and, as not only a point of criticism, but the most important branch of the power of the Roman people is concerned in this question, I hope I shall be allowed to extend this annotation to a more than ordinary length, in order to prove, 1st, That βεβλῆναι, in this place, does not signify, with Casaubon, *deliberat*, nor, which the French translator, *on le consulte*, but that they *determine*; 2dly, That the people of Rome had the power of making peace and war. As to the first, though I could prove the word

to have that sense by many passages out of the best authors, yet I shall content myself with the following one from Thucydides, not only because it plainly proves that βεβλῆναι signifies to *determine* or *resolve*, but also because it conveys a sentiment very agreeable to the exalted genius of the people, to whom it was delivered, and to the envied situation of the person, who delivered it. The passage I mean is at the close of that fine speech, which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, when he exhorts the Athenians to support themselves with magnanimity under the twofold evils, with which they were then oppressed, namely, the Peloponnesian war, and the plague; it is this, ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ μέγιστοις το ἐπιφθόνον λαμβάνει, ὥς βεβλῆται, *whosoever incurs envy for things of the greatest moment, wisely determines*; or, if the reader prefers the translation of Hobbes, *he does well that undergoeth hatred, for matters of great consequence*; but the reason Pericles, or, rather, Thucydides gives for this is so strong,

Τίνα

Naples, Præneste, or Tibur; or in any other city in alliance with the Romans. The people also have the power of conferring the magistracy upon those they think worthy of it; which is the most honourable reward of merit any government can bestow. Besides this, they have the power of rejecting, or confirming laws; and, what is the most considerable of all, they determine concerning peace and war; and also, concerning alliances, accommodations, and conventions; every one of these the people may either ratify, or annul: So that, from hence again, one may, with reason, assert that the people have the greatest share in the government, and that the commonwealth is democratical.

and so beautifully expressed, that I cannot help transcribing it, though it is nothing to the point I am treating of; *μισος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνέχει· ἡ δὲ παρὰυτίκα τε λαμπρότης, καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα δοξα αἰμνῆτος καταλείπεται; for the hatred flowing from it does not last long, while both the present lustre, and the future glory remain for ever to be celebrated: But, for the sake of those who deservedly admire Hobbes, I shall add also his translation; for the hatred lasteth not, and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortal glory hereafter. I shall next endeavour to shew that, by the Roman constitution, the power of peace and war was in the people; the authority I shall quote, upon this occasion, will be that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, E. vi. and of Livy, who, with POLYBIUS, are of all other historians, the most to be depended on. The first then, when the secession of the people, which ended in the establishment of their tribunes, was agitated in the senate, makes the consuls of the year speak to that as-*

sembly, in the following manner; *156*
ὅτι πᾶς νόμον ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντα ἐξ ἧς τῆςδε οἰκῆμεν τὴν πόλιν, πάντων εἶναι κυρίαν τινὶ βουλῇ, πλὴν ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξαι, καὶ νόμους ψήφισαι καὶ πόλεμον ἐξευγχεῖν, ἢ τὸν συνέσωτα καὶ ἀλυσσάσθαι. τῶν δὲ τῶν τριῶν τὸν δῆμον εἶναι τινὶ ἐξουσίαν ψήφον ἐπιφέροντα. You are sensible that we have a law as old as the city we inhabit, by which the senate have the power of every thing besides the creation of magistrates, the enacting of laws, and declaring of war, or putting an end to it, when declared; which three things the people have a right to determine by their suffrages. And, that this right was not nominal only, but fully exercised by the people upon all occasions, appears from as many instances in their history, as there are examples of their having declared war with prudence, prosecuted it with courage, and concluded it with success. However, I shall select two of them, not only because they will, beyond all contradiction, establish the truth of what I have advanced, but also, because the two wars I shall

Τίνα μὲν ἐν τρόπῳ διηγήσασθαι τὰ τῆς πολιτείας εἰς ἕκαστον εἶδος, εἰρήναι· τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἀντιπράττειν βεληθεῖν, καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις πάλιν ἕκαστα τῶν μερῶν δύνασθαι, νυνὶ ῥηθήσεται.

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπάλθευ ἐπειδὴν τυχῶν τῆς προειρημένης ἐξουσίας ὁρμήσῃ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, δοκεῖ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων συνέλειαν· προσδίδται δὲ τὰ δημῶν, καὶ τῆς συγκλήτης, καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἐπὶ τελευτᾷ ἀγεῖν τὰς πράξεις ἔχ' ἱκανὸς ἐστὶ· δηλὸν γὰρ, ὥς δεῖ μὲν ἐπιτεμπεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις αἰετὰς χορηγίας· ἀνευ δὲ τῆς συγκλήτης βελημαῖος εἴς σῖλος, εἴς ἱμαλίσμον, εἴς οὐψωνία δύνασθαι χορηγεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις· ὥς' ἀπρακτὲς γινέσθαι τὰς ἐπιβόλας τῶν ἡγούμενων, ⁽³⁴⁾ ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ κωλυσιεργεῖν προθεμένης τῆς συγκλήτης. Καὶ μὴν τὸ γ' ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ μὴ γινέσθαι τὰς ἐπινοίας, καὶ προθεσεῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κεῖται. τὰ γὰρ ἐπαποσεῖλαι στρατηγὸν ἕτερον, ἐπειδὴν ἐνιαυσίος διελθῇ

mention were of the greatest consequence to the Romans, the conclusion of the first having freed them from the fears of a dangerous rival, I mean Carthage; and the second having been undertaken against Philip of Macedon, a kingdom, which a long possession of power had rendered venerable, and a great encrease of it formidable.

After the successes of Scipio in Africa had extorted a submission from the Carthaginians, Livy, Book xxx, chap. 42, tells us the Romans were inclined to peace; upon which occasion he says; Tum Man. Acilius & Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt, vellent, juberentne senatum decernere, ut cum Carthaginensibus pax fieret; & quem eam pacem

dare, quemque ex Africâ exercitus deportare juberent: de pace uti rogassent, omnes tribus jufferunt: pacem dare P. Scipionem, eundem exercitus deportare. *Then Man. Acilius, and Q. Minucius, tribunes of the people, asked the opinion of the people whether they desired and commanded the senate to decree that peace should be made with the Carthaginians; and whom they thought fit to order to make that peace, and whom to transport the armies out of Africa: Concerning the peace, all the tribes voted for the affirmative, and ordered P. Scipio to make the peace, and transport the armies.* This passage wants no comment, the next will as little stand in need of one.

The same author tells us, Book

χρονος.

Having shewn in what manner the commonwealth is divided into the several orders, we shall now shew in what manner each of these orders may oppose, and assist one another.

The consul, being invested with the command I have mentioned, and in the field at the head of the army, seems to have an absolute power to carry every thing he proposes into execution ; yet he still stands in need of the people, and senate, and, without their assistance, can affect nothing : For it is manifest that supplies of all kinds must from time to time be sent to the army, which, without the consent of the senate, can be furnished neither with corn, clothes, nor their pay : So that, the designs of the generals must prove abortive, whenever the senate, by wilfully neglecting their duty, oppose the execution of them. It is also in the breast of the senate whether the schemes and plans of the general shall be accomplished, or not : For the senate has the power of sending another general to succeed him, as soon

xxxi, chap. 6, that P. Sulpicius, one of the consuls for the year, asked the opinion of the people, *vellent, jubere Philippo regi Macedonibusque, qui sub regno ejus essent, ob injurias, armaque illata sociis populi Romani, bellum indici. Whether they were willing and ordered that, in consideration of the injuries, and hostilities committed against the allies of the people of Rome, war be declared against king Philip, and the Macedonians his subjects.* Upon which, Livy says that the people, being then tired out with the length and dangers of the Carthaginian war, almost all the centuries rejected the motion the first time they were assembled upon that occasion : But, upon the consuls representing how great a da-

mage and disgrace a delay in declaring the war would prove to them, they *gave their affirmative for it.* Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi, uti rogatur, bellum jusserunt. These instances prove, beyond contradiction, that the people of Rome did something more than *deliberate* concerning peace and war.

(34) Εθελοκακειν και κωλυσιεργειν προεμενης της συγκλητης.] *Si le sénat n'entre pas dans leurs vûes, ou y met opposition.* The first part of this translation does not, in my opinion, express the sense of εθελοκακειν, which implies a *voluntary neglect of duty*, as Suidas explains it ; Εθελοκακηται' εκκσιως ελεοθαι το κακον. And, indeed, this is the sense, in which, all authors use the word.

χρόνος, ἢ τὸν ὑπαρχόντα ποιεῖν ἐπιμόνον, ἔχει τὴν κυρίαν αὐ-
τῇ. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἡγμένων ἐκτραγῶδῃσαι καὶ
συναυξήσαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀμαυρῶσαι, καὶ ταπεινῶσαι, τὸ συν-
εδριον ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν. τὰς γὰρ προσαγορευομένους παρ' αὐτοῖς
θριαμβῶς, δι' ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν οὐσιν αἰεταὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν
στρατηγῶν ἢ τῶν κλειρῶσμένων πραγμάτων ἐναρξεία· τὰς δὲ δὴ
ναῖται χειρίζειν ὡς πρέπει, ποτε δὲ τοπαρχῶν ἔδε συνέλιν,
εἰ μὴ τὸ συνέδριον συγκαταστήται, καὶ δῶ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δα-
πανήν. τὰ γὰρ μὴν δήμος τὸ διαλυεῖσθαι· καὶ λίαν αὐτοῖς ἀναγ-
καῖον ἐστὶ, καὶ ὅλως ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας τυχῶσι πολὺν τόπον ἀφ-
εσῶτες. ὁ γὰρ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ συνθήκας ἀκυρῶς καὶ κυ-
ρίας ποίων, ὡς ἐπάνω προείπον, ἔστος ἐστίν. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀ-
ποτιθέμενους τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐν τῷ δὲ τὰς εὐθύνας ὑπεχρύν-
των πεπραγμένων. ὥστε καὶ μὴδὲν τρόπον ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι
τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐδὲ μὴτε τῆς συκλήτης, μήτε τῆς τῶν πλη-
θὸς εὐνοίας.

Ἡ γὰρ μὴν συκλήτης πάλιν ἢ τηλικαυτὴν ἔχουσα δύναμιν,
πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τοῖς κοινῶν πράγμασιν ἀναγκάζεται προσεχέειν
τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ σοχαζέσθαι τὸν δήμον· τὰς δ' ὀλοχερεῖσαι
τὰς καὶ μέγιστας ζητήσεις, καὶ διορθώσεις τῶν ἀμαρτανόμενων
καὶ τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς θανάτος ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ προσίμενον, ἢ
δυναῖται συνέλιν· εἰ μὴ συνεπικυρῶσιν τὸ πρεβεβουλευμένον ὁ
δήμος. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς ταύτην αἰηκόντων· εἰ
γὰρ τις εἰσφέρῃ νόμον ἢ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφαιρέμενος τί τῆς
ὑπαρχούσης τῇ συκλήτῃ καὶ τοὺς ἐθισμούς, ἢ τὰς προεδρίας
καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀλυσῶν αὐτῶν, ἢ καὶ τὴν Δία ποίων ἐλαττώματα

as the year is expired, or of continuing him in the command. Again, the senate may either magnify, and extol, or, on the other side, obscure, and extenuate the victories of the generals: For these cannot celebrate their triumphs, as they call them, (in which the representations of their successes are carried in pomp before the eyes of the people) with proper magnificence, sometimes, not even at all, unless the senate consents to it, and furnishes the necessary expence. Then, as the power of putting an end to the war is in the people, the generals are under a necessity of having their approbation, though they happen to be never so far from home: For, as I said above, the people have the right of ratifying, and annulling all accommodations, and conventions; and, which is of the greatest importance, it is to the people that the generals, after the expiration of their command, give an account of their conduct: So that, it is, by no means, safe for them to disregard the favor either of the senate, or of the people.

On the other side, the senate, though vested with so great power, is under a necessity of shewing a regard to the people in the first place, and of aiming at their approbation in every thing relating to the public; as not having the power to take cognizance of crimes of the first magnitude, or to punish those, which are committed against the state, with death, unless the people confirm the previous decree they make for that purpose. In like manner, the regulation even of those things, which particularly affect the senate, belongs also to the people: For, if any person proposes a law, by which part of their power, as founded on custom, is to be
taken

περι τῆς βίης, πάντων ὁ δῆμος γίνεται τῶν τοιῶν καὶ θείναι, καὶ μὴ, κύριος. το δὲ συνεχόν, εἰς ἐνίστηται τῶν δημαρχῶν ἔχ' οἷον ἐπὶ τέλος αἶν τι δυνάμει τῶν διαβελίων ἢ συγλητῶ. ἀλλ' ἔδε συνεδρεῦειν ἢ συμπορευεῖσθαι τοπαράπαν. Ὁφείλουσι δὲ αἰε ποιεῖν οἱ δημαρχοὶ το δοκούν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ μάλιστα σοχαζεῖσθαι τῆς τούτου βουλευσεως. διὸ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων χάριν δέδωκε τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ προσεχει τὸν νοῦν τῷ δήμῳ ἢ συλῆῳ.

Ὁμοίως γέ μιν παλιν ὁ δῆμος ὑποχρεῶς ἐστὶ τῇ συλῇ, καὶ σοχαζεῖσθαι ταύτης ὀφείλων, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐργῶν οὐκίων τῶν ἐκδιδόμενων ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν διαπάσης Ἰταλίας εἰς τὰς ἐπισκευὰς καὶ καίλασκευὰς τῶν δημῶσιων, αἵ τινες οὐκ ἀν' ἐξαριθμηταῖο ῥαδίως· πολλῶν δὲ πόλεων, λιμένων, κηπιῶν, μέγαλλων, χωρᾶς· συλληθῆν ὅσα πεπλῶκεν ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δυνάσειαν· πάντα χειρίζεσθαι συμβαίνει τὰ προειρημένα διὰ τοῦ πληθους· καὶ σχεδόν, ὥς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, πάντας ἐνδεδεῖσθαι ταῖς ὥναις καὶ ταῖς ἐργασίαις ταῖς ἐκ τούτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγοραζοῦσι παρὰ τῶν τιμητῶν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐκδοσεις, οἱ δὲ κοινῶν τοῖς· οἱ δ' ἐγγυῶνται τοὺς ἡγορακοτάς· οἱ δὲ τὰς οὐσίας δίδουσιν περὶ τούτων εἰς τὸ δημοσίον. ἔχει δὲ περὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τὴν κυρίαν τὸ συνεδρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ χρόνον δύναι, καὶ συμπλωματῶ γενομένου κουφισαί, καὶ τοπαράπαν ἀδυνατοῦ τινῶ συμβαλῶ ἀπολυσαί τῆς ἐργωνίας. καὶ πολλὰ δὴ τινὰ ἐστὶν ἐν οἷς καὶ βλαπτέει μέγαλα, καὶ παλιν ὠφελεῖ τοὺς τὰ δημοσία χειρίζοντάς ἢ συλῇ. ἢ γὰρ ἀναφορὰ τῶν προειρημένων γινέσθαι πρὸς ταύτην· το δὲ μεγίστον,

taken away, or their preeminence, or dignities to be abolished, or even their fortunes to be diminished, every thing of this kind, I say, the people have it in their power either to receive, or reject: And farther, if one of the tribunes of the people opposes the passing of a decree, the senate are so far from being able to enact it, that it is not even in their power to consult, or assemble at all: And it is the duty of the tribunes to act agreeably to the sense of the people, and to observe their pleasure. For all these reasons, the senate stands in awe of the people, and pays a regard to them.

In like manner, the people are also subject to the power of the senate, and under an obligation of cultivating the good will of all the senators in general, and of every one of them in particular: For, there being many works put out by the censors throughout all Italy, relating to the repairing, and erecting of public buildings, of which it is not easy to give an account, and also many rivers, ports, gardens, mines, and lands let out by them, and, upon the whole, whatever falls under the power of the Romans: It happens that all these are undertaken by the people; and, consequently, that almost all of them are engaged either in these undertakings, or in the works, that are consequent to them: For some are themselves the purchasers of these undertakings from the censors; others are their partners; some are sureties for the purchasers; and others make assignments to the public of their fortunes for the performance of these contracts; now, all these things are under the controul of the Senate, which has power to give time, or, in case of misfortune, to mitigate the sum due; and, if any thing has happened to render the performance of the contract impracticable, absolutely to cancel it: So that, the senate has many opportu-

γίσιον, εκ ταυτης αποδίδονται κρείται των πλειστων και των δημοσιων και των ιδιωτικων συναλλαγματων, ἴσα μεγέθει· έχει των ἐκλήματων· διο πάντες εις την ταυτης πρὶς ἐνδεδμενοι, και δεδιότες το της χρειας ἀδηλον, ευλαβως εχσσι προς τας ἐνσασεις, και τας αντιπρεαξεις των της συκλήτης βελημάτων. Ομοιως δὲ και προς τας των ὑπατων ἐπιβολας δυσχερως αντιπρεατῆσιν, δια το κατ' ἰδιαν και κοινή πάντες ἐν τοις ὑπαίθεροις ὑπο την ἐκείνων πιπλῖεν ἐξασίαν.

Τοιαυτης δ' ούσης της ἑκάστη των μερων δυναμειως, εις το και βλαπλῖεν και συνερῆεν ἀλλήλοις· προς πασας συμβαίνει τας περισσασεις δεοντως εχειν την ἀρμογην αὐτων· ὥς μη οἶον τ' εἶναι ταυτης ἐνδυνάμειω πολιτειας συσασιν. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ τις ἐξώθεν κοινος φόβος ἐπισας ἀναγκασῇ σφας συμφρονειν και συνερῆεν ἀλλήλοις, τηλικαυτην και τοιαυτην συμβαίνει γινεσθαι την δυναμιν τῆ πολιτευμαλῆ, ὥς μηδὲ παραλειπεσθαι των δεόντων μηδὲν, αἶτε περι το προσπεσον αἰ, πάντων ὅμῃ ταις ἐπινοιαῖς ἀμιλλωμένων· μητε το κρείθεν ὕσσειν τῆ καιρῶ, κοινή και κατ' ἰδιαν ἑκάστη συνεργεῖται, προς την τῆ προκειμενῶ συντελειαν. (35) διοπερ ἀνυποσάλλον συμβαίνει γινεσθαι, και πάντος ἐφικνεσθαι τῆ κρείθους την ιδιοτητα τῆ πολιτευμαλῶ. ὅταν γὰρ μην παλιν ἀπολυθέντες των ἐκτος φόβων ἐνδίατρεβῶσι ταις ευτυχιαῖς και περισσισιαῖς ταις ἐκ των

(35) Διοπερ ἀνυποσάλλον συμβαίνει γινεσθαι, και πάντος ἐφικνεσθαι τῆ κρείθους την ιδιοτητα τῆ πολιτείας.] *C'est pour cela que cette république est invincible, et qu'elle vient à bout de tout ce qu'elle en-*

treprend. By this means, the French translator has left out the very thing POLYBIUS has been all along contending for, which is, that the great advantages the Roman commonwealth

nities both of prejudicing considerably, and of advantaging those, who have the management of these public undertakings: For the report of all these things is made to the senate: And, what is still of the greatest moment, judges are appointed out of the senate in most of the causes, that relate either to public, or private contracts, when the action is of importance: For which reason, all the people, being engaged in a dependence upon the senate, and apprehending the uncertainty of the occasions, in which they may stand in need of their favor, they dare not resist, or oppose their will. In like manner, they are not easily brought to obstruct the designs of the consuls, because all of them in general, and every one in particular, become subject to their authority, when in the field.

Such, therefore, being the power of each order, both to hurt, and assist one another, it follows that their union is sufficiently adapted to all contingencies; for which reason, it is not possible to invent a more perfect system of government: For, when the common fear of a foreign enemy compels them to act in concert, and assist one another, such, and so great is the strength of the government, that nothing is either omitted, that is necessary; since, upon every occasion, all vie with one another in directing their thoughts to the good of the public, or, being once resolved, comes too late for the end proposed; since all of them in general, and every one in particular, unite their endeavours in carrying their designs into execution: For these reasons, their commonwealth, from the peculiar frame of it, becomes irresistible, and attains whatever it proposes. On the other side, when

was possessed of, were owing to the *peculiar frame* of its constitution, which he has expressed, in a manner one

would think not to be overlooked, by
την ιδιότητα τῶ πολιτεύματος.

κατορθωμάτων, απολαυόντες της ευδαιμονίας, και ὑποκολλαζόμενοι και ῥαθυμῶντες τρεπώνται πρὸς ὕδριν, και πρὸς ὑπερηφανίαν, ὃ δὴ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι· τότε και μαλιστα συνιδεῖν ἐστὶ αὐτο παρ' αὐτῶ ποριζόμενον τὸ πολιτευμα τὴν βοήθειαν· ἐπειδαν γὰρ ἐξοιδῶν τι τῶν μερῶν φιλονεικῆ, και πλεον τῶ δέοντος επικρατῆται· δῆλον ὡς ὁδένος ἀρτιτελὸς ὄντος, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀρτὶ λόγον, ἀντισπαῶται δὲ και παραποδίζεσθαι δυνάμενης τῆς ἑκάστῃ προθεσεως ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ὁδὲν ἐξοιδεῖ τῶν μερῶν, ὁδ' ὑπερφρονεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ἐμμένει τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, τὰ μὲν κωλυόμενα τῆς ὁρμῆς, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέδλωτα τὴν ἐκ τῶ πελάς ἐπισασιν.

free from the fear of a foreign enemy, they live in prosperity and affluence, the consequences of victory, enjoying their good fortune, and, through flattery and ease, grow insolent and proud, which usually happens ; then, is their commonwealth chiefly observed to relieve itself : For, when any branch of it, swelling beyond its bounds, becomes ambitious, and aims at unwarrantable power, it is manifest that, no one of them being, as I have said, absolute, but the designs of each subject to the contradiction, and controll of the other two, no one can run into any excess of power, or arrogance : But all three must remain in the terms prescribed by the constitution, either, by being defeated in their attempts to exceed them, or, by being prevented, through the fear of the other two, from attempting it.

A

DISSERTATION

UPON THE

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

ROMAN SENATE.

IT were to be wished that POLYBIUS had looked upon the constitution of the Roman senate to have as properly belonged to his subject, as the powers of it: Had he been of that opinion, there is no room to doubt, but he would have given us such an exact account of it, as would have cleared up all the difficulties, that occur in reading the ancient authors. It is very probable that he looked upon this subject as too well known to stand in need of a discussion; in the same manner as an English historian would possibly judge it needless to give an account of the qualifications required by our laws and customs, to intitle a person to a seat in either house of parliament, though he might very reasonably think a particular detail of the powers of each well worth the attention of the public.

This omission in POLYBIUS, if it deserves that name, has been endeavoured to be supplied by several modern authors, in several languages; but without giving that satisfaction, which, from the great reputation those authors had deservedly

edly acquired in other branches of learning, the public had reason to expect. Whether this proceeded from the difficulty of the subject, or from their want of attention in treating it, I shall not pretend to determine; but must be so just to their memory, as to own that I attribute it, in a great measure, to the former; particularly, since, though I have provided my self with many more materials, than have been made use of by any of those writers, yet there are some points, which I cannot clear up by the authority of the ancient authors; for which reason, I chuse rather to submit them to the consideration of the learned, than endeavour to establish any system of my own upon unsupported conjectures.

Concerning the original institution of the Roman senate, this is the substance of the account given of it by DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus, who is much more particular than LIVY in every thing relating to this subject.

I. After ROMULUS had divided all the people into three tribes, and subdivided each of these into ten curiæ, he formed the senate in the following manner: Their body was to consist of one hundred persons, all patricians; of

Ι. Τριχῇ νειμας τὴν πληθὺν αὐτάσαν — ἐπειτα τῶν τριῶν παλιν μοιρῶν ἑκάστην εἰς δέκα μοιρας διελων — ἐκάτῃ δὲ τῆς μὲν μείζους μοιρας, τρεῖς τῆς δ' ἐλαττέρας, κερίας — ἐκ τῶν πατρικίων ἀνδρῶν ἑκάτον ἐπιλεξάμεν — αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐξ ἀπαίων ἓνα τὸν ἀρίστον ἀπεδείξει — τὸν δὲ φυλῇ ἑκάστῃ προσεταξέ τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἐλεσθαι — ἑκάτῃ φρετῇ πάλιν ἐκελευσε τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν σαρδικίων ἐπιλεξαι — τὸν τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξετάχενωσε βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν — ἐξ ὧν ἑκάστου αἰῶνος ἓς αἱ φρεσὶσαι περιεργασαίτο, τοῖς ἀρχαίοις βουλευταῖς προσεργασάν. Dionys. Hal. B. ii. Εὐθὺς γὰρ αἶμα τῷ παλαιάδῃ τὴν

ἀρχὴν, τὸν δημόσιον οὐχλὸν οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ ποιῆσαι προθυμήθεις — ἐπιλεξας αἰδρας ἑκάστον ἐκ παίων τῶν δημόσιων — πατρικίους ἐποίησε, καὶ κατέταξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν βουλευτῶν ἀριθμὸν, (ΤαρκύνιⓈ ΠύρρῳⓈ) καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις τριακοσίοι βουλευταὶ τῶς οὐκ διακοσίοι. id. B. iii. Εὐκλευσάτο μὲν γὰρ τριακοσίους αὐτὸς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ποιῆσαι (ὁ ΑὐγῆςⓈ.) Dion. Cass. B. liv. Περὶ λαμβάνει τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐτῷ δευτέρῳ μαλίστα τῆς μίας καὶ τετάρτης ολυμπιάδῃ ὁ Τάρκυνος. Dion. Hal. B. iii. L. Sulla 11. and Q. Metellus consuls for the year 674.

these

these he himself chose one, and ordered each of the tribes, and each of the *curiæ*, to chuse three : All these together amounted to the number required : So that, the senate, in its original institution, consisted of one hundred patricians, ninety nine of whom owed their seats there to the choice of the people. This was also observed in the addition of the hundred Sabines made, some time after, by ROMULUS, and TATIUS, who were all chosen by the *curiæ* : These were also patricians, which then was, and, for many years after, continued to be, a necessary qualification for all, who were admitted into the senate ; since we find that TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, in order to ingratiate himself with the people at his accession, chose out of their body one hundred persons, whom he first made patricians, then senators. From this time, the complement of the senate was three hundred, and, in all probability, continued so till SYLLA's time, that is,

fulares. Αυτὴ δὲ τῇ βουλῇ, διὰ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς παμπαν ἐλιγανδρεσθῆναι, προσκατελέξεν (ὁ Σύλλα) ἀμφὶ τὰς τριακοσίας ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἵππειων, ταῖς φυλαῖς ἀναδὲς ψήφον περὶ ἑκάστη. Appian, B. i. Civ. W. There is a passage in the epitome of the 89th book of Livy, which is thought to relate to this addition made to the senate by Sylla ; the passage is as follows : *Senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit* : The sense of which seems to be, that he filled up the vacancies of the senate with knights, not that he made any addition to it ; but, it plainly appears by the passage of Appian beforementioned, that he increased their number. However, the author of the epitome, who, certainly, was not Livy, is not much to be depended upon ; for, in the epitome of the 60th book, he says that C. Gracchus added six hundred knights to the three hundred senators, ut

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sexcenti equites trecentis senatoribus admiscerentur : id est, ut equester ordo bis tantum virium in senatu haberet ; to the end that the order of knights might have twice as much power in the senate. This is so worded, that it cannot be construed to relate to the Sempronian law, concerning the judges : For, by that law, the judicature was totally transferred from the senate to the knights, as may be seen at large in Appian, B. i. Civ. W. and, very particularly, in Velleius Paterculus, B. ii. c. 32. who says that Cotta divided the judicature, which C. Gracchus had transferred from the senate to the knights, and Sylla from the knights to the senate, equally between the two orders : Cotta judicandi munus, quod C. Gracchus ereptum senatui ad equites, Sylla ab illis ad senatum transtulerant, æqualiter inter utrumque ordinem partitus est. And

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about

about five hundred and thirty four years, which is the number of years comprised between the first year of TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, and the second consulship of SYLLA; who, to strengthen his party in the senate, and, at the same time, to repair the losses it had sustained by the death of many of its members in the late commotions, encreased their number, probably, to more than four hundred: These additional senators were, like the former, chosen by the people.

II. From this time, to the fourth consulship of CÆSAR, that is, during the space of thirty four years, I shall not pretend to ascertain the precise number of which the senate consisted: It is certain, however, that it exceeded four hundred; and, probably, the complement was the same that SYLLA left.

III. CÆSAR, the year before his death, and after he had overcome all opposition, among the various methods made use of by him to reward those, who had preferred his cause to That of their country, introduced so many of his creatures into the senate, that the number of senators amount-

here, by the way, I cannot help taking notice of an error in Plutarch, in his life of C. Gracchus, where he says, that *he committed the judicature to three hundred senators, and as many knights.*

ὁ δὲ τριακσίῃς τῶν ἵππεων προσκαλελεξεν αὐτοῖς ἑστὶ τριακοσίῃς, καὶ τὰς κρείσεις κοινὰς τῶν ἑξακσίῳν ἐποίησε.

II. The interval between the second consulship of Sylla, and the fourth consulship of Cæsar, particularly, the latter part of it, is so much illustrated by Cicero's writings, that I am surpris'd we should not be able to gather out of them what the complement of the senate was, during that period. All I can find is, that they were above four

hundred; since in his 14th letter of the first book to Atticus, he gives an account of a certain division of the senate, in which *there were four hundred for the affirmative, and fifteen for the negative*; homines ad quindecim curioni nullum senatus-consultum facienti assenserunt: ex altera parte facile quadringenti fuerunt. There is another passage to the same purpose, in his speech to the senate, after his return from banishment; he there tells them, that *there were four hundred and ten senators present*: quo quidem die cum quadringenti & decem senatores essetis.

III. Μηδεν διακρίνων μὴτ' εἰ τις ἐβόησεν
ed

ed even to nine hundred. It will be easily believed that this recruit proved a greater addition to his power, than to the dignity of the senate; particularly, when it is considered that they consisted of new-made citizens, half-barbarous Gauls, soldiers, and the sons of freed-men. But CÆSAR was outdone in this, as in every other excess, by the triumvirs; for they, it seems, brought slaves into the senate. By these additions, the number of senators came to exceed a thousand. The history of the Roman senate, under the emperors, is so disagreeable a subject, that I shall not pursue it: For, what can be more afflicting, than to behold a wise, a virtuous, and a venerable assembly, become weak, abandoned, and despicable? transformed from all that is great, and glorious, to all that is mean, and infamous; from being the scourge of tyrants, to become their flatterers, and wretchedly submitting to be not only slaves, but the instruments of slavery. Let us turn our eyes, therefore, from the ruins of this fair building to the qualifications, that were required in a Roman senator, when the senate deserved to be called by CINEAS, the ambassador of PYRRHUS, an assembly of kings.

IV. Before the expulsion of the kings, the vacancies in the senate were filled up by them; and, after their expul-

της, μητ' εἰ τις ἀπελευθερὸς παῖς ἦν, ἐνε-
γεράσεν ὥς τε καὶ ἐννακοσίους τὸ κεφάλαιον
αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. Dion Cass. B. xliii.
*Cæsar dictator legit in senatum civitate
donatos, et quosdam è semi-barbaris Gal-
lorum. Sueton. Life of Cæsar. Ες τε τὸ
βεβλημένον καὶ δούλους ἐνεγείραν.* Dion
Cass. B. xlviii. *Erant enim super mille,
et quidem indignissimi, post necem Cæsa-
ris, per gratiam et præmium adlecti,
quos orcinos vulgus vocabat. Sueton.
Life of Aug.*

IV. *Hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam
vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Alba-
nis et Sabinis, non genere nec sanguine,
sed per cooptationem in patres habetis,
aut ab regibus lecti, aut, post reges ex-
actos, jussu populi. Liv. B. iv. c. 4. P.
Licinius Calvus tribunus militum consu-
lari potestate—vir nullus ante hono-
ribus usus, vetus tantum senator, et
ætate jam gravis. Id. B. v. c. 12. Ma-
jores nostri, cum regum potestatem non
tulissent, ita magistratus annuos crea-*

sion, those senators, who had not a right to a seat in the senate, by virtue of some magistracy, were chosen by the people: So that, though the magistracy was the seminary of the senate, out of which it was annually supplied, yet there were other senators (probably chosen when the vacancies were too many to be filled up by the magistrates of the year) who were invested with that dignity by the people, without having borne any magistracy at all. These senators were chosen promiscuously out of the plebeians, as well as the patricians, even before the people were, by law, ca-

verunt, ut concilium senatus reipublicæ præponerent sempiternum; deligerentur autem in id concilium ab universo populo, aditusque in illum summum ordinem omnium civium industriæ ac virtuti pateret. Cic. for Sext. I have said that the time, when the people obtained the privilege of being chosen *immediately* into the senate, must have been between the years 263 and 314; because it is plain, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that it was after the affair of Coriolanus, which happened in the first of those years; for he says that, *from that time, the democracy gained ground upon the aristocracy, by the peoples being made eligible into the senate*, and, by several other concessions made in their favor, of which he there gives a particular account, *καὶ ἐνθὺς ἀρχαίος ὁ δῆμος, ἤρθη μέγας· ἡ δὲ ἀριστοκρατία πολλὰ τε ἀρχαῖα ἀξιωματὶος ἀπέβαλε, βέλεις τε μέλειν ἐπιτρέψασα τοῖς δημοσίοις, &c.* Dion. Hal. B. vii. The year 314 was remarkable for the punishment of Sp. Mælius, who was, as it appears, a plebeian; which is not at all contradicted by Livy's saying he was *ex equestri ordine*; for the order of knights was common both to the

patricians, and plebeians; since, not birth, but the possession only of four hundred thousand sesterii, that is, of 3229 l. 3 s. 4 d. sterling gave a title to it. After Mælius had received the punishment he deserved, Livy makes L. Quintius Cincinnatus, the dictator, tell the people, that it was monstrous in Mælius to imagine that the city, *which could scarce digest his being a senator, would suffer him to be their king, ut quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset, regem ferret.* B. iv. c. 15. Sp. Mælius therefore, though a plebeian, might have been elected into the senate: It is also certain that we find the people in possession of this privilege in the year 353, when P. Licinius Calvus was chosen consular tribune. Upon the whole, as the affair of Coriolanus suggested the reflexion I have mentioned to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and, as that affair happened only two years after the institution of the tribunes of the people, by which the people were admitted into the senate by virtue of that magistracy, it is very probable they soon after obtained the right of being elected *immediately* into that assembly.

pable

pable of being either consular tribunes, or consuls. When the people obtained the privilege of being chosen senators in this manner, I cannot determine ; but shall observe that it must have been between the years of Rome 263, and 314. This, however, is certain, that the senators of both kinds were chosen by the people, with this difference, that one sort of them were elected immediately into the senate ; and the others, into those magistracies, that gave them a right to a seat there.

V. All magistrates, such as consuls, prætors, censors, ædiles, tribunes of the people, and quæstors had a right to a seat in the senate, during their magistracy ; after the ex-

V. *Tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus. Liv. B. iv. c. 1.* και τὸ ἐπείσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ συμβεβηκοὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον (τὸ τῶν δημαρχῶν) εἶσαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν. *Dionys. Hal. B. vii. ἐπεὶ αὖτε συναχθεῖς εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον οἱ συνέδροι, πατριῶν καὶ τῶν δημαρχῶν, ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως ἐσκοπῶν. Id. B. x. Οὐτε γὰρ πρῶτος τις ἀνέβη τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς τὸ τάμειον Κατωνος, ὅτε ὕστερος ἀπηλθεν· ἐκκλησίαν δὲ καὶ βουλὴν ἐδείξαν παρέκκεν. Plut. Life of Cat. of Ut.* The curule magistrates were the consuls, prætors, censors, and curule ædiles ; no authorities are brought to shew that these sat in the senate, during their magistracy, it being a thing so well known. *Ologinta præterea aut senatores, aut qui eos magistratus gessissent, unde in senatum legi deberent. Liv. B. xxii. c. 49.* It is most probable that the censors observed the same order in calling over the senate, with regard to those, who had been magistrates since the last time it had been called over, that was followed by M. Buteo, who, being the oldest censo-

rian, was created dictator to perform the duty of the censors, in reading over the names of the senators, and to supply the vacancies occasioned by the death of great numbers of them, who had lost their lives during the second Punic war: Here the curule magistrates are first called over, in the order they had been created magistrates ; then the plebeian ædiles, the tribunes of the people, and the quæstors ; *recitato veteri senatu, inde primos in demortuorum locum legit, qui post M. Æmilium et C. Flaminium censores curulem magistratum cepissent, necdum in senatum lecti essent ; ut quisque eorum magistratus primus creatus erat : tum legit qui ædiles, tribuni plebei, quæstoresvē fuerant. Liv. B. xxiii. c. 23.* This, therefore, seems to have been the order observed by the censors, in calling over the names of those, who had been magistrates since the last call of the senate. As to the right I have said those, who had been curule magistrates, enjoyed, of being admitted into the senate during the interval
piration

piration of which, those, who were not before in the cen-
sors list, ceased to be senators, till the next time the senate
was called over by the cenfors ; when, if their names were
not omitted, they became senators : And, during the inter-
val between the expiration of their magistracy, and the next

between the expiration of their magi-
stracy, and the next call of the senate ;
and the exclusion of those, whose ma-
gistracy had not been of that sort, I
hope the following authorities will be
thought sufficient to support what I
have advanced upon that subject.
There is a passage in Valerius Maxi-
mus, B. ii. c. 2. where he says that Q.
Fabius Maximus, as he was going in-
to the country, met upon the road P.
Crassus, who, he knew, had been
quæstor three years before, and dis-
coursed with him of what had passed
in the senate ; not knowing that he
not yet been called by the cenfors to
the degree of a senator, by which
means alone, those, who had been ma-
gistrates, could become senators. *Me-
mor eum triennio ante quæstorem factum,
ignarusque nondum a censcribus in ordi-
nem senatorium allectum : quo uno modo
his, qui jam honores gesserant, aditus in
curiam dabatur.* The quæstorship,
therefore, not being a curule magi-
stracy, those, who had been invested
with it, had no right of coming into
the senate, during that interval ; which
right those, who had been curule ma-
gistrates, enjoyed, though they were
not actually senators till their names
were called over by the cenfors : This
appears by the terms of the consular
edict, in which they are always sum-
moned, and always distinguished from
the senators. This edict is often men-
tioned by Livy, and constantly runs in

this form, *uti senatores, quibusque in
senatu sententiam dicere licet, ad—
convenient.* Here those, who had a
right of delivering their opinions in
the senate, are distinguished from the
senators : In the following passage,
Cicero, in his speech for Cluentius,
distinguishes them from the quæstors,
and the tribunes of the people, *quæ-
stor, tribunus plebis, quæ in sena-
tu sententiam dixit.* There is an ap-
pellation often applied by the ancient
authors to some of the senators, which
has occasioned great variety of opini-
ons, and, consequently, great difficul-
ties ; these have been encreased, if not
created, by what Gellius has advanced
upon this subject : The appellation I
mean is that of *Pedarii*, which that
author has endeavoured to explain in a
manner so inconsistent with the testi-
mony of all writers of the best authority,
and, indeed, with what he himself
has, upon other occasions, asserted,
that I do not think it worth while to
confute him any otherwise, than by
producing some passages out of those
authors, which the reader may, if he
pleases, confront with what Gellius
has said upon this subject. But, to
explain this matter : According to my
opinion, there were three methods, by
which the senators declared their sense
of what came before them ; the first
was by their *assent*, or approbation,
which they signified as they sat in
their places ; and this is what Cicero
call

call of the senate, if they had been *curule* magistrates, they had a right of coming into the senate, and of delivering their opinion there, though not of voting. But, if they had not been *curule* magistrates, they had no right of coming into the senate during that interval.

VI. This power of the censors was so great, that CICEO thinks it ought to have been abrogated. However, great as

means, when he tells Metellus, *nulla est a me unquam sententia dicta in fratrem tuum, quotiescunque aliquid est actum, sedens iis assensu, qui mihi lenissime sentire visi sunt. B. v. Ep. 2.* The second was, by delivering their opinions, with their reasons, which they did standing up in their places: This requires neither proof, nor explanation. The third method was, by dividing, without giving their reasons, that is, by going over either to this, or that side of the house; and this was called *pedibus in sententiam ire*, from whence came the appellation of *pedarii senatores*; and this is the sense Festus has given to the word, *pedarium senatorem — ita appellatur, quia tacitus transcundo ad eum, cujus sententiam probat, quid sentiat, indicat.* All these three methods are particularly mentioned in the following passage of Livy, B. xxvii. c. 34. It relates to M. Livius Salinator, chosen consul with C. Claudius Nero, in the 547th year of Rome, whose consulship was illustrated by the defeat of Asdrubal: That author there says of the former, who, after a long absence from public affairs, had been obliged, by the censors, to give his attendance in the senate, *sed tum quoque aut verbo assentiebatur, aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati eum hominis causa, M. Livii Mactati, quum*

fama ejus ageretur, stantem coëgit in senatu sententiam dicere. The sense of this passage Sigonius, misled by Gellius, has strangely mistaken; which I mention the rather, because Gronovius, who, in his edition of Livy, frequently animadverts upon the errors of Sigonius, not only suffers this to escape without censure, but inserts his annotation among his own. By this passage of Livy, it plainly appears, contrary to the opinion of Gellius, and of all the modern writers, that those senators, who were called *pedarii*, were not distinguished from the rest of their body, any otherwise, than by their behaviour upon that particular occasion; that is, they were called so, because they *then* divided without giving their reasons; for it must be observed, that Livius Salinator, whose manner of voting is here taken notice of by Livy, was, at that time, a consular senator, and, consequently, enjoyed, in an eminent degree, all the rights annexed to the dignity of a senator.

VI. *Ex iis autem qui magistratum ceperunt, quo senatus constituitur, popolare est sane neminem in summum locum nisi per populum venire, sublata cooptatione censoria.* Cic. B. iii. of Laws. When the decemvirs were suppressed, it was made capital, by two several laws, to create any magistrate without an ap-
it

it was, it was not without controul ; for the censured person had a right of appealing from the censors to the people ; to whom, from the suppression of the decemvirs, there lay an appeal even from the dictators. This relief, therefore, the censured person was intitled to, when both the censors concurred in expelling him ; but, if only one of them thought he deserved this animadversion, the other might acquit him of it.

VII. It must, however, be considered that this expulsion did not amount to a disability ; for the person expelled might be rechosen into any magistracy, that gave right to a seat in the senate ; and, consequently, be readmitted to the degree of a senator.

VIII. No priests, as such, were admitted into the senate, except the *flamen dialis* : But, as the dignities of the several

peal to the people ; both those laws are mentioned by Livy ; the words of the first are, *ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet : qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi : neve ea cædes capitalis noxæ haberetur. B. iii. c. 55.* Those of the other are as follows, *qui magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac capite puniretur. id. ib.* In consequence of these laws, we find by Plutarch, in his Life of T. Flamininus, that his brother, L. Flamininus, being deservedly expelled the senate by the censors, M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius, appealed from them to the people, who affirmed the sentence of the censors. I know it is generally thought that there lay no appeal to the people from the dictators, even after the affair of the decemvirs ; but the contrary is manifest from those two laws, and will appear much more so by the speech of M. Fabius, in favor

of his son Q. Fabius, master of the horse to L. Papirius Cursor, the dictator, who, without any regard to the intercession either of the senate, or army, designed to put the master of the horse to death for engaging the Samnites in his absence, contrary to his orders, though he had gained a complete victory, in which twenty thousand of the enemy were slain : To avert the effects of this severity, M. Fabius appeals from the dictator to the people, as to the sovereign judge of his conduct, *whose power*, he tells him, *is superior to That of his dictatorship* ; *provoco ad populum ; eumque tibi fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus judicium, judicem fero, qui certè unus plus quam tua dictatura potest polletque. Liv. B. viii. c. 33. Tres ejecti de senatu : retinuit quosdam Lepidus a collega præteritos. Liv. B. xl. c. 51.*

priest-

priesthoods were generally conferred upon the principal persons of the commonwealth, these were intitled to a seat there, by virtue of the magistracies they had borne: It being a fundamental maxim among the Romans, not to look upon the law, the sword, and the priesthood, as incompatible professions: So that, every person, who pretended to distinguish himself in the commonwealth, was under an indispensable obligation of qualifying himself for all of them. By this means, these three professions, whose different interests ever must divide the world under any other regulation, being exercised by the same persons, had, of course, the same interests.

IX. The power of the tribunes of the people was very great, even in the senate; so great, that, if only one of their college interposed, no decree could be made.

VII. Λενταλῶς ὁ Περπλιῶς, ὁ μάλιστα τὴν ὑπαίθειαν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἐκπεσὼν (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ ὁπῶς τὴν βελθειαν ἀναλαβὼν.) Dion Cass. B. xxxvii.

VIII. *Habetur senatus frequens: adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant senatores: à quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidissimus mei, sententiam primus rogatus, quæsit quid essent in decernendo secuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum sententiâ respondit religionis iudices pontifices fuisse, legis senatum: se, et collegas suos de religione statuisse, in senatu de lege statuturos.* Cic. Ep. 2. to Att. B. iv. *cum omnes pontifices, qui erant hujus ordinis, adessent. id. of the Ans. of the Harusp. C. Valerius Flaccus, flamen dialis — rem intermissam per multos annos ob indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in senatum introiret. Ingressum eum curiam quum Licinius prætor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis appellavit flamen — tribuni rem*

inertiâ flaminum oblitteratam, ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse, quum æquum censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente prætore, magno assensu patrum plebisque, flaminem in senatum introduxerunt. Liv. B. xxvii. c. 8.

IX. *Neque posset per intercessionem tribunicias senatus consultum fieri.* Liv. B. iv. c. 43. Περπλιῶς γὰρ τῶν δημαρχῶν ἔδεν λέγειν, ὅτι μήτε ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ μελάστηναι ἐποίησαντο, αἵτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐχούτες, εἴτε ἐβελοντο τινὰ γνώμην συμβαλεσθαι, εἴτε καὶ μὴ. Dion Cass. B. xli. *Cum fieret senatus consultum in sententiam Marcellini, omnibus præter unum assentientibus, Serranus intercessit.* Cic. Ep. 2. B. iv. to Att.

X. *Sempronii lectio erat; cæterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent, fuisset, eum principem legerent: is T. Manlius Torquatus erat. Sempronius, cui dii sortem legendi*

X. The first person of this assembly in dignity was the prince of the senate ; who by custom was the oldest cenforian ; but, if it was insisted upon by the censor, to whose lot it fell to chuse, he might name any other senator. The nomination of the prince of the senate preceded the calling over the senators.

XI. That the presence of a certain number of senators was, at all times, necessary to the passing of decrees, cannot be denied ; since we often find that, for want of the number required, no decree could be made ; and often meet with complaints against surreptitious decrees, that is, decrees

dedissent, ei jus liberum eosdem dedisse deos, se id suo arbitrio facturum; lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum — Quum diu certatum esset verbis, concedente collega, lectus à Sempronio princeps in senatu Q. Fabius Maximus consul: inde alius senatus lectus. Liv. B. xxvii. c. 11.

XI. *Nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat senatus. Liv. B. ii. c. 23. Quid ab eo quemquam posse æqui expectare, qui per infrequentiam furtim senatus consultum factum ad ararium detulerit. id. B. xxxix. c. 4. Cupivi, inquit, ex senatus consulto surrepto. Cic. B. x. Ep. 4. to Att.* It is generally thought that, while the complement of the senate was three hundred, the presence of one hundred senators, and no more, was necessary to the passing of all decrees: I am sensible that there are several passages in Livy, where mention is made of the necessity of so many senators being present, when a report of some particular matter was to be made to the senate: But this seems to have been in consequence of some order made for that purpose, *Senatus consulto cautum est — ut prætor senatum consuleret—*

quum in senatu centum non minus essent.

Liv. B. xxxix. c. 18. And, if so, this order is so far from being a proof that the presence of so many senators, and no more, was necessary to the passing of every decree, that it proves quite the contrary; particularly, since mention is also made by the same author of no less than one hundred and fifty senators being present, when a public vow was made for the prosperity of the commonwealth, *Quum centum et quinquaginta non minus adessent, præeunte verba Lepido pontifice maximo, id votum susceptum est. Liv. B. xlii. c. 28.*

I find, besides, that, upon occasions of great moment, the senate were sworn, before they gave their votes; but this was also in consequence of some order made for that purpose; which, like the orders before mentioned, was occasional. *Patres jurati (ita convenerat) censuerunt. Liv. B. xxx. c. 40.*

Ἀπασι δὲ προσέλαττο παρῆσι, καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μεθ' ὅρχης τὴν Ἰηφον ἐπιφέρειν. Dionys. Hal. B. vii. There is a passage in the xxvi B. c. 33. of Livy, which deserves more than ordinary

made,

made, when the number required were not present. But, I am apt to believe that the number of senators requisite varied, according to the importance of the decrees; in this I am confirmed by a regulation of Augustus, who, as I have observed upon another occasion, appointed the particular number of senators, whose presence should be necessary to the enacting decrees of every kind: And it is probable this regulation was rather declaratory of the standing order of the senate, than introductory of a new one. This was in the 744th, or 745th year of Rome: He had nine years before fixed the whole number of senators at six hundred, when the presence of four hundred was necessary to the passing of decrees; which number he eight years after reduced; for he found the senators not very fond of giving their attendance in the senate, where they were constantly obliged to applaud, without approving; which, though they submitted to in the most servile manner, yet they could not help remembering they had once been free; they

attention, not only as it shews that, upon the occasion there mentioned, a particular order was made by the people that the senate should be sworn before they gave their votes, but also because it was, at the same time, resolved by the people to stand to what should be determined by the major part of the senators, who should be present at the deliberation of that affair, without requiring the presence of any certain number of them. The consideration related to the fate of the Campani, and others, who had submitted to the Romans; upon which, Livy says, the people came to the following resolution: *Plebes sic jussit, quod senatus juratus maxima pars, qui adsederint, censcat; id*

volumus jubemusque. These considerations make me fearful of asserting, with the generality of those, who have treated this subject, that, while the senate consisted of three hundred, the presence of one hundred, and no more was necessary to the passing of every decree. Του τε αριθμον τον εις την κυρωσιν των δογματων αναλκαιον, καθ' εκασον ειδος αυτων, ως γε εν κεφαλαιοις ειπειν, διανομοθετησε (ὁ Αυγαστ.) Dion Cass. B. lv. Δυσχερηναιων δε παντων ὁμοιως—της ἐξακοσιες κατελεξατο. id. B. liv. Ορων δε ὅτι καὶ συχνοι συνελεγοντο, ἐκελευσε τα δογματα αὐτης καὶ εν ελαττοιςιν η τετρακοσιοις γιγνεσθαι· ἡ γὰρ ἐξην τινα εκ τε πλεον αλλως κυρωθη. id. B. liv.

could command their words and actions, and even their looks, but not their memories.

XII. The Romans were not a mercantile people : Their view was to conquer, and to govern ; to spare submitting, and subdue resisting nations. For this reason, though, perhaps, not for this reason only, commerce of every kind was thought unbecoming a Roman senator. But, that their dignity might be supported by law, as well as custom, it was made unlawful either for a Roman senator, or his father, to have a ship of greater burden, than was necessary to convey the product of their farms to Rome.

XIII. As the magistracy, according to the common course, gave admittance into the senate, so it regulated the ranks of the senators : The magistrates of the year had the precedence of all ; and of one another, according to their respective dignities ; according to which also, the consular, the prætorian, the censorian, the ædilician, the tribunician, and the quæstorian senators were placed : Of these the quæstorship was the first conferred, and qualified the person invested with it for a seat in the senate, as a magistrate, during the year, and, as a senator, the first time the senate was called over by the censors : But no one was capable, even of this magistracy, till he had served ten campaigns. And here I cannot help stopping a while, to take a survey of this august body, which was composed of those, who, besides the merit and experience of ten years service, actu-

XII. *Legem Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum, uno patrum adjuvante C. Flaminio tulerat ; ne quis senator, quive senatoris pater fuisset, maritimam navem quæ plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset, haberet : id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos :*

quæstus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Liv. B. xxi. c. 63.

XIII. *Hoc igitur fretus senatu, Pompeianum senatum despicit, in quo decem fuimus consulares—qui vero prætorii?—qui ædilicii? qui tribunicii? qui quæstorii? Cic. Philip. 13.*

ally

ally were, or had been treasurers, guardians of the peoples liberties, superintendents of the temples of their gods, and the entertainments of the public, controllers of manners, judges, and generals. An assembly so constituted deserved to be what they really were, the conquerors, and governors of the world.

XIV. As the military age commenced at the taking the manly gown, that is, at the age of seventeen; and, as ten years service were necessary to qualify a person for the first office, that gave admittance into the senate, I mean, the quæstorship; it follows that, if the senate happened to be called over the year after, the quæstors, provided their names were not omitted, became senators, at the age of twenty eight years: This age, therefore, was the earliest any person, according to the common course, could become a senator; but, as the time for calling over the senate was only every fifth year, and, upon many accounts, was often postponed, it frequently happened that there was an interval of one, two, three, or four years, and sometimes more, between the quæstorship, and the election of the quæstors into the senate.

XV. The same magistrates, who assembled the senate, whether consuls, prætors, or tribunes of the people, ac-

XIV. Πολιτικὴν δὲ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐξεστὶ
ἄδεναι προῖeron, εἰ μὴ δέκα στρατίας εἰσαυ-
σιος ἢ τετελεώς. Polyb. B. vi. Ἐστρατευ-
θαι μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ὧδεκα ἐτη, τῶν ἄλλων δέκα
στρατευομένων ἐν ἀναγκαῖς. Plut. Life of
C. Gracchus.

XV. *Quum consules, tumulto repen-
tino coacti, senatum vocarent.* Liv. B.
viii. c. 28. *P. Furius Philus, & M.
Pomponius prætores, senatum in curiam
Hostiliam vocaverunt.* Id. B. xxii. c. 55.
Nam, cum senatum a. d. 13. kalendas

Januarias tribuni plebis vocavissent. Cic.
B. x. Ep. 28. *Publius, penes quem
fasces erant, dic, Spuri Postumi, inquit.*
Liv. B. ix. c. 8. *Sic, post novam affini-
tatem, Pompeium primum rogare senten-
tiam cepit; cum Crassum sceleret, essetque
consuetudo ut, quem ordinem interrogandi
sententias consul kalendis Januariis in-
stituisset, eum toto anno conservaret.*
Sueton. Life of Cæsar. *D. Junius
Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod
eo tempore consul designatus erat.* Sall.

quainted

quainted them with the reasons, for which they were assembled : If the senate were summoned by the first, the consul who then had the rods, asked the opinion of the senators upon what he had proposed, beginning, generally, with the prince of the senate, and so on, according to their ranks ; and, sometimes, with a relation, or a friend ; but, whatever order they pursued on the first of *January*, the day they entered upon their office, it was customary for them to observe the same afterwards, till the election of the consuls for the next year, which, commonly, fell out in *July*, or *August* ; from which time, the first consul elect was first asked his opinion. - Upon a division, the consul, or other magistrate, by whom the senate was assembled, directed those, who were for the affirmative, to go to one side of the house, and those, who were for the negative, to go to the other. This they often did, without delivering their opinions,

Cat. consp. So that, what Suetonius calls *toto anno*, must be understood to signify only till the election of the consuls for the ensuing year. *Quatenus de religione dicebat, cui rei quia jam obsisti non poterat, Bibulo assensum est : de tribus legatis, frequentes ierunt in omnia alia.* *Cic. B. i. Ep. 2.* *Ire in omnia alia* was, it seems, the senatorian language, implying to divide for the negative, and *censere omnia alia*, to be of a contrary opinion. *Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite ; qui omnia alia, in hanc partem.* *Festus.* These were the words made use of by the consul, or other magistrate, who presided upon that occasion. In this manner, Thucydides says that Sthenelaïdas, one of the ephori, took the opinion of the Lacedæmonians upon that important question, whether the thirty years truce with the Athenians was broken ; in reality, whether they

should declare war against the Athenians, or not : His manner of putting the question was very like That practised in the Roman senate ; *Those*, says he, *who are of opinion that the truce is broken, and that the Athenians have acted unjustly, let them rise, and go to that side* (pointing to a certain place) *and those, who are of a contrary opinion, to the other.* Upon which, the assembly rose, and divided ; and those, who were of opinion that the truce was broken, carried it by a great majority.

Οτι μὲν ὑμῶν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δοκῶσι λε-
λυθῆαι αἱ πονοῦναι, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀδικεῖν,
ἀναστῆτω εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ χωρίον· (δείξας τι χω-
ρίον αὐτοῖς) ὅτω δὲ μὴ δοκῶσιν, εἰς τὰ ἐπι-
θάτερα· ἀναστάντες δὲ διεψήσαν, καὶ πολλὰ
πλείους ἐγένοντο οἱ εὐδοκῶν αἱ πονοῦναι λελυσ-
θαι. *Thuc. B. i. c. 87.* διαψήφισεν
δὲ ἐπὶ τέτοισι καὶ κατ' ἀνδρά (μὴ καὶ δι'
αἰδῶ, ἢ καὶ φόβον τινα παρὰ τὰ δοκῶντα

much

much less, their reasons, if the question happened to be of such a nature, as to lay them under any restraint in delivering them. If one, or more tribunes of the people opposed the passing of any decree, the sense of the house was, however, recorded, and, instead of a *senatusconsultum*, was called an authority of the senate.

XVI. It was the opinion of a very wise man among the Romans, who has professedly treated of the government of that commonwealth, that it would have added great weight to the authority of the senate, if they had voted by ballot; which I am not at all surpris'd at, since the laws, relating to the ballot, in which manner the people gave their votes upon all occasions of importance, were ever looked upon as the source, and support of liberty.

XVII. The senatorian census, or fortune required to qualify a person for a seat in the senate, was eight hundred thousand *sestertii*, or 6458 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* sterling: This sum AUGUSTUS raised to twelve hundred thousand *sestertii*, or 9687 *l.*

σφισιν ἀποφηνῶνται) ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ βουλευτικῇ μεταστρεφόμενης. Dion Cass. B. xli. *Si quis intercedat senatusconsulto, auctoritate se fore contentum.* Liv. B. iv. c. 57. This authority of the senate, as I have said in the 27th annotation, Dion Cassius applies to a law made by Augustus, but, at the same time, says, which is very true, that the distinction between an authority of the senate, and a *senatusconsultum* was very exactly observed, for a long while, by the Romans of old, though, in his time, it was grown obsolete, τὰ τοῦ τε οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς παλαιῇ τρηθεν, ἐξίτηλον τρόπον τινα ἤδη γέγονε. B. lv. This authority of the senate differed from a *senatusconsultum* in another respect; it was not,

like that, subject to be defeated by the interposition of the tribunes of the people; *de his rebus, pridie quam scripsi, senatus auctoritas gravissima intercessit; cui, cum Cato, & Caninius intercessissent, tamen est perscripta.* Cic. B. i. Ep. 2. *Eaque, quæ ac cā perscripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse—offensionem esse periculosam. propter interpositam auctoritatem—video.* Id. B. i. Ep. 7.

XVI. *Ducibus rebus posse confirmari senatum puto; si numerus auctus per tabellam sententiam feret. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat.* Fragm. supposed of Sallust to C. Cæsar. *Lex Cassia tabellaria principum justissimæ libertatis.* Cic. in Cornel. *Tabella vindex tacitæ libertatis.* Id. 2d Agr.

10 s. sterling; which, if, by any accident, a senator had impaired, he lost his seat in the senate.

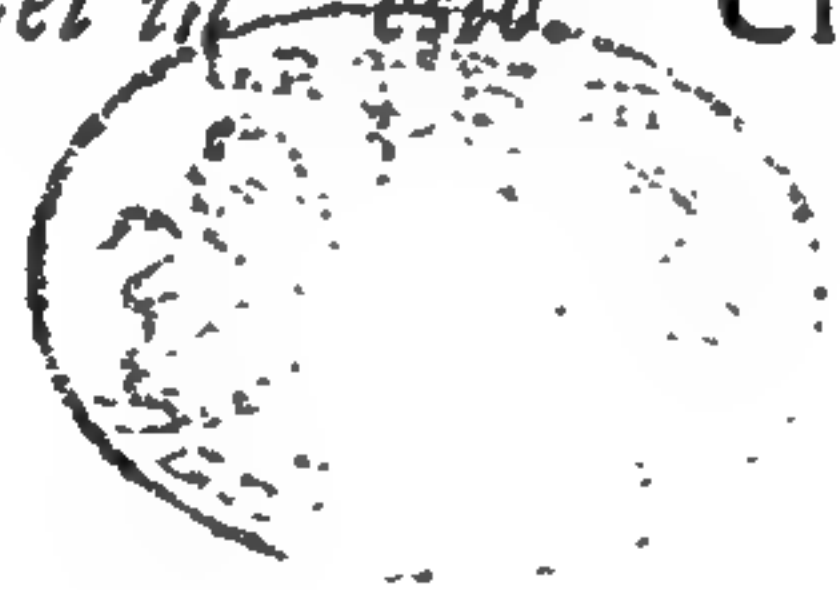
XVIII. If a senator neglected to give his attendance in the senate, without being able to assign a lawful cause of absence, he was liable to a fine, and obliged, immediately, to find security for the payment of it.

There are some other particulars relating to the constitution of the Roman senate, which I have not thought worth taking notice of; such as the sacrifices, and other religious ceremonies necessary to be performed previously to any deliberation; as also the robes peculiar to the dignity of a Roman senator: The first of these are rendered as ridiculous by our prejudices, as they were made venerable by theirs; and the other, though some learned men have thought fit to bestow a great deal of criticism upon that inquiry, seems to be a subject rather of curiosity, than instruction.

XVII. *Senatorium censum ampliavit, ac pro octingentorum millium summa, duodecies H. S. taxavit.* Sueton. Life of Aug. I have followed Arbuthnot in reducing the sestertii to sterling money; he says, and I think with great probability, that *mille sestertiūm* amounted to 8—1—5 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling; consequently *centum millia sestertiūm*, will amount to 807--5—10, *octingenta millia sestertiūm*, the old senatorian census, to 6458--6—8, and duodecies H. S. the Augustan census, to 9687—10—0. *Curtius habet in*

Volaterranopossessionem—hoc autem tempore Cæsar eum in senatum legit, quem ordinem ille istâ possessione amissâ vix tueri potest. Cic. B. xiii. Ep. 5.

XVIII. *Quis unquam tanto damno senatorem coegit? Aut quid est ultra pignus, aut multam? Cic. Philip. 1. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignora capienda, sciscitandumque, num consulto detrectarent? Liv. B. iii. c. 38. Senatori, qui non aderit, aut causa, aut culpa esto.* Cic. B. iii. of Laws.



ERRATA in VOL. I.

To the PREFACE.

PAGE xx. line 17. for *megarenses*. read *Megarenses*.
P. xxi. l. 1. dele *of*.
P. xxxi. l. 17. f. *are*, r. *stand*.
P. xxxvi. l. 2. f. *in*. r. *of*.

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P. 2. Note 2. Column 1. Line 11. f. character. read, characters.
Ibid. C. 2. L. 19. f. designs. r. design.
P. 3. L. 14. f. or. r. nor.
P. 4. L. 18. f. exceeded. r. surpassed.
P. 4. N. 8. f. As (in Roman) r. As (in Greek)
P. 5. N. 8. C. 2. L. 22. f. only shut. r. shut only.
Ibid. L. 25. no comma after *shut*.
P. 6. N. 8. C. 1. L. 4. f. 744th. r. 743d year.
P. 9. N. 14. C. 1. L. 19. after Assyrians, dele under ; and read, *And afterwards chose for their king*.
P. 10. N. 14. C. 1. L. 16. f. Gonatus. r. Gonatas.
P. 11. N. 14. C. 1. L. 28. no comma after *power*.
P. 13. N. 15. C. 1. L. 5. f. contended. r. contend.
Ibid. L. 12. f. *u*. r. *di*.
P. 17. last line. f. consideration. r. contemplation.
P. 19. N. 24. C. 1. L. 20. no punctum after *Dion*.
Ibid. N. 25. C. 2. L. 17. f. pertius. r. peritus.
P. 20. C. 1. L. 7. f. 620th. r. 621st. year.
P. 21. N. 28. C. 2. L. 2. f. author. r. authors.
P. 23. N. 29. C. 1. last line. f. *ny*. r. *ny*.
Ibid. N. 30. L. 11. f. Sicani. r. Sicani.
P. 26. L. 5. no comma after *are*.
P. 29. C. 1. L. 12. after colony. r. which.
Ibid. L. 18. f. Lycaon. r. Cecrops.
P. 30. N. 37. C. 1. L. 3. f. *ἐνίκη*. r. *ἐνίκη*.
P. 31. L. 16. and 20. f. Oenotrians. r. Oenotri.
P. 37. L. 14. f. Amiterna. r. Amiternum.
P. 48. N. 60. f. *ἐδῆ* and *ἐδῆ*. r. *ἰδῆ* and *ἰδῆ*.
Ibid. N. 61. f. *irreproachable*. r. *irreproachable*.
P. 49. N. 65. f. *ἐν* r. *ἐν*.
P. 56. L. 4. after *oracle*. r. *that*.
P. 63. L. 12. after *is*. strike out *a*.
P. 83. N. 116. C. 2. L. 4. f. *n*. r. *n*.
P. 85. L. 12. f. Celti. r. Celtæ.
P. 90. last line. no comma after *honors*.
P. 91. last line but one. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.
P. 96. L. 16. strike out *being*.
P. 101. C. 1. L. 8. f. Jarba. r. Jarbas.
Ibid. L. 30. after *made*. r. *ber*.
Ibid. L. 35. f. Amna. r. Amne.
P. 108. L. 14. no comma after *and*.
P. 109. N. 151. C. 1. L. 12. f. *πολιτικῶν* r. *πολιτικῶν*.
Ibid. L. 22. f. *en*. r. *ex*.
P. 111. N. 155. L. 7. f. *χρησμοσολογῆσεν*. r. *χρησμοσολογῆσεν*.
P. 113. last line. f. Batea. r. Batea.
P. 119. L. 11. no comma after *king*.
P. 121. C. 2. last line. f. then. r. than.
P. 125. last line but one. no commas before, or after *we have received*.
P. 133. C. 1. L. 33. f. *Μυρμιδόνες* r. *Μυρμιδόνες*.
P. 135. N. 201. f. *ὑμᾶς* r. *ὑμᾶς*.
Ibid. N. 202. after *ὑμᾶς* strike out *των*.
P. 136. L. 24. f. Delus. r. Delos.

P. 145. N. 212. between *Ἀμάλη Τυρρῶς* put a line.
P. 146. last line but one. no comma after *wine*.
P. 148. L. 5. f. palce. r. place.
P. 151. last line but one. f. of Trojan. r. of the Trojan.
P. 152. C. 1. last line but three. f. Simonides. r. Palamedes.
P. 161. C. 2. L. 10. f. Aanea. r. Aeneas.
P. 162. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 163. L. 5. f. Cephalon. r. Cephalo.
P. 168. L. 7. f. Syracusan. r. Syracusan.
P. 192. L. 18. f. While he entered. r. While he was entering.
P. 209. N. 274. L. 2. f. *n*. r. *n*.
P. 211. L. 15. after *them* instead of a comma put a semicolon.
P. 229. L. 13. f. *and*, and of *dele the latter and*.
P. 243. L. 4. no comma after *person*.
Ibid. C. 2. L. 18. f. three hundred. r. one hundred.
P. 245. L. 2. f. controle. r. controll.
Ibid. N. 28. C. 2. L. 6. f. cenuries. r. centuries.
P. 246. C. 2. L. 28. f. the in. r. in the.
P. 253. L. 13. no comma before nor after *all*.
P. 255. N. 37. C. 2. L. 8. f. chastised. r. chastened.
P. 256. L. 10. f. every every. r. every.
P. 259. L. 4. f. tymbals. r. tymbrels.
P. 262. L. 6. f. administered. r. administred. and strike out the comma after *those*.
P. 263. L. 10. f. curia. r. curiæ.
Ibid. C. 1. L. 3. f. *καθαρσῖαι* r. *καθαρσῖαι*.
P. 265. L. 17. after *think* r. *is*.
P. 266. C. 1. L. 12. f. with ease. r. at ease.
P. 268. L. 7. no comma after *even*.
Ibid. N. 51. L. 2. f. Farratia. r. Farracia.
P. 269. N. 52. C. 2. L. 7. f. Duillius. r. Duilius.
P. 270. C. 2. L. 2. f. PRESENTED. r. PRAESENTED.
Ibid. L. 3. f. OLORUM. r. OLOROM.
Ibid. L. 4. f. PUGNANDOD. r. PUCNANDOD.
P. 277. L. 18. no comma after *things*.
P. 283. L. 11. no comma after *walls*.
P. 285. L. 6. no comma after *called*.
Ibid. N. 68. L. 1. f. *καταμιναι* r. *καταμιναι*.
P. 287. L. 25. no comma after *greatly*.
P. 296. L. 7. no comma after *obliged*.
P. 304. C. 2. L. 8. f. *ΙΤΟΨΗΘΟΙ* r. *ΙΣΟΨΗΘΟΙ*.
P. 308. L. 16. no comma after *dwell*.
P. 311. L. 7. f. Pomentine. r. Pometine.
P. 316. last line. f. Crustumini. r. Crustumeri.
P. 328. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 330. L. 3. f. of. r. on.
P. 348. L. 10. f. LXVII. r. LXVIII.
P. 352. C. 1. L. 1. f. *Χαλκημαίς* r. *Χαλκημαίς*.
P. 373. L. 12. after *springing*. r. *and leaping*.
P. 365. L. 13. no comma after *punished*.
In the title page to Polybius, dele Hyphen between Sixth-Book.
P. 375. L. 9. f. not only capable. r. capable not only.
P. 381. L. 15. after *it*. insert a comma.
P. 396. L. 2. f. *φύσει*. r. *φύσει*.
P. 407. N. 13. L. 5. f. miet. r. mit.
P. 414. L. 5. f. *μονοειδῆ*. r. *μονοειδῆ*.
P. 416. C. 1. L. 7. strike out *wonderful*.
P. 420. L. 11. f. *ὑμῶν*. r. *ὑμῶν*.
P. 443. §. IV. L. 8. f. nullus. r. nullis.



T H E
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
O F
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Translated into ENGLISH;

W I T H
N O T E S and D I S S E R T A T I O N S.

B Y
E D W A R D S P E L M A N, Esq.

V O L. II.

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M D C C L V I I I.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE THIRD BOOK.

AFTER the death of Numa Pompilius, the senate, being, again, invested with the whole power of the commonwealth, resolved to retain the same form of government; and the people not opposing their resolution, they appointed some of the oldest senators to govern, as Interreges, during a certain number of days; by whom, pursuant to the unanimous desire of the people, Tullus Hostilius was chosen king; whose descent was as follows: A man of distinguished birth, and great fortune, whose name was Hostilius, had removed to Rome from Medullia, a city built by the Albans, which Romulus, after he had possessed himself of it by composition, made a colony of the Romans; and married a Sabine woman, the daughter of Hersilius, the same who advised her country-women to go in quality of deputies to their fathers in favor of their husbands, when the Sabines were making war against the

Vol. II.

A

Romans,

Romans, and who was looked upon as the chief cause of the alliance then concluded by the leaders of the two nations. This man, having had a share in the many wars Romulus was engaged in, and performed great actions in the several battles with the Sabines, was slain, leaving an only son, who was then an infant; and was buried by the kings in the principal part of the forum, and honoured with a pillar, and an inscription, testifying his valor. His only son, being arrived to manhood, and, having married a woman of distinction, had by her Tullus Hostilius, a man of activity, who was chosen king by the votes of the people, given according to law, the gods by favourable auguries confirming their choice. The year, in which he entered upon the government, was the second of the twenty seventh Olympiad, in which Eurybates, an Athenian, won the prize of the stadium, Leoftratus being archon: Immediately

ANNOTATIONS on the Third Book.

¹· Εν ταις προς Σαβινους μαχαις, αποθνησκει. I agree with Casaubon in placing the comma after μαχαις, rather than after αποδειξαμενος. It stands thus in all the editions, μεγαλα εργα αποδειξαμενος, εν ταις προς Σαβινους μαχαις αποθνησκει; the absurdity of which pointing he has not observed, but I think it very glaring; because, though a man may, very well, be said to have performed great actions in several engagements, I do not see how he can be said to have been slain in several

engagements. Our author, a little before, gives to the grandfather of Tullus Hostilius, the name of Hostilius only; to which the Vatican manuscript prefixes the name of Tullius, which I look upon to be a mistake, because ^a Livy calls him Hostus Hostilius, who, he, afterwards, ^b says, was grandfather to this king of the Romans: *Inde Tullum Hostilium, nepotem Hostilii, cujus in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus jussit. Patres auctores facti.*

^a B. i. c. 12. ^b Ib. c. 22.

upon

upon his accession, he gained the hearts of the lowest, and poorest sort of the people, by an action, of all others, the most magnificent. It was this; The kings, his predecessors, were possessed of particular demains, consisting of very fertile lands of a large extent, the revenues of which, not only, supplied them with victims for the sacrifices, but furnished their tables with great affluence: These lands Romulus had conquered, and dispossessed the former owners of them: And he dying without children, Numa Pompilius, his successor, had enjoyed them: They were, no longer, public lands, but the demains of the king in possession. These lands Tullus caused to be divided, equally, among such of the Romans, as had none of their own, saying, that his own patrimony was sufficient both for the sacrifices, and for the expence of his table. By this act of humanity, he relieved the poorer sort, and freed them from the necessity of being servants to others. And, to the end that none might want a habitation, he added the Caelian hill to the city, where those Romans, who were unprovided with dwellings, had as much ground allotted to them as was sufficient, and built houses; and he himself fixed his habitation in this place. These are the memorable actions of this king, relating to his civil administration.

^{2.} Το Θηλικον. Θητες, and Θηλικον, are words derived from the government of the Athenians, who were divided into four parts; the lowest, or poorest of which were called Θητες. These were incapable of any magistracies, and never served in their armies; εις

τεσσαρα διηρημενης παρ' Αθηναιοις της πολιτειας, οι απορωτατοι ελεγοντο ΘΗΤΕΣ, και ΘΗΤΙΚΟΝ τελειν. Ουτοι δε μηδεμιας μελειχον αρχης· ει δε εκ ετρατευοντο. Harpocration; for which he quotes Aristotle, and Aristophanes.

II. His military exploits are many, and, deservedly, celebrated; of which I shall, now, give an account, and begin with the Alban war. The cause of the disunion, and dissolution of the bond of affinity between the two cities, was an Alban, whose name was Cluilius, their chief magistrate; who, grieving at the prosperity of the Romans, and unable to contain his envy; and, being withal, by nature, arrogant and rash, resolved to ingage the two cities in a war: But, finding it impossible to persuade the Albans to allow him, without just and urgent reasons, to lead an army against the Romans, he had recourse to the following stratagem: He permitted the poorest, and boldest of the Albans to plunder the territories of the Romans, promising them impunity; and, by this means, he procured many, from the hopes of advantages unattended with danger, or the fear of restitution, to carry on a plundering war in the neighbouring country: And, in this, he took very proper measures, as it appeared by the event: For he concluded that the Romans would not suffer their country to be ravaged, but would run to arms, which would furnish him with an opportunity of accusing them to the people as the aggressors in the war; and he promised himself also, that the greatest part of the Albans, envying the prosperity of their colony, would, willingly, countenance these accusations, and enter into a war with them, which happened accordingly. For the profligate of each city ravaging one another's country, and, at last, a Roman army having made an incursion into the territories of the Albans, and killed, and taken prisoners,
many

many of the robbers, Cluilius assembled the people, and inveighed against the Romans with great bitterness; shewed them many, who were wounded; produced the relations of those, who had been taken prisoners, or killed; and, at the same time, adding many circumstances of his own invention, it was resolved, on his motion, that an embassy should first be sent to demand justice for what had happened; and, if the Romans refused it, that an army should march against them.

III. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Rome, Tullus, suspecting they came to demand justice, resolved to prevent them, with a design to turn upon the Albans the reproach of dissolving the alliance subsisting between them, and their colony. For there had been a treaty entered into by the two cities in the reign of Romulus, wherein, among other articles, this was, also, stipulated, that neither of them should begin a war; but, if either complained of any injury, they were to sue for justice in that city, which had committed the injury, and, if they could not obtain justice, they were, in that case, to enter upon a war founded on necessity, the treaty being looked upon as at an end. Tullus, therefore, taking care that the Romans should not be the first called upon to do justice, and, by refusing it, become obnoxious to the Albans, ordered the most considerable of his friends to entertain the ambassadors of the Albans with the greatest civility, and to detain them at their houses, while he himself, pretending to be employed in some necessary affairs, put off their audience. The next night, he sent some Romans of distinction,

distinction, with proper directions, to Alba, together with the Feciales, to demand justice of the Albans for the injuries the Romans had received from them : These, having performed their journey before sun-rise, found Cluilius in the market-place, which was crouded with the morning assembly of the people : And, having set forth the injuries, which the Romans had received from the Albans, they desired he would perform the articles of the treaty entered into by the two cities. But Cluilius alledged that the Albans had first sent deputies to Rome to demand justice, who had not even been vouchsafed an answer ; and, ordering the Romans to depart, as having transgressed the terms of the alliance, he declared war against them. Upon this, the chief of the embassy, before he departed, desired he would answer this single question, whether he would own that those had broken the treaty, who, being first called upon to do justice, had refused to comply with any part of their obligation : Which Cluilius allowing, “ I attest, therefore, says he, those gods, whom
“ we called upon as witnesses to our treaty, that the
“ Romans, having been first refused justice, have a right to
“ make war upon the transgressors of that treaty : And,
“ that you elude our demand of justice, appears from every
“ circumstance of this affair : For you, being first called
“ upon to do justice, refused it, and have first declared war
“ against us : Expect, therefore, to see the injury you have
“ done us, soon, revenged by the sword.” Tullus, being informed by the ambassadors at their return to Rome of what had passed, ordered the Albans to be introduced, and
to

to acquaint him with the reasons of their coming; and they informing him of what they had received in command from Cluilius, and threatening war in case they did not obtain justice; “ I, says he, have prevented you in this; and, having obtained nothing the treaty directs, it is plain that you have first violated that treaty, and made no account of it; for which reason, I declare a just, and necessary war against the Albans.”

IV. After these pretences, they both prepared themselves for the war; and, not only, armed their own forces, but, also, called in to their assistance Those of their subjects. When every thing was ready, the two armies drew near to each other, and incamped at the distance of forty stadia from Rome: The Albans, at the ³ Cluilian ditches (for they still preserve the name of the man, who caused them to be made) and the Romans, a little on this side; having chosen a more convenient place for their camp. When the two

³ Κλοιλιας τάφρος. This is the name given to these ditches both by our ^c author, and ^d Plutarch, when they speak of Coriolanus, who incamped at the same place. On the other hand, ^e Livy calls them, ^f in both places, *fossas Cluilias*. But I cannot help thinking that our author is more consistent with himself than Livy; because the latter, in speaking of the principal Albans, brought to Rome by Tullus, after the destruction of their city, mentions the ^g *Cloelii*, whom ^h our author, in treating of the

same transaction, still calls Κλοιλιας; who were, probably, of the same family with this chief magistrate of the Albans, who gave name to these ditches. But, as this is, only, conjecture, I have chosen to follow Livy, whom I look upon as the surest guide in what concerns the names, at least, both of the persons, and things, that occur in the Roman history. ⁱ Cluver says, that these ditches were in the Ap-
pian way, about the place, now, called, *Casal Ritondo*.

^c B. viii. c. 22.

^d Life of Coriolan.

^e B. i. c. 23.

^f B. ii. c. 39.

^g B. i. c. 30.

^h B. iii. c. 29.

ⁱ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

armies

armies came in fight, and each found the other's forces neither inferior in number, nor ill armed, nor, from a want of any other preparation, contemptible, the ardor of a present engagement, which the expectation of defeating the enemy at the first onset had, before, inspired, began to abate ; and they thought of defending themselves by raising their intrenchments, rather than of preventing each other by a sudden attempt. At the same time, the ⁴ most considerable of both armies, as the most capable of making proper reflections, censured their commanders : And the time being spent in vain (for no action of any moment had happened) they harraſſed one another with incursions of the light-armed men, and skirmishes of the horse. Whereupon, Cluilius, who was looked upon as the cause of the war, impatient at lying idle, resolved to march out with his army, and provoke the enemy to battle ; and, if they declined it, to attack their intrenchments : Having, therefore, made the necessary preparations, both for an engagement, and an attack upon the enemy's camp, if that should be pursued, when night came on, he went to sleep in the general's tent,

⁴ Χαριεῖς αἰοῖς. Aristotle, in his ethics, often uses *χαριεῖς* for *men of education*. This period is, certainly, faulty : Portus has endeavoured to restore it ; but not with great success. I have endeavoured to make the best sense I can of the words, as they, now, stand ; but cannot help thinking, that the same words, if thrown into another structure, may be capable of a very clear sense : I would, therefore, read

the period thus ; Εἰσῆει τε αὐτῶν τοῖς χαριεῖς αἰοῖς κατὰ μεμψίς των εὐτελεῖ, καὶ λογισμὸς ὡς καὶ τὰ κραίιστα βουλευομένων. There is an expression, made use of by ⁱ our author, not unlike to this ; where he speaks of the discouragement of the Romans after the death of Brutus, and of the consequence of that discouragement ; καὶ λογισμὸς εἰσῆει πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀμεινον εἰη σφισιν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν χαρακτῆρα.

ⁱ B. v. c. 16.

attended

attended with his usual guard ; and, about day break, was found dead, no signs appearing on his body either of wounds, strangling, poison, or any other violent death.

V. This accident appearing, as it really was, very extraordinary, and the cause of it being inquired into (for no preceding indisposition could be alledged) those, who ascribe all human events to divine providence, said that his death was occasioned by the anger of the gods, because he had kindled up an unjust, and unnecessary war between the mother-city, and her colony : But others, who looked upon the war as a gainful trade, and thought themselves deprived of great advantages by his death, attributed it to human treachery, and envy ; accusing some of his fellow-citizens of a contrary faction, to have taken him off by a secret, and undiscoverable poison : Some alledged that, being overcome with grief, and despair, he had put himself to death, since all his enterprises were become difficult and impracticable ; and that nothing he had promised himself from the beginning, when he first entered upon the administration of the public affairs, had succeeded according to his desire. But those, who were not influenced either by friendship, or enmity to the general, and who formed the soundest judgement of what had happened, were not of opinion that either the anger of the gods, the envy of the contrary party, or the despair of his affairs had put an end to his life ; but the necessity of nature, and fate, he having finished the destined course, which is marked out for every one at his birth. Thus died Cluilius, before he had performed any considerable

action. In his place, Metius Fufetius was chosen general by the army, and invested with ^s absolute power ; a man without either ability to conduct a war, or constancy to preserve a peace ; who, though he had been, at first, no less earnest than any of the Albans in creating a difference between the two cities, and was, for that reason, after the death of Cluilius, honoured with the command, yet, after he had obtained it, and perceived the many difficulties, and embarrassments, with which the public affairs were attended, he changed his measures, and resolved to delay, and put off the decision of the contest, observing that neither all the Albans were now, equally, inclined to the war, nor that the victims, when he offered sacrifice concerning the battle, promised success: At last, being informed of a danger, which threatened both the Albans, and Romans, from a foreign enemy, and which, if they did not avert it by putting an amicable end to the present war, could not fail to destroy both armies, he first sent heralds to the enemy, and determined to invite them to an accommodation. The danger he apprehended was this.

VI. In the reign of Romulus, the Veientes, and Fidenates, who inhabit large and populous cities, had been engaged in a war with the Romans for command, and fove-

^s. Στρατηγός ἀνιορκῶν. Livy calls that we must read Fufetius, and not him a dictator, of which the Greek is Suffetius, as it stood in the editions of a paraphrase. ^k Sigonius, in a note that historian, upon this passage of Livy, has shewn,

^k B. i. c. 23.

reignty,

reignty, in which ⁶ having lost many armies, and been deprived of part of their territories, they were constrained to become subjects to the conquerors. Concerning which transactions I have given a particular account in the preceding book. But, having enjoyed an uninterrupted peace during the reign of Numa, they had, greatly, increased in populousness, wealth, and every other happiness. Elated, therefore, with this prosperity, they, again, aspired at liberty, assumed higher thoughts, and prepared themselves to shake off the Roman yoke. For some time, the design of their revolt lay concealed; but, in the Alban war, it broke out: For, being informed that the Romans were marched out with all their forces to engage the Albans, they looked upon this as the most favourable opportunity of invading them; and, by the means of the most powerful among themselves, entered into a secret conspiracy, the result of which was, that all, who were capable of bearing arms, should repair to Fidenæ with secrecy, and few at a time, in order to give the less umbrage to those, against whom the design was formed; and that they should stay there, expecting the time, when the armies of the Romans, and Albans, should march out of their camps in order to engage; of which

⁶. Εν ᾧ πῶς πολλὰς ἀπολεσάντες δυνάμεις. All the editions, and manuscripts have ἀμφοτέρω after δυνάμεις, which can never be allowed a place here, and must have been inserted by the transcribers: For, if it should stand, the sense would run thus: In which, *both*, having lost many armies, and been deprived of

part of their territories, were constrained to become subjects to the conquerors; since ζημιωθέντες, and ἠναγκασθήσαν can relate only to ἀμφοτέρω: But, if this word is discarded, the others will, very naturally, relate to the *Vcientes*, and *Fidenates*.

certain scouts, to be posted on the hills for that purpose, should give them notice by signals; which, as soon as they perceived, they were all to take arms, and advance against them with all expedition (the distance from Fidenæ to the camps being but two, or three hours march at most) and, appearing in the field at the time, when, probably, the battle would be over, they were to treat both armies as enemies; and, whether the Romans, or the Albans, had the victory, to put the conquerors to the sword. These resolutions the chiefs of those cities had determined to put in execution. If, therefore, the Albans, from a contempt of the Romans, had, boldly, ventured upon an engagement, and resolved to put the whole upon the issue of one battle, nothing could have hindered the treachery, contrived against them, from remaining secret, and both their armies from being destroyed. But this dilatory manner of carrying on the war, contrary to the general expectation, and the length of time they employed in their preparations, confounded the counsels of their enemies: For, some of the conspirators, either seeking their private advantage, or envying their leaders, and those, who had been the authors of the undertaking, or fearing the information of others, which has often happened in conspiracies, where there are many accomplices, and of which the execution has been long delayed; or being compelled by the suggestion of their own minds, which could not consent that a wicked design should be attended with success, informed the Romans, and Albans of the treachery.

VII. Fufetius, upon this intelligence, grew ftill more defirous of making an accommodation, both fides having, now, no choice left of any other measure. The king of the Romans, alfo, had information given him of this conspiracy by his friends in Fidenæ; fo that, without further delay, he hearkened to the overture made by Fufetius. When both of them met in a place between the two camps, each being attended with his council, confifting of perfons of good judgement, they firft embraced according to their former cuftom; and, having received one another with that benevolence, which is ufual among friends, and relations, they began to treat of an accommodation. The Alban firft fpoke in the following manner: “ It feems to me neceffary
 “ that I fhould firft affign the reafons why, being neither
 “ overcome by you in battle, hindered from fupplying my
 “ army with provifions, nor reduced to any other neceffity,
 “ I have determined to make the firft fttep towards an ac-
 “ commodation, to the end you may not imagine that either
 “ a diffidence in my own ftrength, or a belief that yours
 “ is not to be overcome, makes me feek a fpecious pretence
 “ to put an end to the war: For, fhould you entertain
 “ fuch an opinion of us, you would load us with intolerable
 “ conditions, and, as if you were, already, victorious in the
 “ war, fubmit to nothing, that is reafonable: To the end,
 “ therefore, that you may not form falfe conjectures of the
 “ reafons, that lead me to defire an end of the war, hear the
 “ true ones. My country, having appointed me dictator,
 “ as foon as I had received the command, I confidered
 “ what

“ what were the causes, which had disturbed the peace of
 “ our cities ; and finding them frivolous, and inconsider-
 “ able, and of too little consequence to dissolve so great a
 “ friendship, and affinity, I concluded that neither the
 “ Albans, nor you, were governed by the best counsels :
 “ And I was further confirmed in this, and convinced of
 “ the folly of us both, after I had entered upon the ad-
 “ ministration, and became acquainted with every man’s
 “ particular views : For, I found that the Albans were not,
 “ either in their private conversations, or in public assem-
 “ blies, unanimous for the war ; but the divine omens,
 “ whenever I consulted the victims concerning the battle,
 “ being still attended with far greater difficulties than those
 “ founded on human reasoning, created in me great dismay,
 “ and anxiety. These considerations, therefore, withheld
 “ me from engaging in any action, and led me to draw out
 “ the war by procrastinations, and delays, from an opinion
 “ that you would make the first step towards an accommo-
 “ dation : And, indeed, this became you, Tullus, who are
 “ our colony, and not to stay till your mother-city set the
 “ example : For the founders of cities have a right to as
 “ great respect from their colonies, as parents from their
 “ children : But, while we kept ourselves at a distance, and
 “ observed one another, expecting which should first propose
 “ reasonable terms, another motive, more urgent than any
 “ arguments drawn from human reason, imposes on us the
 “ necessity of a reconciliation : The cause of this necessity
 “ I had information of, while it was yet a secret to you ;
 “ for

“ for which reason, I resolved, no longer, to consider the
 “ decency, that ought to have led you to sue to us for peace :
 “ For know, Tullus, that dreadful designs are formed against
 “ us, and inevitable treachery threatens both of us ; which,
 “ like a torrent, or a conflagration, was designed, with ease,
 “ to overwhelm, and destroy us. The authors of these
 “ wicked projects are the chiefs of the Fidenates, and
 “ Veientes, who have conspired together. Concerning the
 “ manner, in which their designs were to have been put in
 “ execution, and, by what means, I came to the knowledge
 “ of their secret counsels, I shall inform you.”

VIII. Having said this, he gave to one, who was present,
 the letters brought to him, by a certain person, from his
 friends at Fidenæ, and desired him to read them ; and, at
 the same time, produced the person, who had brought those
 letters. After they were read, and the man had informed
 them of every thing he had learned by word of mouth from
 the persons, who writ those letters, all present were seized
 with astonishment, as may well be imagined upon the in-
 formation of so great, and so unexpected a danger : When
 Fufetius, after a short pause, continued his discourse :
 “ You have heard, Romans, the reasons, which induced me
 “ to defer coming to an engagement with you, and have,
 “ now, determined me first to propose an agreement. After
 “ this, consider, now, with yourselves, whether, in order to
 “ revenge the seizure of some oxen, and sheep, you ought
 “ to retain a disposition to carry on an implacable war
 “ against your founders, and fathers, in which, whether
 “ conquered,

“ conquered, or conquering, you are sure to be destroyed ;
 “ or, laying aside your enmity to your relations, to march
 “ with us against the common enemy ; who, without
 “ having either suffered, or feared, any mischief, have con-
 “ spired, not only, ⁷ to revolt from you, but, also, to invade
 “ you ; and That not openly, according to the received laws
 “ of war, but privately, and in such a manner, as their
 “ treachery could least be suspected, and avoided. But I
 “ need say no more to convince you that we ought to lay
 “ aside our enmity, and march, with all possible alacrity,
 “ against these wicked men (for it would be madness to
 “ think otherwise) since you are, already, resolved, and will
 “ pursue that resolution : But, in what manner, such terms
 “ of accommodation may be agreed upon, as may be hon-
 “ ourable, and advantageous to both cities (for, probably,
 “ you have been long impatient to hear this) I shall, now,
 “ endeavour to explain. I am of opinion that those are
 “ the best terms, and the most becoming relations, and
 “ friends, in which there is no rancor, nor remembrance
 “ of past injuries ; but a sincere, and general remission
 “ of every thing, that has been either done, or suffered on

⁷ Οὐ μόνον ἐβέλευσαν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ἀποστα-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπανάστασιν. The beauty
 of this sentence is, intirely, owing to
 the Vatican manuscript, which has
 restored the word ἀποστασιν, that was
 wanting in all the editions. I am sur-
 prised that none of the commentators
 have taken notice in what manner ¹ our
 author has, upon this occasion, imi-

tated Thucydides, without copying
 him. In the speech, spoken by Cleon
 to exasperate the Athenians against
 the Mitylenaeans, he says of the latter,
 ἐπανεστῆσαν μάλλον, ἢ ἀπέστησαν ; the sense
 of which is, very well, expressed by
 Hobbes, *and rather warred upon us,
 than revolted from us.*

¹ B. iii. c. 39.

“ both

“ both sides ; less honourable are those conditions, by which,
 “ indeed, the generality of the nation are acquitted of all
 “ imputation, but those, who have injured one another, are
 “ compelled to undergo such a trial, as reason, and law
 “ direct. Now, my opinion is, that we ought to make
 “ choice of those conditions of peace, which are the more
 “ honourable, and more becoming great minds ; and, by a
 “ decree, abolish the memory of all past injuries. However,
 “ if you do not approve of these conditions, Tullus, but
 “ rather chuse that the accusers, and the accused, should, in
 “ a legal manner, receive satisfaction from, and give satisfac-
 “ tion to, one another, the Albans are, also, ready to
 “ consent to these terms, after a reconciliation. But if,
 “ besides these, you have any other conditions to propose,
 “ which are either more honourable, or more just, the
 “ sooner you communicate them, the more I shall think
 “ myself obliged to you.”

IX. After Fufetius had done speaking, the king of the
 Romans answered him in the following manner : “ We,
 “ also, Fufetius, looked upon it as a great misfortune to
 “ find ourselves under a necessity of deciding a war, between
 “ relations, by blood, and slaughter ; and, when, we per-
 “ formed the sacrifices preparatory to war, we were forbidden
 “ by them to begin an engagement. We have, also, been,
 “ very lately, informed of the private conspiracies, entered
 “ into by the Fidenates, and Veientes, against us both, by
 “ our friends residing among them : Neither are we un-
 “ provided against those designs ; but prepared, not only,

“ to suffer no mischief ourselves, but to punish the authors
“ of them in such a manner, as their treachery deserves.
“ Nor were we less disposed than you to put an end to the war
“ amicably, rather than by the sword. We did not, indeed,
“ think proper first to send embassadors to propose an ac-
“ commodation, because we did not begin the war, but were
“ only prepared to defend ourselves against those, who did
“ begin it: And, upon your laying down your arms, we,
“ chearfully, receive your proposal; and, without, nicely,
“ examining the conditions of the peace, we accept of those,
“ that are the best, and the most becoming great minds;
“ and remit all the injuries, and offences we have received
“ from the city of Alba, if those deserve to be called the
“ public offences of the city, of which your general Cluilius
“ alone was guilty, who has received no contemptible
“ punishment from the gods for the wrongs he did us both.
“ Let all occasions, therefore, of public and private complaints
“ be, mutually, forgiven; and, since you entertain the same
“ sentiments, let no memory of past injuries, any longer,
“ remain. But it is not enough, barely, to consider how
“ we may compose our present enmity; we must, also, find
“ means to prevent any future rupture: For the design of
“ our present meeting is not to obtain a delay, but an end,
“ of our evils. By what means, therefore, the peace may
“ be rendered durable, and, by what measures, to be pursued
“ by each of us, we may establish a present and everlasting
“ friendship between both, you, Fufetius, have omitted to
“ inform us; but I shall endeavour to explain, by way of
“ addition

“ addition to what you have said. If, on one side, the
 “ Albans would cease to envy the Romans the advantages
 “ they have obtained, not without great dangers, and labor:
 “ For it must be allowed that, without having received any
 “ sort of provocation from us, you hate us for this reason
 “ alone, that you think us happier than yourselves : And
 “ if, on the other side, the Romans would cease to suspect
 “ the Albans, as if they were, eternally, forming designs to
 “ their prejudice, and to guard against them, as against
 “ their enemies : For none can be firm friends to those,
 “ who hate them. How then shall each of these things be
 “ effected? Not by inserting them in the treaty, nor by our
 “ swearing upon the altars to the observance of them (for
 “ these are small and weak assurances) but by looking upon
 “ the prosperity of each, as common to both : Since the
 “ only cure for envy is to look upon the prosperity of the
 “ envied person as one’s own. And, in order to accom-
 “ plish this, I think the Romans ought to communicate to
 “ the Albans all the advantages they either, now, possess, or
 “ may, hereafter, acquire : That the Albans ought, cheer-
 “ fully, to accept this offer ; and, that all of you, if possible,
 “ or, at least, the greatest part, and the most considerable
 “ become inhabitants of Rome: ⁸ Was it any disgrace to

⁸. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ Σαβίνοις μὲν καὶ Τυρρῆνοις
 καλῶς εἴχεται, etc. The Latin translators,
 by rendering this period without an
 interrogation, have made Tullus invite
 the Albans to remove to Rome for
 this extraordinary reason ; because the
 Sabines, and Tyrrhenians had disgrac-
 ed themselves by removing thither :
 Whereas, if both the members of this

period are written with an interroga-
 tion, this absurdity vanishes, and the
 example of the Sabines, and Tyrrhe-
 nians is, very properly, urged to in-
 gage the Albans to do the same. The
 French translators have rather evad-
 ed the difficulty, than given the author’s
 sense of this period.

“ the Sabines, and Tyrrhenians to leave their own cities,
“ and settle among us? And will it be any to you, who
“ are our nearest relations, to do the same? However, if
“ you do not think proper to inhabit the same city with us,
“ which is, already, large, and will, in time, be much
“ larger, but are fond of the habitation of your ancestors,
“ do this at least, appoint one senate to consider of what
“ may be of advantage to each city, and give the sovereignty
“ to That, which is the more powerful, and in a condition
“ to do more good to the weaker. This is my opinion :
“ And, if these things are carried into execution, I conclude
“ we shall then be lasting friends ; but, while we inhabit
“ two cities of equal eminence, as at present, no harmony
“ can, ever, subsist between us.”

X. Fufetius, hearing this, desired time to consider of it ;
and, withdrawing from the assembly with the Albans, who
were present, he consulted with them whether they should
accept the conditions ; and, having taken their opinions,
he returned to the assembly, and spoke in the following
manner : “ We cannot resolve, Tullus, to abandon our
“ country, nor to desert the temples of our fathers, the ha-
“ bitations of our progenitors, and the place, which our
“ ancestors have possessed near five hundred years ; and this,
“ without being compelled to it either by war, or any other
“ calamity inflicted by the hand of heaven : But we are
“ not averse to the establishment of one senate, and that
“ one of the two cities should have the sovereignty over
“ the other : And, if you think proper, let this condition,
“ also,

“ also, be inserted in the treaty; and let every cause of
 “ war be removed.” This being agreed upon, there arose
 a contest between them, which of the two cities should
 have the command; and many harangues were made by
 both of them upon this subject; each contending that his
 own city should have the sovereignty over the other: The
 reasons, alledged by the Alban, were these: “ We deserve,
 “ Tullus, to be the sovereigns, even of all Italy, because
 “ we are a Greek nation, and the most considerable of all,
 “ that inhabit this country: But, the sovereignty of the
 “ Latine nation, if of no other, we think ourselves, not
 “ without reason, intitled to, according to the law received
 “ by all men, which was dictated by nature, that the an-
 “ cestors shall command their posterity. And, above all
 “ our colonies, of whom we have, hitherto, no reason to
 “ complain, we think we ought to have the command of
 “ your city, we having sent a colony thither so lately, that
 “ the posterity of our families, which composed it, are not
 “ yet extinct, nor worne out by time; it being then but the
 “ ⁹ third generation before the present. But, whenever nature,
 “ inverting human rights, shall order young men to have
 “ the command over their elders, and posterity over their
 “ progenitors, we shall then admit that the metropolis may
 “ be commanded by its colony; but not before: This is
 “ one argument we offer to support our title to the com-
 “ mand, from which we shall not, willingly, depart.
 “ Another is (which we desire you will not look upon either

⁹ Τῇ τρίτῃ γενεᾷ πρὸ τᾶντις. See the 14th annotation on the first book.

“ as an accusation, or a reproach, but flowing from necessity)
“ that the Alban nation has, to this day, continued the
“ same it was under the founders of the city ; neither can
“ it be said, that we have communicated the privileges of
“ our city to any one people, except the Greeks, and
“ Latines : Whereas, you have corrupted the purity of
“ your government by admitting Tyrrhenians, Sabines, and
“ some others without any fixed settlement, together with
“ great numbers of Barbarian vagabonds : So that, the
“ genuine race of those, who went from hence, is become
“ a small, rather, the least, part of your people, in compa-
“ rison of those you have admitted among you, and of
“ foreigners. And, if we should yield the sovereignty to
“ you, the spurious would have the command over the
“ legitimate, Barbarians over Greeks, and foreigners over
“ natives. Neither can you say this in your defence, that
“ you have not admitted this croud of strangers to any
“ share in the administration of affairs ; and that you, who
“ are the natives, have the government, and command, of
“ the city ; so far from it, that you, even, chuse foreigners for
“ your kings ; and the greatest part of your senate consists
“ of strangers : To none of which things you can say
“ that you, willingly, submit : For what man of superior
“ rank, willingly, suffers himself to be commanded by his
“ inferiors ? It would, therefore, be great folly, and
“ meanness in us to suffer, willingly, those evils, which
“ you must own you submit to through necessity. The
“ last argument I shall make use of is this : The city of
Alba

“ Alba has made no alteration in any part of its constitu-
 “ tion, but has observed, with exactness, all the customs,
 “ and regulations of our ancestors, though it be, now, the
 “ eighteenth generation since it was inhabited : Whereas,
 “ your city, being lately built, and composed of many
 “ nations, is without order, and discipline ; and requires a
 “ great length of time, and various turns of fortune, to be
 “ regulated, and freed from those troubles, and dissensions,
 “ with which it is, now, agitated ; and every one must
 “ allow, that regularity ought to have the command over
 “ confusion, an approved constitution over one that is un-
 “ tried, and health over sickness. And you do wrong in
 “ endeavouring to establish maxims contrary to these.”

XI. After Fufetius had ended, Tullus thus replied ;
 “ The right you derive from nature, and the virtue of your
 “ ancestors, Fufetius, and you, Albans, is common to us
 “ both : For both of us boast of our being descended from
 “ the same progenitors : so that, neither of us ought to
 “ claim any preeminence, or suffer any diminution on that
 “ account : As to your allegation, that, by a kind of neces-
 “ sary law of nature, all mother-cities ought, without ex-
 “ ception, to have the command over their colonies, we do
 “ not allow it to be founded either on truth, or justice :
 “ For there are many nations, in which the mother-cities
 “ are so far from having the command over their colonies,
 “ that they are subject to them. The city of Sparta is the
 “ greatest, and the most undeniable instance of this ; which
 “ pretends, not only, to the command of all Greece, but,
 “ even,

“ even, to That of the Doric nation, of which she is
“ a colony. But, why should I mention others? When
“ you, who have planted our colony, are yourselves a
“ colony of the Lavinienſes. If, therefore, it is a law of
“ nature that the mother-city ſhould have the command
“ over its colony, have not the Lavinienſes the earlieſt right
“ to command us both? This is a ſufficient answer to your
“ firſt argument, which carries with it the moſt ſpecious
“ appearance. But ſince, Fufetius, you undertake to com-
“ pare the manners of the two cities, and aſſert that the
“ nobility of the Albans has always continued the ſame,
“ while ours has been corrupted by a mixture with
“ foreigners, pretending that the ſpurious ought not to
“ have the command over the legitimate, nor ſtrangers over
“ natives, know, that, even, in alledging this reaſon, you
“ are the moſt miſtaken: For, we are ſo far from being
“ aſhamed of having communicated the rights of our city
“ to all, who are deſirous of them, that we, even, place our
“ chief glory in this action; of which inſtitution, worthy
“ to be imitated, we are not the authors, but have taken
“ the example of it from the city of Athens, a city of the
“ greateſt reputation among the Greeks; whoſe reputation
“ is, in a great meaſure, if not, principally, owing to this
“ inſtitution; which, as it has been to us the ſource of many
“ advantages, we have no reaſon either to complain, or
“ repent of, as of an error in our conduct: With us, the
“ magiſtracy, the dignity of ſenator, and other honors are
“ enjoyed, not by men of great fortunes, nor by thoſe, who
“ can

“ can shew a long list of ancestors, all natives of the country ;
 “ but, by such, as are worthy of them: For we look upon
 “ the nobility of men to consist in nothing but in virtue ;
 “ all the rest of the people are the body of the common-
 “ wealth, administering strength, and power to the resolu-
 “ tions of the better sort: It is owing to this humanity,
 “ that our city, from being small and contemptible, is be-
 “ come large and formidable to its neighbours ; and it is
 “ this institution, which you condemn, Fufetius, that has
 “ laid the foundation of that sovereignty, which none of the
 “ Latins presume to dispute with us: For the power of
 “ cities consists in the force of arms ; and This, in the
 “ number of citizens ; while small and ill-peopled, and, for
 “ that reason, weak cities, are so far from commanding
 “ others, that they cannot command themselves. Upon the
 “ whole, I am of opinion, that a man may then be allowed
 “ to censure the constitution of other cities, and to extol
 “ his own, when he can shew, that his own, by following
 “ the maxims he advances, is grown flourishing and great ;
 “ and that the cities he censures, by not pursuing them,
 “ are become unfortunate. However, this is not the situa-
 “ tion of our affairs: But your city, from a more illustrious
 “ rise, and attended with greater advantages than ours, is
 “ contracted to a small habitation ; while we, from small
 “ beginnings, have, in a short time, rendered Rome the
 “ most considerable of all her neighbouring cities, by ad-
 “ hering to the very institutions you condemn. As to our
 “ dissensions, since these, also, Fufetius, have fallen under
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“ your cenſure, the end of them is not to deſtroy, and
“ impair the commonwealth, but to preſerve, and improve
“ it. There is an emulation between the youth, and thoſe
“ of a more advanced age, and between the foreigners,
“ and natives, which of them ſhall do the greateſt ſervices
“ to the public. In ſhort, thoſe, who pretend to command
“ others, ought to be indued with theſe two qualities,
“ ſtrength in war, and prudence in counſels ; both which
“ we poſſeſs : And, that this is no empty boaſt, experience,
“ more powerful than any reaſoning, teſtifies in our favor.
“ It is certain that Rome could not have arrived to this
“ greatneſs, and power in the third generation after its
“ foundation, by any other means, than by the exceſs both of
“ valor, and wiſdom. The behaviour of many Latin cities
“ is ſufficient to ſhew its ſtrength ; theſe, though your own
“ colonies, have deſpiſed your city, and ſubmitted to us,
“ chuſing rather to be commanded by the Romans, than
“ the Albans ; becauſe they look upon us as capable both
“ of doing good to our friends, and harm to our enemies ;
“ and upon you, as capable of neither. I had many other
“ reaſons, Fufetius, of equal ſtrength to alledge againſt your
“ pretenſions ; but, ſeeing arguments are of little weight,
“ and that, whether I ſay more, or leſs, as you will endeavour
“ to confute it, the effect will be the ſame ; for which
“ reaſon, I ſhall make an end of ſpeaking before you, who
“ are both our adverſaries, and judges. However, I con-
“ ceive there is but one way of deciding our differences,
“ which is the beſt, and has been made uſe of by many
“ nations,

“ nations, both Barbarians, and Greeks, when a contest has
 “ arisen between them, either for the sovereignty, or con-
 “ cerning lands ; this I shall propose, and then conclude.
 “ Let each of us fight the battle with some part of our
 “ armies, and contract the fate of the war to the smallest
 “ number; and let us give to that city, the sovereignty over
 “ the other, whose citizens shall overcome their adversaries :
 “ For those contests, which cannot be determined by argu-
 “ ments, must be decided by arms.”

XII. These were the reasons, urged by both the generals, to support the pretensions of their respective cities to the sovereignty ; the conclusion of which was such as Tullus had proposed : For both the Albans, and Romans, who were present at the assembly, being desirous to put a speedy end to the war, resolved to decide the contest by arms. This being agreed to, the next question was concerning the number of the combatants ; in this, the generals were not of the same opinion. Tullus desired that the fate of the war might be decided by the smallest number, that the bravest man among the Albans should fight the bravest of the Romans in single combat ; and he, cheerfully, offered himself to fight for his own country, inviting the Alban to emulate him, and representing to him that the combats of generals, for sovereignty, and power, were glorious, not only, to the persons, who conquered brave men, but, also, to those, who were conquered by the brave : He, also, enumerated the generals, and kings, who had exposed their lives for their country, esteeming it a reproach to them to have a

greater share of honors than others, and a less of dangers. The Alban agreed to the committing the fate of the cities to a few persons, but did not approve of deciding it by a single combat. He owned that, when leaders of armies seek to establish their own power, it is both glorious and necessary for them to engage in single combat, in order to acquire it; but, when the cities themselves are contending for superiority, he thought it, not only, hazardous, but, even, dishonourable for them to trust their fate to the decision of a single combat, whether the event proved fortunate, or otherwise: For which reason, he proposed that three chosen men of each city should fight in the presence of all the Albans, and Romans; alledging that this number was, of all others, the most proper to decide any contest, as containing in itself a beginning, a middle, and an end. This proposal being approved of both by the Romans, and Albans, the assembly broke up, and both returned to their own camps.

XIII. After this, the generals assembled their respective armies, and gave them an account as well of the discourses, which had passed between them, as upon what terms they had agreed to put an end to the war: And both armies having, with great approbation, ratified the agreement, entered into by their chiefs, there arose a wonderful emulation among the officers, and soldiers, many, earnestly, desiring to obtain the honors due to the conquerors in this combat, and expressing this emulation, not only, by their words, but, also, by their actions: So that, the leaders found great difficulty
in

in the choice of the properest persons : For, if any was renowned for the nobility of his ancestors, or remarkable for his strength of body, famous for some brave action, or distinguished by some other adventure, or bold achievement, he insisted upon being the first of the three champions. This emulation, which was running to a great height in both armies, was suppressed by the general of the Albans, who called to mind that a particular providence of the gods, long since, foreseeing this combat between the two cities, had directed their future champions to be born of no obscure families, brave in war, beautiful in their persons, and distinguished from the generality of mankind by their birth, which, from the extraordinary circumstances attending it, was unusual and wonderful. For Sicinius, an Alban, having, about the same time, married his twin daughters to ¹⁰Horatius, a Roman, and to Curatius, an Alban, and their wives, being with child at the same time, each of them was brought to bed, at her first lying-in, of three male children. All these children, their parents, looking upon the event as a happy omen both to their cities, and families, brought up till they arrived to manhood. To these youths the gods, as

¹⁰ Ορᾶσιω τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ, καὶ Κυρᾶσιω τὸ γένος Ἀλβανῶ. Livy, in giving an account of this remarkable incident, says the Roman historians were divided in their opinions concerning the names of the Roman, and Alban champions: However, "he says, the major part make the Horatii to have been Romans; which opinion he has adopted:

Tamen in re tam clarâ error manet utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curatii fuerint. Zintiores utroque trahunt: plures tamen invenio, qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut sequar, inclinât animus. Sigonius says, upon this occasion, that we ought to read *Curatii*, with our author, instead of *Curatii*; the former reading being supported by the manuscripts.

I said before, had given beauty, and strength, and a greatness of mind, not inferior to That, which men of the happiest disposition could boast of: And, to these, Fufetius resolved to commit the combat for the sovereignty; then, desiring a conference with the king of the Romans, he spoke to him as follows:

XIV. “ Tullus, some god, who watches over the safety
“ of both cities, seems, as upon many other occasions, so in
“ what relates to this combat, to give us evident marks of
“ his benevolence: For it looks, intirely, like a wonderful
“ instance of divine favor, that the champions, who are to
“ engage in the common cause, should be found inferior to
“ none in birth, brave in arms, and beautiful in their persons;
“ and, besides, that they should be born of one father,
“ and mother, and, what is yet more wonderful, that they
“ should come into the world the same day: These are the
“ Horatii with you, and the Curatii with us. Why, therefore,
“ do we not embrace this so great a providence of the
“ gods; and each of us invite these three twin-brothers to
“ engage in this combat for the sovereignty? For all the
“ other advantages, which we expect in the best qualified
“ champions, are united in these; to which may be added
“ that, as they are brothers, they will be more unwilling
“ than any others, either among the Romans, or Albans,
“ to forsake their companions in distress: And, by this
“ means also, the emulation of the rest of the youth, which
“ cannot, easily, be appeased by any other, will, soon, be
“ suppressed. For I make no doubt but there are many
“ among

“ among you, as well as among the Albans, who are am-
 “ bitious of the character of brave men, whom we shall,
 “ easily, prevail upon to desist from their pretensions, if we
 “ inform them that a kind of providential incident has
 “ prevented all human competition, and has itself furnished
 “ us with champions qualified to engage upon equal terms
 “ in the cause of the cities: For they will then not look
 “ upon themselves as inferior to the three twin-brothers
 “ in bravery, but only in a happiness of nature, and in their
 “ concurrence with the design of fortune, equally, inclined
 “ to both parties.”

.XV. After Fufetius had said this, and his proposal been received with a general approbation (for the most considerable both of the Romans, and Albans were present at the conference) Tullus, after a short pause, spoke as follows;
 “ Your reasons, Fufetius, seem, in general, to be just: For it
 “ must be some wonderful accident, that has produced both
 “ at Rome, and at Alba, in our time, a similitude of birth
 “ never known before; but one thing you seem not to have
 “ attended to, which will create a great unwillingness in
 “ the youths, if we desire them to fight with one another:
 “ For the mother of our Horatii is sister to the mother of
 “ your Curatii; and the young men have been brought up
 “ in the arms of both the women, and cherish, and love
 “ one another no less than they do their own brothers.
 “ Consider, therefore, whether, as they are ” cousin-germans,

” Αδελφοί. The reader will observe that αδελφοί, in this place, signifies *cousin germains*, not *brothers*; which is no uncommon use of this word.

“ and

“ and have been brought up together, it would not be im-
“ pious in us to put arms in their hands, and invite them
“ to mutual slaughter: For the impiety of domestic murder,
“ if they are reduced to a necessity of committing it, will,
“ deservedly, fall upon us, who are the authors of that ne-
“ cessity.” To this Fufetius answered; “ I am not unac-
“ quainted, Tullus, with the affinity of the youths; neither
“ did I propose to compel them to fight with their cousins,
“ unless they themselves were inclined to it: But, as soon
“ as this thought came into my mind, I sent for the Curatii,
“ and sounded them in private, that I might be satisfied
“ whether they were willing to engage in the combat; and,
“ upon their receiving the proposal with an incredible, and
“ wonderful alacrity, I determined to disclose my design,
“ and communicate it to you; and I advise you to do the
“ same yourself; and, sending for the three twin-brothers,
“ who are with you, to inform yourself of their disposition; if
“ they, also, are willing to expose their persons in the service
“ of their country, accept the favourable offer; but, if they
“ decline it, use no compulsion. However, I may venture to
“ foretel the same concurrence on their part: If, therefore,
“ they are, as we have been informed, like to the few nature
“ has, the most favourably, distinguished, and brave in
“ arms (for the reputation of their valor has reached us also)
“ they will, most chearfully, accept the combat for their
“ country, even without compulsion.”

XVI. Tullus, having approved of this advice, made a truce for ten days, in order to have time to deliberate, to
inform

inform himself of the disposition of the Horatii, and to give an answer; and then returned to the city. He spent the following days in consulting with the most considerable men, and the greatest part of them inclining to accept the proposals of Fufetius, he sent for the three brothers, and spoke to them in the following manner: “ Horatii, Fufetius, the Alban, informed me, at a conference, the last time we assembled before the camp, that, by the divine providence, three brave champions were ¹² born for each city, than whom we could find none, either more valiant, or more proper for the service; and that these were the Curatii, among the Albans, and you, among the Romans: He added that, upon notice of this, he had himself first inquired whether your cousins were willing to devote their persons to the service of their country; and that, finding them very desirous to engage in the cause of the public, he could, now, make this proposal with confidence, desiring me, also, to inquire of you, whether you are willing

¹² Γεγενηθαι. I have differed from all the translators in rendering this word; to which they have agreed to give the signification of *were*, and I, that of *were born*; both which, to be sure, the word will admit of. But, as the birth of the Horatii, and Curatii has been, all along, treated as the effect of a particular providence; and, as Fufetius, whose speech is, here, alluded to, had said that their extraordinary birth seemed the effect of some particular favor from heaven, θαλαπασιν εοικεν ευεργεσια, I have not scrupled to apply the word to their

birth. This I am confirmed in by the tense of this verb, which being, what the grammarians call, *plusquam perfectum*, is much more applicable to their birth, then, long since, passed, than to any circumstances, at that time, affecting them. I know it may be said that γεγεννηθαι would, in that case, have been more proper than γεγενηθαι. That it would have been as proper I do not deny; but I know that the latter has the same signification; the only difference being that the former is derived from γεννω, and the other from γινομαι.

“ to hazard your persons in fighting for your country
“ with the Curatii; or, whether you chuse to yield this
“ honor to others. As I am acquainted with your vir-
“ tue, and courage, which are not concealed from public
“ notice, I, reasonably, concluded that you, of all others,
“ would embrace this danger, in hope of obtaining the
“ honor due to the conquerors: But, fearing lest your
“ affinity to the three Alban brothers might prove an ob-
“ stacle to your alacrity, I desired time to consider of it;
“ and, for that purpose, made a truce for ten days. When
“ I came hither, I assembled the senate, and laid the matter
“ before them for their consideration: And, it being the
“ opinion of the majority, if you, willingly, accepted the
“ combat, which is glorious in itself, and worthy of you,
“ and which I myself, for the sake of the public, was de-
“ sirous to engage in alone, to praise your resolution, and
“ accept the favor: But, if, to avoid the guilt of domestic
“ murder (for they cannot think you capable of being ac-
“ tuated by an unworthy motive) you desire that those, who
“ are, no way, related to them, should be invited to accept
“ the combat, to use no compulsion: This is the resolution
“ of the senate, who will neither be offended with you, if
“ you shew a backwardness to the undertaking, nor think
“ themselves under a small obligation to you, if you prefer
“ your country to your affinity; may you take such a
“ resolution, as becomes you!”

XVII. The youths, hearing this, withdrew; and, after
a short conference, returned to give their answer; and
the

the eldest, in the name of the rest, spoke as follows :
 “ If we were free, and sole masters of our own resolu-
 “ tions, Tullus, and you had referred it to us to deli-
 “ berate concerning the combat with our cousins, we
 “ should, without longer delay, have given you our thoughts
 “ upon it: But, since our father is alive, without whose
 “ advice we do not think it proper to say, or do the least
 “ thing, we desire you will give us a short time to consult
 “ him, before we return our answer.” Tullus commended
 their filial piety ; and, ordering them to do what they
 proposed, they went to their father ; and, having acquainted
 him with the proposals of Fufetius, and with what Tullus
 had said to them, and, last of all, with their own answer,
 they desired his advice ; who thus replied : “ You shew
 “ your piety, my children, in conducting your lives by my
 “ directions, and in doing nothing without my advice : But
 “ it is, now, time it should appear that you are capable of
 “ taking your own resolutions concerning yourselves in
 “ matters of this nature. Imagine, therefore, that I am,
 “ now, dead, and let me know what you yourselves would
 “ chuse to do, if, without your father, you were to delibe-
 “ rate upon your own affairs.” To this the eldest made
 answer ; “ Father, we would accept this combat for the
 “ sovereignty, and resolve to suffer whatever the gods should
 “ ordain : For we had rather die, than live unworthy both
 “ of you, and of our ancestors. We shall not first break the
 “ bonds of affinity, that unite us to our cousins ; but, since
 “ fortune has, already, dissolved them, we shall acquiesce in it.

“ For, if the Curatii set a less value upon their relation to
 “ us, than upon their honor, the Horatii, also, shall prefer
 “ their virtue to their affinity.” Their father, greatly,
 rejoiced to find them in this disposition ; and, lifting up his
 hands to heaven, said he thought himself under a great ob-
 ligation to the gods for having given him children of such
 worth, and bravery. Then, taking each of them in his
 arms, and embracing them in the most tender manner,
 “ You have my consent, also, says he, my brave children ;
 “ go to Tullus, and return him both a pious, and a generous
 “ answer.” The youths went away pleased with the exhor-
 tation of their father ; and, going to the king, they accepted
 the combat. Tullus, upon this, assembled the senate ; and,
 having enlarged on the praises of the youths, sent embas-
 sadors to the Alban, to acquaint him that the Romans ac-
 cepted his proposal, and had chosen the Horatii to fight for
 the sovereignty.

XVIII. As my subject requires an exact description of
 this combat, and that the incidents attending it, which re-
 semble ¹³ theatrical changes of fortune, should not be related

¹³ Παθῶν θεατρικῶν εἰδικῶν περιπέτειαις.
 I think I may venture to affirm that
 all the translators have mistaken the
 sense of περιπέτεια. The Latin trans-
 lators have said, *casus tragicis similes* ;
 le Jay, *incidents si extraordinaires, qu'ils*
ont plus l'air du théâtre que de l'histoire ;
 and M. * * *, *tragiques aventures*.
 However, περιπέτεια signifies neither
casus, incidents, nor adventures, but an

unexpected, and contrary change of
fortune ; and this is the definition
 given of it by Aristotle, in his Art
 of poetry ; ἐστὶ δὲ περιπέτεια μὲν ἡ Εἰς
 ΤΟ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ τῶν πραγμάτων μετέβολη.
 for which, he quotes the Oedipus of
 Sophocles, where the messenger, who
 comes to inform Oedipus of the death
 of Polybus, and, to deliver him from
 his apprehension of murdering his

in a curfory manner, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to give an account of every circumstance relating to it. When the time came, in which the¹⁴ terms of the agreement were to be performed, the Romans came out of the city with their whole army: The youths came with them, after they had offered up their prayers to the gods of their ancestors. They advanced, accompanied by the king, and attended with the acclamations of the whole people, who strewed flowers upon their heads. By this time, the Albans, also, had marched out of their camp with their forces: Both armies being now incamped at a small distance from one another, they appointed the interval between the two camps for the field of battle, which was, also, the boundary, that separated the territories of the Romans, from Those of the Albans, where each of them had, before, incamped. They began by offering sacrifice, and swore by the victims that were burning, to acquiesce in whatever fate the event of the combat between the relations should allot to each city: That they would, inviolately, observe the agreement; and that neither they, nor their posterity, would endeavour to

father, and committing incest with his mother, does just the contrary, by acquainting him who he is. The unexpected changes of fortune from one extreme to another, which are to be found in the following relation of this combat, will, sufficiently, justify both the definition Aristotle has given of περιπέτεια, and the application our author has made of it. I suspect much that we ought to read καὶ αὐτῶν, instead of μέν αὐτῶν, which stands in all

the editions. and manuscripts; because these theatrical changes of fortune, really, happened *during* the combat, and not *after* it.

¹⁴ Εν ᾧ τέλος εἶδει λαβεῖν τὰς ἐμελεῖας. I do not understand how M. *** came to render this *la treve de dix jours étant sur le point d'expirer*: It is plain that these words relate to the *agreement*, made by the two nations, to commit their fate to the decision of this combat.

elude

elude any part of it. After they had performed every thing relating to the worship of the gods, both the Romans, and Albans, ¹⁵ took their arms, and came out of their camps to be spectators of the combat, leaving an interval of three, or four stadia for the field of battle : And, presently, appeared the Alban general conducting the Curatii, and the king of the Romans, the Horatii: They were all armed in the most gallant manner; and, withal, dressed like men going to die. When they came near to one another, they gave their swords to their armour-bearers; and, running to each other, embraced, and wept, uttering such expressions of tenderness, that all the spectators melted into tears, and accused both themselves, and their leaders of insensibility in confining the combat for the sovereignty of the cities to kindred blood, and the guilt of domestic slaughter, when they might have chosen any other persons to decide it. The youths, after their embraces were over, received their swords from their armour-bearers; and those, who attended them, being retired, they drew up according to their age, and began the combat.

¹⁵ Θεμενοι τα όπλα. I am sensible that this expression has various significations: I have given it the same sense, in which ^o Thucydides uses this expression, when he says that the Thebans, after they had entered Plataea in the night, Θεμενοι δε ες την αγοραν τα όπλα, etc. which Hobbes has translated, with great propriety, *and making a stand with their arms in the market place*; though Valla, who has translated Thucydides into Latin, has rendered

these words, *armisque in foro positis*; just as both the Latin translators have rendered this expression in our author, in which they are followed by the French translators. But, it does not seem reasonable to me, that either the Thebans, who had been introduced into Plataea, in order to make themselves masters of it; or the Romans, and Albans, upon this occasion, should be unarmed.

^o B. ii. c. 2.

XIX. For some time, both armies were quiet and silent: After which, general acclamations were raised by both, and alternate exhortations to the combatants; these were followed by vows, and lamentations, and repeated expressions of every other agony; the former being caused by what passed before their eyes, and the latter by their apprehensions of the event; their imagination representing to them more things, than happened in reality: For, the great distance rendering the fight imperfect, the partiality of each side to their own champions represented every thing, that passed, as done according to their own sense of it; and the frequent attacks, and retreats of the combatants, with their many, and sudden returns to the charge, confounded the judgement of the spectators; and this lasted a considerable time. For the champions, on both sides, were equal both in strength of body, and in courage; and being covered with the choicest armour, no part of their bodies was left exposed, which, if wounded, could bring on present death: So that, many, as well of the Romans, as Albans, from their contention, and sympathy to their own champions, insensibly became partakers both of their dangers, and ardor, and desired rather to be actors in, than spectators of, the combat. At last, the eldest of the Albans, closing with his adversary, and giving, and receiving many wounds, by some means, ran him through the groin: The Roman, already, fainting with his other wounds, and this last proving mortal, his limbs, no longer, supported him, and he fell down dead: When the spectators saw this, they gave a general shout, the Albans, as already victorious; the
Romans,

Romans, as vanquished : For they concluded that their two champions would be, easily, dispatched by the three Albans. In the mean time, the Roman, who fought by the side of the fallen champion, seeing the Alban rejoicing in his success, immediately ran at him ; and, after many wounds received on both sides, happened to plunge his sword in his throat, and killed him. Fortune having, in a short time, made a great alteration both in the state of the combat, and in the disposition of the spectators ; and the Romans being recovered from their former dejection, and the Albans ceasing to exult, another vicissitude of fortune, by giving a check to the success of the Romans, sunk their hopes, and raised the confidence of their enemies : For the Alban falling, his brother, who stood next to him, closed with the Roman, who had slain him, and both happened to wound one another in a desperate manner at the same time ; the Alban running the Roman through the interval between the shoulders into his bowels ; and the Roman, throwing himself under the shield of his adversary, cut asunder one of his hams.

XX. The Roman, having received a mortal wound, died instantly ; and the other, being wounded in the ham, was scarce able to stand ; but halted, and, frequently, leaned upon his shield : However, he yet made a shew of resistance ; and, with his surviving brother, advanced towards the Roman, who stood his ground ; and they surrounding him, one attacked him before, and the other behind. The Roman, who was yet unhurt, being thus encompassed, and obliged

obliged to fight with two adversaries, who attacked him on both sides, fearing he might, easily, be destroyed, resolved to divide his enemies, and engage them separately ; this he thought might be effected with the greatest ease, if he pretended to fly : For he found he should not be pursued by both the brothers, but only by one of them, the other being lame. With this view, he fled as fast as he could ; neither was he disappointed in his expectation : For the Alban, who was not wounded mortally, pursued him close ; while the other, not being able to follow, advanced much slower than was requisite. Upon this, the Albans encouraged their champions ; and the Romans reproached their combatant with cowardice ; the first singing songs of triumph, and crowning themselves with garlands, as if the victory was their own ; and the others lamenting, as if fortune would, no more, revisit them : When the Roman, watching his opportunity, turned quick ; and, before the Alban was aware of it, made a stroke at his arm, and cut it off at the elbow ; and his hand falling to the ground together with his sword, the Roman aimed a second blow at him, which, taking place, killed him upon the spot : And, running from him to the other, who was half dead and languishing, he dispatched him also : Then, taking the spoils from the bodies of his cousins, he hastened to the city, to give his father the first news of his victory.

XXI. However, it was ordained that even he, as he was a man, should not be, completely, happy ; but should feel some stroke of envious fortune, who, having, in a short time,

raised him from a low rank to greatness, and to a wonderful and unexpected splendor, the same day plunged him in the afflicting calamity of being the murderer of his sister : For, when he arrived near the gates, he saw a multitude of people of all conditions coming out of the city, and, among them, his sister : At the first sight of her, he was under some concern that a virgin ripe for marriage, should leave her house, and, withdrawing herself from the care of her mother, mingle with a multitude of unknown persons : After many ill-grounded suspicions, he, at last, inclined to sentiments of good-nature, and humanity, concluding that, being desirous, in the first place, to embrace her surviving brother, and, after that, to receive an account from him of the gallant behaviour of her deceased brothers, she had broken through the rules of decency to gratify a womanish inclination. However, she was not induced, by her affection to her brothers, to venture out in this unusual manner, but by her ungoverned love for one of her cousins, to whom her father had promised her in marriage, her passion being, till then, a secret ; and, being informed by some person, who came from the camp, of the circumstances of the combat, she could, no longer, contain herself ; but flew out of the house, like a mad woman, and ran to the gates, without regarding her nurse, who called to her to return, and followed her. When she came out of the city, and saw her brother exulting in his success, and adorned with the garlands of victory, with which the king had crowned him, and his friends carrying the spoils of the slain, among which was an embroidered

broidered robe, which ſhe herſelf with the aſſiſtance of her mother, had wrought, and ſent as a preſent to her lover to be worne by him on their nuptial-day (for it is the cuſtom of the Latines to wear imbroidered robes on their wedding-days.) As ſoon, therefore, as ſhe ſaw this robe ſtained with blood, ſhe tore her garment, beat her breaſt with both her hands, lamented, and called upon her couſin : So that, all preſent were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. After ſhe had bewailed the death of her lover, ſhe fixed her eyes upon her brother, and ſaid ; “ Doſt thou rejoice, moſt execrable
 “ man, in the murder of thy couſins, and in depriving thy
 “ miſerable ſiſter of her lover ? Unfortunate wretch ! thou
 “ haſt not the leaſt pity for thy relations, who are ſlain,
 “ and whom thou uſeſt to call thy brothers ; but, as if
 “ thou haſt performed ſome great action, thou art mad
 “ with joy, and crowned for being the author of ſuch miſ-
 “ chiefs. Of what wild beaſt haſt thou the heart ? ” “ I
 “ have the heart, ſays he, of a citizen, who loves his coun-
 “ try, and knows how to puniſh her enemies whether
 “ foreign, or domeſtic ; among whom I reckon even thee,
 “ who, knowing that the greateſt happineſs, and the greateſt
 “ miſery have happened to us at the ſame time, the victory
 “ of thy country, which I, thy brother, bring with me,
 “ and the death of thy brothers ; doſt neither rejoice in the
 “ common happineſs of thy country, wicked wretch, nor
 “ grieve at the calamities of thy own family, but, forget-
 “ ting the death of thy brothers, thou lamenteſt That of
 “ thy lover ; neither doſt thou conceal the corruption of
 F 2 “ thy

“ thy heart, but expofest it to the whole world : At the
 “ fame time, thou reproacheft me with my valor, and my
 “ crowns of victory ; O thou pretender to virginity, thou
 “ enemy to thy brothers, and difgrace to thy ancestors !
 “ Since, therefore, thou doft not lament the lofs of thy
 “ brothers, but of thy coufins, and that thy body is with
 “ the living, but thy mind with the dead, go to him,
 “ whom thou calleft upon, and ceafe to difhonor either thy
 “ father, or thy brothers.” Having faid this, ¹⁶ he preferred
 no moderation in his deteftation of vice, but, in his paffion,
 ran his fword through her fides ; and, having killed his
 fifter, he went to his father : But fo averfe to vice, and fo
 exalted were the manners, and minds of the Romans at that
 time, and, to compare them with the actions, and lives
 of Thofe of our age, fo cruel and fevere, and fo little differ-
 ing from a favage fiercenefs, that the father, when informed
 of this heinous fact, was fo far from refenting it, that he
 looked upon it as a glorious, and becoming action ; neither

¹⁶ Οὐκ εφυλαξεν ἐν τῷ μισοπονηρῷ το
 μέλειον. Portus, and the two French
 translators have rendered *μισοπονηρον*
his resentment against the wickedness of
his fister : But this is not the fenfe.
Μισοπονηρον is here ufed generally, and
 fignifies a deteftation of vice, in oppo-
 fition to a love of virtue. And, when
 our author fays that Horatius prefer-
 ved no moderation in his deteftation of
 vice, I am convinced that he alludes
 to the maxims of ^p Aristotle, as laid
 down in his Ethics ; where he fays, in
 fpeaking of anger, that the mean de-

erves commendation, and the ex-
 tremes, cenfure ; *ἀλλὰ το γε τοσούτον δη-*
λον, ὅτι ἡ μὲν μέση ἐξίς ἐπαινετή, καθ' ἣν οἷς
δεῖ οργίζομεθα, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ, καὶ ὡς δεῖ,
καὶ πάντα τα τοιαῦτα· αἱ δ' ὑπερβολαὶ, καὶ
ἐλλειψεις, ψεῖλαι. Horatius carried his
 deteftation of vice too far in punifhing
 it fo feverely : This was not *ὡς δεῖ*.
 I have had fome, and fhall have more,
 opportunities of fhewing the applica-
 tion our author makes of Aristotle's
 ethics. We fhall, prefently, meet with
μισοπονηρα, again, ufed in the fenfe I
 have given to it upon this occafion.

would he suffer his daughter's body to be brought into the house, nor allow her to be buried in the monument of her ancestors, or to be honoured with a funeral pomp, with personal ornaments, or any other customary solemnity ; but she lay exposed in the place, where she was slain, and the passengers, covering her with stones, and earth, buried her as a corpse destitute of all regard. These are instances of this man's severity ; to which I shall add the following : The same day this happened, he offered to the gods of his ancestors the sacrifices he had vowed, as after some great, and fortunate events, and gave his relations a magnificent entertainment, as upon the greatest festivals ; making less account of his private calamities, than of the general advantages of his country. This, not only Horatius, but many other considerable Romans, after him, are said to have done ; that is, they have offered sacrifice, worn crowns, and triumphed, immediately after the death of their children, when, through their means, the commonwealth has prospered. Of whom I shall make mention in a proper place.

XXII. After the combat of the three twin-brothers, the Romans, who were in the camp, ¹⁷ buried, in a splendid manner,

¹⁷ Ταφας ποιησάμενοι, etc. ^a Cluver has shewn that the monument, now to be seen beyond *Albano* in the road to *Aricia* on the right of the Appian way, is not the same the Romans erected in honor of the two Horatii ; though he says the Italians are, generally, of this opinion. The reasons he gives to support his assertion are unanswerable :

They are drawn, partly, from Livy, and, partly, from our author ; from both it appears that the Horatii, and Curatii were buried separately, that is, in the places where each of them fell ; and that their sepulchres were between Alba and Rome, and, even, between the Cluilian ditches, and the latter.

^a Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

the Horatii, who were slain, in the places, where they fell; and, having offered sacrifice to the gods in acknowledgment for their victory, passed their time in rejoicings. On the other side, the Albans, afflicted with what had happened, censured the conduct of their general; and the greatest part of them passed that night in a neglect of their persons, and without taking any sustenance. The next day, the king of the Romans called them together, and comforted them with an assurance that he would lay no command upon them, that was either dishonourable, grievous, or unbecoming relations; but that, as he was king of both cities, he would consult the honor, and interest of both with the greatest impartiality; and, having continued Fufetius, their general, in the same command, and made no innovation, or change in their government, he marched home with his army. After he had celebrated the triumph, which the senate had decreed for him, and entered upon the administration of affairs, some persons of no small distinction brought Horatius before him, and accused him of domestic murder in the person of his sister; and being admitted to support their accusation, they made a long speech, quoting the laws, that allowed no person to be put to death without a trial; and giving instances of the anger of all the gods against those cities, which had neglected to punish criminals. On the other side, the father spoke in favor of the youth, and accused his daughter, alledging that the act was a punishment, not a murder; and added that he was the proper judge of the calamities of his own family, as being father to them both. A great deal
having

having been said on both sides, the king was under great difficulty what judgement to pronounce in the cause : For he did not think it justifiable in him either to acquit a person of murder, who confessed he had put his sister to death without trial, and that for what the laws had not adjudged to be capital ; lest, by so doing, he should transfer the malediction, and guilt from the criminal to his own family ; or to punish as a murderer, a person, who had, voluntarily, exposed his life for the service of his country, and invested her with so great power ; especially, as he was acquitted by his father, to whom both nature, and the law had given, in the first instance, the right of resenting the death of his own daughter. Not knowing, therefore, how to act in the affair before him, he, at last, resolved to leave the determination of it to the people. The Roman people being, upon this occasion, judges, for the first time, in a cause of a ¹⁸ capital nature, adhered to the determination of

¹⁸. Γενομενος δε Δαναήφορος κτισσας
 τέλει πρῶτον ὁ Ρωμαίων δημος κυριος. This
 must not be understood as if the Ro-
 man people derived their right of
 judging capital crimes, in the last in-
 stance, from this transaction ; but that
 this was the first time they exercised
 that right. This will appear from
 * Livy, who, upon this occasion, gives
 us the very words of the law, (*carmen
 legis*, as he calls them very properly)
 by which there had been an appeal
 given to the people, originally, from
 the sentence of the Duumviri ; *Duum-
 viri perduellionem judicent ; si à Duum-*

*viris provocarit, provocatione certato : Si
 vincent, caput obnubito : infelici arbori
 resse suspendito : verberato vel intra
 pomoerium, vel extra pomoerium.* This
 law continued in force as long as the
 liberty it was designed to support :
 For we find that * Julius Caesar, when
 he was edile, suborned a man to accuse
 Rabirius of the death of Saturninus ;
 and, being himself appointed one of
 the Duumviri, he condemned him
 with the same injustice, with which
 he had procured him to be prosecuted.
 It is well known that Rabirius, like
 Horatius, appealed to the people from

* B. i. c. 26. * Suetonius Life of Cæsar, c. 12.

the father, and acquitted Horatius of the murder. However, the king did not look upon the judgement, thus passed upon him by men, as a sufficient atonement for those, who desire to acquit themselves of their duty to the gods; but, sending for the pontifs, he ordered them to appease the gods, and the genius's, and to purify the person of Horatius with these lustrations, with which the law had appointed involuntary homicide to be expiated. Upon this, the pontifs erected two altars; one to Juno, to whom the care of sisters is allotted; and the other to a certain god, or genius of the country, called, in their language, ¹⁹ *Genius Curatius*, from the name of his cousins, who had been slain by him: And, having offered certain sacrifices upon them, among other expiations, they, last of all, led Horatius under the ²⁰ yoke. It is a custom among the Romans, when the enemy deliver up their arms, and submit to their power, to fix two pieces of wood upright in the ground, and fasten a

the sentence of the Duumviri; that Cicero defended him, and that Metellus saved him from the violence of Caesar's mob, by dissolving the assembly. I am surprised to find *ἑκτατηρογενὴς κρισίον* rendered by le Jay, *une matiere criminelle*; and by M. ***, *un procès criminel*; when the words, plainly, signify not only a *criminal*, but a *capital* cause.

¹⁹ Γαίον. This is the reading I have followed instead of *Ιουλιαν*, which stands in all the editions, and manuscripts. I was induced to it by a note in Hudson, in which very good reasons are given for this alteration; which note

M. *** has translated without the least acknowledgment to the person, from whom he took it.

²⁰ Ζυγόν. The yoke, under which Horatius was led by the pontifs, was called, as ¹ Livy, also, says, *Scororium tigillum*, and was, always, kept in repair. The description, given by our author of the *Jugum*, exactly, agrees with ² That given of it by ³ Livy in another place, where he says that L. Quintius Cincinnatus, then dictator, caused the Aequi, who had submitted to him, to pass under the yoke: *Tribus bestis jugum fit; lumbi fixis duabus, superque eas transversâ unâ deligatâ.*

¹ B. i. c. 26.

² B. iii. c. 75.

third to the top of them transversely; then to lead the captives under this, and after that, to grant them their liberty, and leave to return home: This they call a yoke. And this was the last of the expiatory ceremonies, made use of, upon that occasion, by those, who purified the person of Horatius. All the Romans look upon the place in the city, where they performed this expiation, as holy. This place is in the street, that leads from the Carinae down to the Cyprian-street, where the altars, then erected, still remain; and, over them, a beam is extended, and fixed in each of the opposite walls; which beam lies over the heads of the passengers, who go out of this street, and is called, in the Roman language, *Sororium tigillum*, *The sister's beam*. In this place, is still preserved the monument of this man's misfortune, which is honoured by the Romans with annual sacrifices. The other monument, erected in memory of the bravery he shewed in the combat, is an angular pillar, standing at the entrance into one of the two portico's in the forum, upon which were placed the spoils of the three Alban brothers: The arms are defaced by length of time; but the pillar still preserves its name, and is called *Pila Horatia*, *The Horatian Pillar*. There is also a law among them, enacted upon the occasion of this event, which they observe to this day, and which renders the honor, and glory of these persons immortal: This law ordains that, whensoever three male children are born at a birth, they shall be maintained at the expence of the public, till they are men. Such was the conclusion of the incidents relating to the family of the Horatii, which

had been attended with wonderful, and unexpected vicissitudes of fortune.

XXIII. The king of the Romans, having employed a year in making the necessary preparations of war, resolved to lead out his army against the city of the Fidenates : His pretence for the war was, that this people, being called upon to justify themselves in relation to the treacherous design they had formed against the Romans, and Albans, had refused to obey ; and, immediately, taking arms, shutting their gates, and bringing in the auxiliary forces of the Veientes, openly, revolted ; and that, when the ambassadors sent from Rome, demanded the cause of their revolt, they had answered, that there was nothing of a public nature subsisting between them, and the city of Rome, since the death of Romulus, king of the Romans, with whom they had entered into a treaty of friendship, mutually, confirmed by oaths. Tullus, laying hold of this pretence, not only armed his own forces, but sent to his allies for their assistance. The most numerous, as well as the best auxiliary troops were brought to him, from Alba, by Metius Fufetius, who were armed in so gallant a manner, as to excel all the other allied forces. Tullus, therefore, making no doubt but that Metius resolved to assist him, in carrying on the war, with alacrity, and the greatest sincerity, commended him, and communicated to him all his designs. But this man, who was accused by his citizens of want of conduct in the former war, and, also, of treachery, finding himself continued in the sovereignty of the city for the third year, by
the

the appointment of Tullus, he grew uneasy to see the magistracy, with which he was invested, subject to That of another person; and, desiring to command rather than to obey, he formed a design of an execrable nature: For, having sent embassadors, privately, to the enemies of the Romans, whilst they were yet wavering in their resolution to revolt, he encouraged them to declare themselves without hesitation, by engaging to fall upon the Romans himself during the battle: And these operations, and designs he kept secret from all the world. Tullus, as soon as his own army, and That of his allies were in readiness, marched against the enemy; and, having passed the river ²¹ Anio, he incamped near Fidenae: But, finding a considerable army both of the Fidenates, and of their allies, drawn up before the city, he lay quiet that day; and the next, he sent for Fufetius the Alban, and his other principal friends, and held a council with them concerning the operations of the war: And they being all of opinion to engage immediately, and lose no time, he appointed the post, and the command of all his officers; and, having fixed the next day for the battle, he broke up the assembly. In the mean time, Fufetius (for his treachery was still a secret to many even of his own friends) calling together the most con-

²¹ *Ἀνίον*. This reading is owing to * Cluver; and, as it approaches, nearly, to the Latin declination of the word, I have preferred it to *Ἀνίων* in the editions, and to *Ἀνίον* in the Vatican manuscript. The Anio, now

Teverone, rises on a hill three Roman miles east of the ancient city, called *Treba*, now *Treva*, and falls into the Tiber a little above the *Pons Milvius*, now called, *Ponte Molle*.

* Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 10.

fiderable tribunes, and centurions among the Albans, he spoke to them in the following manner ;

XXIV. “ Tribunes, and centurions, I am going to impart to you great, and unexpected things, which I have, hitherto, concealed : I beg of you to keep them secret, otherwise you will ruin me ; and, if you think the success of them will be of advantage to you, assist me in the execution of them. The shortness of the time will not allow me to say many things ; for which reason, I shall mention only Those, that are most necessary. From the time we became subject to the Romans, to this day, I have led a life full of shame, and grief, though honoured by their king with the sovereign command, this being the third year I have been possessed of it, and may, if I please, enjoy it as long as I live. But I look upon it as the greatest of all evils to be the only happy man in an unhappy commonwealth ; and, finding that, contrary to all the rights mankind look upon as sacred, we have been deprived by them of the sovereignty, I considered of the means to recover it without exposing ourselves to any great calamity : After many, and various reasonings upon this subject, the only measure I could think of, that promised success, and, at the same time, seemed the easiest and the least dangerous, was to take advantage of the first war, raised against them by their neighbours : For I foresaw that, in such a situation, they would want the assistance of their allies, and, particularly, of us : And, after that, I supposed you would, without much difficulty, be convinced

“vinced that it is more glorious, as well as more just for
 “you to fight for your own liberty, than for their power.
 “After I had considered these things, I, underhand, con-
 “trived a war to be raised against the Romans by their own
 “subjects, encouraging the Veientes, and Fidenates to take
 “arms, by a promise of my assistance: Hitherto, these
 “intrigues, and my preparations to attack the Romans with
 “advantage, have been concealed from them. Now, confi-
 “der the many benefits we shall receive from this measure:
 “First, by not having, openly, taken a resolution to revolt,
 “in which there was a double danger, either to be hurried
 “on unprepared, and, trusting to our own strength only,
 “to hazard the whole; or, while we were making pre-
 “parations, and soliciting assistance, to be prevented by
 “those, who were, already, prepared, we shall, now, be ex-
 “posed to neither of these difficulties, but extract whatever
 “is useful from both: In the next place, we shall not
 “attempt, by force, to destroy the great, and almost invin-
 “cible power, and fortune of our enemies, but, by those
 “means, by which all overbearing men, and those, who can
 “hardly be subdued by force, are taken, that is, by fraud
 “and artifice; a method, of which this will neither be
 “the first, nor the only example. Besides, as our own
 “forces are inferior to the whole power of the Romans,
 “and their allies, I have secured the assistance of the
 “Fidenates, and the Veientes, whose great numbers you
 “see before you; and I have, also, taken the necessary
 “precautions, that these auxiliaries, while they assist us,
 “may,

“ may, with all possible confidence, be depended on in
“ adhering to our alliance : For our territories will not be
“ the scene of action ; but, while the Fidenates are fighting
“ for their own country, they will, at the same time,
“ defend ours. Add to this, that we shall have, also, this
“ advantage, which all men look upon as most agreeable,
“ and of which there are few examples in past ages, that,
“ while we receive a benefit from our allies, we shall be
“ thought to confer one on them. And, if our enterprise
“ succeeds, as we have reason to expect, the Fidenates, and
“ the Veientes, in delivering us from a grievous subjection,
“ will think themselves as much obliged to us, as if we
“ had delivered them from the like subjection. These are
“ the measures which I have concerted with great care,
“ and which I look upon as sufficient to embolden, and
“ excite you to revolt. I shall, now, inform you of the
“ manner, in which I propose to carry them into execution.
“ Tullus has assigned me my post under the hill, and given
“ me the command of one of the wings : When we are
“ going to engage the enemy, I will quit my post, and
“ begin to march up the hill ; you are then to follow me
“ with your troops, in their proper order. When I have
“ gained the top of the hill, and am, securely, posted,
“ observe in what manner I propose to conduct the sequel
“ of this enterprise. If the event answers my expectation,
“ and I see the enemy grow bold from a confidence of our
“ assistance, and the Romans disheartened, and terrified
“ from an apprehension of being betrayed by us, and (as
“ may

“ may be expected; preparing rather to fly, than to fight,
 “ I will fall upon them; and, as I shall come down, from
 “ an eminence, to the plain, and, with an army in heart,
 “ and good order, attack men trembling, and dispersed, I
 “ will cover the field with dead bodies: For the apprehen-
 “ sion, though ill-grounded, of the treachery of allies, or
 “ of an attempt from fresh enemies, is fatal in war; and
 “ we know that many great armies have been, utterly, de-
 “ stroyed by no other formidable circumstance so much,
 “ as by a vain fear. But our attempt will prove no vain
 “ report, no unseen terror, but an action, of all others, the
 “ most dreadful, both in appearance, and reality. However,
 “ if I find things fall out contrary to my expectations (for
 “ I think myself obliged to take notice of those incidents,
 “ also, that, often, happen contrary to our opinions; since
 “ many even improbable things befall us in the course of
 “ our lives) I shall then, also, endeavour to act contrary
 “ to what I, before, proposed: For I shall lead you against
 “ the enemy in conjunction with the Romans, assist these
 “ in gaining the victory, and pretend that I possessed myself
 “ of the eminence with an intention to surround the former;
 “ which pretence, as my actions agree with it, cannot fail
 “ of gaining credit: So that, without partaking in the
 “ dangers of either side, we shall have a share in the good
 “ fortune of both. These, therefore, are my resolutions,
 “ which, with the assistance of the gods, I design to pursue,
 “ as the most advantageous, not only to the Albans, but
 “ to the rest of the Latines. It is your duty, in the
 “ first

“ first place, to observe secrecy ; next, to keep your ranks ;
“ to yield a quick obedience to the orders you shall receive ;
“ to fight, bravely, yourselves ; and to infuse the same
“ alacrity into all, who are under your command, remem-
“ bering that we do not contend for liberty upon the same
“ terms with those, who have been accustomed to obey,
“ and who have received that form of government from
“ their ancestors : For we are free ourselves, and descended
“ from freemen ; and to us our ancestors have left an here-
“ ditary command over our neighbours, as a system of
“ government, preserved by them near five hundred years,
“ of which let us not deprive our posterity. Let no one
“ entertain a fear lest, by pursuing what I propose, he should
“ dissolve the treaties, and transgress the oaths, by which
“ they were confirmed ; on the contrary, let him consider
“ that he will restore those treaties, which the Romans have
“ violated, to their primitive force ; those important treaties,
“ I mean, which human nature has established, and the
“ general law both of the Greeks, and Barbarians con-
“ firmed, that parents shall command, and give laws to,
“ their children, and mother-cities, to their colonies : These
“ treaties, which are inseparable from human nature, we,
“ who desire they may, for ever, remain inviolate, do not
“ transgress ; neither have we reason to apprehend that the
“ wrath of the gods, or the genius’s will pursue us, as guilty
“ of an impious action, if we repine at being slaves to our
“ own posterity ; but those, who have dissolved them from
“ the beginning, and attempted, by an unjustifiable action,
“ to

“ to fet up the law of man above That of heaven ; and
 “ the anger of the gods will, with all juſtice, oppoſe them,
 “ not us ; and the indignation of men will fall upon them,
 “ rather than upon us. If, therefore, you are of opinion
 “ that theſe reſolutions will be the moſt advantageous to all
 “ of you, let us purſue them, calling the gods, and genius’s
 “ to our aſſiſtance : But, if any of you are of a contrary
 “ opinion, and entertain one of theſe two ſentiments, either
 “ that we ought never to recover the ancient dignity of our
 “ city, or that, in expectation of a more favourable oppor-
 “ tunity, we ſhould defer our undertaking for the preſent,
 “ let him make no difficulty to propoſe his thoughts to the
 “ aſſembly : For we ſhall purſue whatever reſolution you
 “ ſhall, unanimoſly, approve of.”

XXV. The aſſembly having approved of this advice, and promiſed to obſerve all his orders, he took an oath from each of them for the performance of their promiſe, and then diſſolved the aſſembly. The next day, the army both of the Fidenates, and their allies, marched out of their camp at ſun-riſe, and drew up in order of battle : On the other ſide, the Romans came out againſt them, and drew up alſo. Tullus himſelf, and the Romans formed the left wing, which was oppoſite to the Veientes : For theſe were poſted on the right of the enemy : Metius Fufetius, and the Albans were placed on the ſide of the hill, in the right wing of the Roman army, over-againſt the Fidenates. When the two armies drew near to one another, and, before they came within reach of each other’s weapons, the Albans,

separating themselves from the rest of the army, marched up the hill in good order. The Fidenates, seeing this, and not doubting but the Albans would perform the promise they had made to them of betraying the Romans, attacked the latter, now, with the greater confidence: And the right wing of the Romans, being left naked by their allies, was broken, and very much distressed: But the left, where Tullus himself fought at the head of the chosen horse, maintained the fight with great bravery. In the mean time, a man rode up to those, who were fighting under the king, and said, “ Tullus, our right wing suffers: “ For the Albans, having quitted their post, are marching “ up the hill in all haste; and the Fidenates, who stood “ opposite to them, outflank our wing now it is left naked, “ and are going to surround us.” The Romans, hearing this, and seeing the Albans marching in haste up the hill, were afraid the enemy should surround them: So that, they could not resolve either to fight, or stand their ground. Upon this occasion, they say, Tullus, with great presence of mind in so great, and so unlooked for a misfortune, made use of a stratagem, by which he, not only, preserved the Roman army, that was threatened with manifest ruin, but, also, broke, and destroyed all the measures of the enemy: For, as soon as he received this account, he raised his voice so as to be heard by the enemy, and said, “ Romans, the victory “ is ours: For the Albans have possessed themselves of the “ next hill, as you see, by my orders; to the end that, “ getting behind the enemy, they may fall upon them: “ Consider,

“ Consider, therefore, that we have our greatest foes in
 “ our power, some attacking them in front, and others
 “ in the rear ; where, being unable either to advance, or
 “ retire, and inclosed between the river on one side, and
 “ the hill on the other, they will receive exemplary punish-
 “ ment : Fall on, then, with the greatest contempt of the
 “ enemy.”

XXVI. This he repeated riding through all the ranks : Immediately, the Fidenates were afraid of a counter-treachery, suspecting the Alban had made use of this stratagem to surprise them, since they did not see him either face the enemy in conjunction with them, or charge the Romans presently, according to his promise : On the other side, these words, pronounced by Tullus, encouraged the Romans, and filled them with confidence ; and, giving a great shout, they all together attacked the enemy. Upon this, the Fidenates gave way, and fled to their city in disorder : While they were in this fear, and confusion, the king of the Romans detached the horse after them, who pursued them some time ; when, finding they were dispersed, and had neither the intention, nor the power to get together again, he gave over the pursuit, and marched against those, who were yet unbroken, and stood their ground. And here, the foot fought with great bravery, and the horse distinguished themselves still more : For the Veientes, who were posted on this side, received the charge of the Roman horse without any shew of fear, and maintained the fight a considerable time : But, hearing their left wing was beaten, and that the whole army

of the Fidenates, their allies, fled in disorder, fearing to be surrounded by the troops, that were returning from the pursuit, they, also, broke their ranks, and fled, endeavouring to save themselves by passing the river: Those, among them, therefore, who were strongest, least disabled by their wounds, and could swim, got over the river without their arms; while all, who wanted any of these advantages, were swallowed up in the eddies: For the stream of the Tiber near Fidenae is rapid, and has many windings. Tullus sent a detachment of the horse to put to death those of the enemy, who were pressing to the river; while he himself led the rest of the army to the camp of the Veientes, and took it by storm. This was the situation of the Romans, after they had been, unexpectedly, preserved from destruction.

XXVII. When the Alban observed the victory of Tullus to be, now, manifest, he, also, marched with his own troops down the hill, and pursued those of the Fidenates, who fled, to the intent that all the Romans might be witnesses of his performing some part of the duty of an ally, and destroyed many of the enemy, who were dispersed in the flight. However, Tullus, understanding his design, and detesting his double treachery, thought it not proper to reproach him with it, till he had him in his power: But, addressing himself to several persons present, he pretended to applaud the retreat he had made to the eminence, as if it had flowed from the best design; and, sending a party of horse to him, desired he would shew his zeal to the last, and go in quest of those Fidenates, being many in number, who, unable to
get

get into the city, were dispersed about the country, and put them to death. Fufetius, imagining that he had succeeded in one of his two designs, and that Tullus was unacquainted with his artifice, received the commission with joy; and, riding about the country a considerable time, put all he found to the sword: And, the sun being now set, he came with his horse to the Roman camp from the pursuit, and passed the following night in rejoicing with the rest. Tullus, having staid in the camp of the Veientes till the first watch, and examined the most considerable of the prisoners concerning the authors of the revolt; as soon as he found that, even, Metius Fufetius, the Alban, was one of the conspirators, and considered that his actions agreed with the information of the prisoners, he mounted his horse; and, taking with him the most faithful of his friends, rode to Rome: Then, sending to the houses of the senators, he assembled them before midnight, and informed them of the treachery of the Alban, producing the prisoners as witnesses; and, by what stratagem, he himself had defeated the designs both of their enemies, and of the ²²Albans: He desired them, now the war was ended in the most successful manner, to consider what remained to be done, and in what manner the traitors ought to be punished, and the city of Alba rendered more circumspect for the future. The senate were unanimous in their opinion that

²² Τῶς Ἀλβανῶς. I have substituted manuscripts; because the Eidenates were, before, included under the name of πολεμιοί. *Ἀλβανῶς* in the room of *Φιδηναιῶς*, which is the reading of all the editions, and

it was both just and necessary to punish the authors of this wicked design; but in great perplexity to find out the easiest, and safest means of effecting it: For they thought it impossible to put to death a great number of brave Albans in a clandestine, and private manner; and, if they should attempt, openly, to apprehend, and punish the guilty, they had reason to fear the Albans would not suffer it, but would run to arms; and they were unwilling to have a war, at the same time, with the Fidenates, and Tyrrhenians, and the Albans, who, as allies, had come to their assistance. While they were in this perplexity, Tullus delivered an opinion the last, which was, unanimously, approved of, and, concerning which I shall speak presently.

XXVIII. The distance between Fidenæ, and Rome, being forty stadia, Tullus rode full speed to the camp; and, sending for Marcus Horatius, the survivor of the three brothers, before it was quite day, he gave him a party of horse, and foot, all chosen men, and commanded him to go to Alba, and to enter the city as a friend; and that, as soon as he had secured the submission of the inhabitants, he should demolish the city to the foundations, without sparing any buildings, whether private, or public, except the temples: And, as to the citizens, he was neither to kill, nor injure any of them, nor to deprive them of their effects. After he had sent away Horatius with this commission, he assembled the tribunes, and centurions; and, having acquainted them with the resolutions of the senate, he placed them as a guard about his person. Soon after, the Alban
came

came to express his joy in the common victory, and to congratulate Tullus upon it. The latter, still concealing his design, commended him as a person, to whom great rewards were due; and, at the same time, desired him to write down the names of such of the Albans, as had distinguished themselves in the battle, and bring the list to him, to the end that they, also, might have their share in the fruits of the victory. The Alban, pleased with this, gave him a list of his most intimate friends, who were the accomplices in his secret designs. Then, the king of the Romans commanded all the troops to assemble without arms. When they were assembled, he ordered the general of the Albans, together with his tribunes and centurions, to stand close to the tribunal; next to these, he placed the rest of the Albans; and, behind the Albans, the troops of the other allies: All these he encompassed with Romans, of whom the most resolute had swords concealed under their garments. When Tullus found he had the advantage over his adversaries, he rose up, and spoke as follows:

XXIX. “ Romans, and you my friends, and confederates,
 “ we have, with the assistance of the gods, taken revenge
 “ on the Fidenates, and their allies, who have dared, openly,
 “ to make war against us; so that, they will either cease
 “ for the future to disturb us, or they will receive a severer
 “ chastisement than, hitherto, they have felt. It is, now,
 “ time, since our first enterprise has succeeded to our wish,
 “ to punish those enemies also, who call themselves our
 “ friends, and were taken into this war to assist us in an-
 “ noying

“noying our common enemies, but have broken their faith ;
“and, entering into clandestine treaties with those enemies,
“have attempted to destroy us all: For these are much
“more dangerous than open enemies, and deserve a severer
“punishment: Since it is both easy to guard against the
“stratagems of the latter, and, when they attack as enemies,
“possible to repulse them: But, when friends act the part
“of enemies, it is neither easy to guard against them, nor
“possible, for those, who are surpris’d, to repulse them :
“And such are the allies, sent by the city of Alba to cir-
“cumvent us, although they have received no injury from
“us, but many considerable benefits : For, as we are their
“colony, we have not dismembered any part of their em-
“pire, but have rais’d our own strength, and power, out of
“the acquisitions we have made from our own enemies :
“And, by making our city a rampart against the most
“considerable, and most warlike nations, we have, effectually,
“secured them from a war with the Tyrrhenians, and
“Sabines. In the prosperity, therefore, of our city they
“ought, of all others, the most to rejoice, and grieve at our
“calamities, not less than at their own. However, these
“people have envied, not only, us those advantages we
“enjoy, but, also, themselves that happiness they enjoyed,
“through our means ; and, at last, unable, any longer, to
“contain their dissembled hatred, they declared war against
“us : But, finding us well prepared to receive them, and
“themselves in no condition to annoy us, they invited us
“to a reconciliation, and friendship, and propos’d the
“deciding

“ deciding of our contest for the sovereignty by three per-
 “ sons from each city : These conditions, also, we accepted,
 “ and, having gained the victory, became masters of their
 “ city. After this, in what manner did we behave ourselves
 “ towards them? Why, when we had it in our power to
 “ take hostages from them ; to leave a garrison in their
 “ city ; to take off some of the principal authors of the
 “ war between the two cities, and banish others ; to change
 “ the form of their government according to our own in-
 “ terest ; to punish them with the forfeiture of a part of
 “ their lands, and effects ; and, which was the easiest thing
 “ of all, to disarm them, by which means we should have
 “ added strength to our government ; we did not think fit
 “ to do any thing of this kind, but, consulting our piety to
 “ our mother-city, rather than the security of our power,
 “ and preferring the good opinion of all the world, to our
 “ private advantage, we allowed them to enjoy every thing
 “ they could call their own, and suffered Metius Fufetius,
 “ whom they themselves had honoured with the chief
 “ magistracy, as the most deserving man, ²³ to be sure, of all
 “ the Albans, to administer the public affairs to this time :
 “ For which favors, you shall hear what returns they made
 “ at a time, when the attachment of our friends, and allies
 “ was more necessary to us than ever : They entered into

²³ Δη. Neither of the Latin trans-
 lators, nor Mr. * * *, (for le Jay has
 left it out) have attended to the Irony
 expressed by this word δη, which, in
 my opinion, gives great life to the

sentence. The Latin language afforded
 the former a happy manner of trans-
 lating this Irony ; *Albanorum* scilicet
praestantissimum.

“ a private league with our common enemies, by which
“ they ingaged to fall upon us in conjunction with them ;
“ and, when the two armies approached each other, they
“ quitted their post, and ran to the next hills, making haste,
“ early, to possess themselves of a place of strength ; and,
“ if their design had succeeded according to their desire,
“ nothing could have prevented us, when surrounded both
“ by our enemies, and our friends, from being all destroyed,
“ and the fruit of the many battles we had fought for the
“ sovereignty of our city, from being, in one day, lost.
“ But, since their design has miscarried, in the first place,
“ through the benevolence of the gods (for I am one of
“ those, who ascribe all great, and good actions to them)
“ and, next to that, by the stratagem I made use of, which
“ did not, a little, contribute to inspire both the enemy with
“ fear, and our own army with confidence : For what I
“ said during the battle, that the Albans had possessed
“ themselves of the eminences, by my orders, with a view of
“ surrounding the enemy, was all a fiction, and a stratagem
“ contrived by myself : Since, I say, our affairs have taken
“ a happy turn, we should not behave ourselves with a
“ becoming spirit, if we did not take revenge on these
“ traitors ; who, besides their obligation, which, from their
“ consanguinity to us, they ought to have preserved invio-
“ late, have, lately, entered into treaties with us, confirmed
“ by mutual oaths : Yet, without fearing the gods, whom they
“ had called upon to bear witness to these treaties, or regarding
“ justice itself, and the indignation of men ; without con-
“ sidering

“ fidering the greatnefs of the danger, if their treachery
 “ fhould not fucceed according to their wifh, they have,
 “ in conjunction with our greateft adverfaries, and our
 “ greateft enemies, endeavoured to deftroy us, who are both
 “ their colony, and their benefactors, in the moft miserable,
 “ and moft flagitious manner.”

XXX. While he was fpeaking, the Albans had recourfe
 to lamentations, and intreaties of every kind; the common
 people faying they had no knowledge of the intrigues of
 Metius; and their commanders pretending they had no
 notice of his fecret counfels, till the very time of the battle,
 when it was not in their power either to prevent his orders,
 or to refufe obedience to them: And fome, even afcribed
 their ingagement to an involuntary neceffity, grounded on
 their affinity, or relation to Metius. To whom the king,
 having commanded them to keep filence, thus addreffed
 himfelf; “ Neither am I, men of Alba, unacquainted with
 “ any thing you urge in your defence; but am of opinion
 “ that the generality of you had no knowledge of this
 “ treachery; my reafon is, that fecrets are, prefently, di-
 “ vulged, when many are made acquainted with them. I am,
 “ alfo, of opinion that, only, a fmall number of the tribunes,
 “ and centurions were accomplices in the confpiracy formed
 “ againft us, and that the greateft part of them were de-
 “ ceived, and forced into it by an involuntary neceffity.
 “ But, if nothing of all this were true, and, if all the Albans,
 “ as well you, here prefent, as thofe, who are left in the
 “ city, had an inclination to hurt us; and, that you had

“ not now, for the first time, but, long since, taken this
“ resolution, yet the Romans would think themselves ob-
“ liged, on account of their relation to you, to bear, even,
“ this your injustice. But, the only security, and provision
“ against your being either forced, or seduced, by your leaders
“ into any unjust designs against us for the future, will be
“ for us all to become citizens of the same city, and to look
“ upon the same country as our own, in whose prosperity,
“ and adversity, every one will have that share, which for-
“ tune allots to him : For, while each of us, as, at present,
“ considers the advantages, and disadvantages of the other
“ with a view to their different interests, there can be no
“ permanent friendship between us, particularly, when the
“ aggressors, if they succeed, are to gain an advantage, and,
“ if they fail, to be secured, by their affinity, from every
“ kind of chastisement ; while those, against whom the
“ attempt is formed, if they are subdued, are to suffer the
“ worst of treatment ; and, if they escape, are not to retain
“ the same resentment against the aggressors, as against
“ enemies, which is the case at present. Know, then, that
“ the Romans, last night, came to the following resolutions,
“ I myself having assembled the senate, and taken down
“ their decree in writing, by which it is ordered that your
“ city be demolished ; and that no buildings, either public,
“ or private, be left standing, except the temples ; that all
“ the inhabitants continue in the possession of the lands
“ they, now, enjoy, and, also, of their slaves, cattle, and
“ other effects, and, from this time, reside at Rome ; that
“ such

“ such of your lands, as belong to the public, be divided
 “ among those of the Albans, who have none, except the
 “ sacred possessions, out of which the sacrifices to the gods
 “ are provided ; that I take care to appoint the places in
 “ the city for the construction of the houses, in which you,
 “ who are to remove, are, for the future, to dwell, and assist
 “ the poorer sort in the expence of building ; that your
 “ common people be incorporated with ours, and distributed
 “ among the tribes, and curiae ; that the following families
 “ be, not only, admitted to a seat in the senate, and a share in
 “ the magistracy, but, also, to the rank of patricians, to wit,
 “ ²⁴the Julii, the Servilii, the Geganii, the Metilii, the Curatii,
 “ the Quinctii, and the Cloelii: And that Metius, and his ac-
 “ complices in the treachery, suffer such punishments, as
 “ we shall ordain, when we come to sit in judgement upon
 “ each of the criminals: For we shall deprive none of them
 “ either of a trial, or of the liberty of making their de-
 “ fence.”

²⁴. Ἰουλῖες, etc. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, which M. * * * has translated, as he has the three following, without the least acknowledgment to the person, from whom he had them. In this note, it is said that Livy calls this family *Tullios*: But, in my edition of Livy published by Gronovius, and printed at Amsterdam in 1679, they are called Julii, which, to be sure, is the true reading. Livy omits the Metilii. Sigonius has shewn, in a note upon this passage of Livy, that we must, always, read Quinctus, Quinctius, Quinctilius, and Quincti-

lianus, instead of Quintus, etc. Though I do not think that either Livy, or our author would have inserted the Julii among the Alban families, who removed to Rome upon this occasion, and were admitted into the senate, unless they had been justified in it by the authority of the best historians ; yet I cannot help taking notice that they both agree in placing them at the head of those families. However, the proper place for the Julian family is at the head of that long list of usurpers, who have rendered their names detestable to all ages by subverting the liberties of their fellow-subjects.

XXXI. After Tullus had done speaking, the poorer sort of the Albans were, very well, satisfied to become inhabitants of Rome, and to have lands allotted to them ; and received this declaration with great acclamations. But those among them, who were distinguished by their dignities, and fortunes, were grieved to leave the city, in which they had received their birth, and to abandon the houses of their ancestors, and pass the rest of their lives in a foreign country : But these, being reduced to the last extremity, had nothing to say. Tullus, finding how the common people were disposed, ordered Metius to make his defence, if he had any thing to alledge in his justification : But he, unable to justify himself against the accusers, and witnesses, said, that the Alban senate had, privately, given him these orders, when he took the field with his army ; and desired the Albans, for whom he had endeavoured to recover the sovereignty, to assist him ; and to suffer neither their city to be demolished, nor the most illustrious of their countrymen to be dragged away to punishment. Upon this, there was a tumult in the assembly, and some of them running to arms, those, who had surrounded them, upon a signal given, held up their swords : This striking a terror into all, Tullus rose up again, and said ; “ Albans, you are
“ prevented from committing fresh disorders, and excesses :
“ For, if you offer to stir, you shall all be put to death by
“ these men (pointing to those, who had their swords in
“ their hands :) Accept, therefore, the terms, that are granted
“ to you, and be, from this time, Romans ; since one of
“ these

“ these two things you must submit to, either to live at
 “ Rome, or to have no other country: For, early this
 “ morning, Marcus Horatius went to Alba, sent thither by
 “ me to demolish your city from the foundations, and to
 “ remove all the inhabitants to Rome. Look upon these
 “ orders, therefore, as, in a manner, executed; cease to
 “ court destruction, and obey. As for Metius Fufetius,
 “ who has, not only, laid snares for us in secret, but, even
 “ now, has dared to call the turbulent, and seditious to
 “ arms, I shall punish him in such a manner, as his wicked,
 “ and deceitful heart deserves.” At these words, that part
 of the assembly, which was inflamed, now subdued by irre-
 sistible necessity, was terrified: Fufetius only shewed his
 resentment still, and called out, appealing to the treaties,
 which he himself was convicted of having violated; and,
 even in this distress, abated nothing of his fierceness: Him
 the Lictors seized by the order of Tullus; and, tearing off
 his clothes, rent his body with many stripes. After he had
 been, sufficiently, punished in this manner, they brought
 two chariots, each drawn by two horses; then, with long
 traces, fastened his arms to one of them, and his feet to the
 other; and the coachmen driving their chariots opposite
 ways, the wretch was dashed against the ground; and, be-
 ing dragged by each in a contrary direction, was soon torne
 in pieces: This was the miserable, and shameful end of Me-
 tius Fufetius. His friends, and accomplices were tried by
 judges appointed by the king, who put such of them to
 death

death as were found guilty, pursuant to the law made against deserters, and traitors.

XXXII. In the mean time, Marcus Horatius, who had been sent with the chosen men to demolish the city of Alba, having soon performed his march, and, finding the gates open, and the walls unguarded, easily, made himself master of the city; then, assembling the people, he informed them of every thing, which had happened during the battle, and read to them the decree of the senate. Upon this, the inhabitants had recourse to supplications, and intreated him to give them time to send ambassadors to Rome: But Horatius, refusing to grant any delay, demolished the houses, and the walls, and every other building, both public, and private; but conducted the inhabitants to Rome with great care, and allowed them to carry their effects with them. These, Tullus, being arrived from the camp, distributed among the tribes, and the curiæ of the Romans; assisted them in building houses in such parts of the city, as they themselves desired; divided a sufficient quantity of the lands, belonging to the public, among the poorer sort; and, by other acts of humanity, recovered that people from their consternation. ²⁵ The city of Alba, which had been

²⁵ Η μὲν δὲ Ἀλβανῶν πόλις, etc. I have, upon a former occasion, * shewn that *Alba-Longa* did not stand in the same place, where *Albano* now stands.

¹ Livy makes Alba to have subsisted 400 years at the time of its destruction; *unaque hora* quadringentorum *annorum opus, quibus Alba steterat, excidio ac ruinis*

* See 215th annot. on the first book.

dedit: Faber says, in a note upon this passage, *dicere debuit* quingentorum: But That, we shall find, is too much. ² Virgil makes Jupiter say to Venus,

*Hic jam tercentum totos regnabitur annos
Gente sub HecTORi: donec regina sacerdos,
Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Iliæ prolem.*

¹ B. i. c. 29. ² B. i. v. 272.

built

built by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, and Creusa, the former being the son of Anchises, and the latter the daughter of Priamus, having subsisted four hundred and eighty seven years from its foundation, during which time it had, greatly, encreased in populoufness, riches, and every other prosperity, had founded, by its colonies, the thirty cities of the Latines, and, all that time, been sovereign of that nation, being demolished by its last colony, remains uninhabited to this day. Tullus, after an intermission of the war during the following winter, as soon as the spring came on, marched with his army against the Fidcnates. These had, publicly, received no kind of assistance from any of the cities in alliance with them: However, they so far relied on certain mercenaries, who had resorted to them from many places, that they had the confidence to come out of their city; and, having engaged the Romans in a pitched battle, and lost many of their men in the action, they were, again, shut up within their walls. But Tullus, having encompassed the city with a line, fortified with palis-

Virgil computes to the birth of Romulus: To which computation, if we add 105 years for the life of Romulus, the interregnum of one year after his death, the reign of Numa, and the six first years of Tullus, the whole will amount to 405 years, which exceeds the computation of Livy but five years. However, the duration of Alba, to which our author allows 487, will be found, exactly, to agree with the number of years comprised between its

foundation, and destruction; as the reader will see, if he pleases to consider that Alba was built by Ascanius in the twenty fifth year of his reign; and, if, to the thirteen years Ascanius reigned after he had built ^a Alba, we add the reigns of the Alban kings, who succeeded him, the reign of Romulus, the interregnum of one year, the reign of Numa, and the six first years of Tullus, the whole will amount, exactly, to 487 years.

^a See the 225th annot. on the first book.

fades and a ditch, and reduced those within to the last extremity, they were obliged to surrender themselves to the king upon his own terms. Tullus, being, by this means, master of the city, he put to death the authors of the revolt, and pardoned all the rest; and, having left them in the enjoyment of their fortunes in the same manner as before, and restored to them their ancient form of government, he disbanded his army. After which, he went to Rome, and celebrated his second triumph, attended with the customary trophies, and sacrifices, as a thanksgiving to the gods for his victory.

XXXIII. After this war, another broke out from the Sabine nation; the beginning, and occasion of which was this: There is a temple, honoured in common by the Sabines, and the Latines; it is held in the greatest reverence, and dedicated to a goddess, called ²⁶ Feronia, whom some authors, translating the word into Greek, call *Ἀνθοφορος*, *Flower-bearer*; others, *Φιλοσεφανος*, *Lover of garlands*, and others, *Φερσεφονη*, *Proserpina*. To this temple many people used to resort from the neighbouring cities, on the appointed festivals, some to perform their vows, and offer sacrifice to the goddess; others to trade upon the occasion of this solemnity, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen; these being the most celebrated fairs of all Italy. At this solemnity, certain Romans, of no obscure name, happened to be present, and were seized by some of the Sabines, who imprisoned them, and took away their money: And, when

²⁶ *Φερωνία*. This temple is mentioned in the 49th chapter of the second book.

an embassy was sent upon this occasion, they refused to do justice, and retained both the persons, and their monies; and, in their turn, accused the Romans of having received the fugitive Sabines, by erecting an asylum, of which I gave an account in the preceding book. The two nations, being engaged in a war by these accusations, they both took the field with numerous armies, and came to a general engagement; and the fight being maintained with equal animosity, they were parted by the night, the victory remaining doubtful. The following days, both of them, being informed of the number of the slain, and wounded, were unwilling to hazard another battle, but left their camps, and retired. After which, they passed the remainder of that year without action. Then, having increased their forces, they, again, marched against one another, and came to an engagement near the city of ²⁷ Eretum, at the distance of one hundred and seven stadia from Rome, in which, many fell on both sides; and that battle, also, continuing doubtful for a considerable time, Tullus, lifting up his hands to heaven, made a vow to the gods, if he overcame the Sabines that day, to institute festivals in honor of Saturn, and Rhea, to be performed at the expence of the public, (which

²⁷ Herſev. This city, which, formerly, belonged to the Sabines, is, now, called, *Monte Ritondo*. ^b Cluver, who measured the distance, says it is a little above thirteen Roman miles from Rome: So that, we must read *σταδια επτα και εκατον*, which, very little,

exceed that number of miles; and not *εξηκοντα και εκατον*, with the Vatican manuscript, Which must, also, be observed in the third chapter of the eleventh book; where the distance between Rome, and Eretum will, again, be mentioned.

^b Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8.

the Romans celebrate every year, after they have got home all the fruits of the earth) and to double the number of the Salii. These are persons of noble families, who, at appointed times, dance armed to the sound of a flute, and sing certain hymns of their country, as I mentioned in the last book: Immediately after this vow, the Romans were filled with a kind of confidence, and, like fresh troops, falling on those, that are tired, they broke them when it was late in the evening, and forced the first ranks to begin the flight; then, pursuing them as they fled to their camp, they were encountered by many more ready to defend the ditches: However, even That did not discourage them; but, having staid there the following night, and cleared the intrenchments of those, who defended them, they made themselves masters of their camp. After this action, they ravaged as much of the country of the Sabines as they thought fit, nobody, now, appearing to protect it, and then returned home. The king of the Romans triumphed a third time, upon the occasion of this victory. And, not long after this, the Sabines sending embassadors to him, he put an end to the war; having first received from them the captives they had taken in their incursions, together with the deserters; and levied the penalty, which the Roman senate, estimating the damage at a certain sum of money, had imposed upon them for the cattle, the beasts of burden, and the other effects they had taken from the husbandmen.

XXXIV. The Sabines having ended the war upon these conditions, and erected pillars in their temples, on which
the

the articles of the treaty were inscribed, as soon as they saw the Romans engaged in a war, not likely to be soon determined, against the cities of the Latines, who had all entered into a confederacy against them (the causes of which I shall, presently, mention) they, willingly, laid hold of this opportunity, and forgot those oaths, and treaties, as much as if they, never, had been made: And, looking upon this as a favourable juncture to recover from the Romans many times more money, than they had paid them, they went out, at first, in small numbers, and, privately, and plundered the neighbouring country: Afterwards, many assembled together, and in an open manner; and their first attempt succeeding, and no assistance appearing to defend the husbandmen, they despised their enemies, and proposed to attempt even Rome itself; for which purpose, they drew together an army out of every city; they, also, treated of a confederacy with the cities of the Latines, but were not able to engage that nation in their friendship, and alliance: For Tullus, being informed of their design, made a truce with the Latines, and determined to march against the Sabines; and, at the same time, armed all the forces of the Romans, which, since their union with the Albans, were double the number they were before, and sent to his other allies for all the troops they could furnish. The Sabines had, already, assembled their powers; and, when the two armies drew near, they incamped near a place, called, ^{as} *The*

^{as} τῆς ἀκαταστάτου. * Livy, in speaking of this battle, calls this wood *silva* *malitiosa*; probably, because it was a receptacle for robbers.

* B. i. c. 30.

wood of the malefactors, leaving a small interval between them. The next day, they engaged, and the fight continued doubtful for a long time; but, when it grew late in the evening, the Sabines gave way, unable to stand before the Roman horse, and many of them were slain in the flight. The Romans, having taken off the spoils from the dead, plundered their camp, and ravaged the best part of the country, returned home. This was the event of the war, that happened between the Romans, and the Sabines in the reign of Tullus.

XXXV. The cities of the Latines began, now, to quarrel with the Romans for the first time; the reason of which was, that the city of Alba being demolished, they refused to yield the sovereignty to the Romans, who had subverted it. For, fifteen years being passed since the destruction of Alba, the king of the Romans, sending ambassadors to the thirty cities, which were both the colonies, and subjects of Alba, summoned them to obey the orders of the Romans, as having succeeded to the Albans in the command over the Latines, as well as in other things, of which they had been in possession. He shewed them that there were two methods of acquisition, by which men became masters of what had belonged to others; one, the effect of necessity, the other, of choice: And that the Romans had, by both these methods, acquired the command over those cities, which had been subject to the Albans: For these, having been at war with the Romans, the latter had conquered them by their arms; and, after the others had lost their own city, the Romans
had

had yielded to them a part of theirs : So that, it was but reasonable that the Albans, both necessarily, and voluntarily, should yield to the Romans the sovereignty they had exercised over their subjects. The cities of the Latines gave no answer, separately, to the embassadors ; but, in a general assembly of the whole nation held at ²⁹ Ferentinum, they passed a vote not to yield the sovereignty to the Romans : And, immediately, chose two generals, whom they invested with absolute power with regard both to peace and war : These were Ancus Publicius of the city of ³⁰ Cora, and ³¹ Spusius Vecilius of Lavinium. These were the causes of the war between the Romans, and their countrymen : It lasted five years ; and was carried on in such a manner, as became ³² fellow citizens, and was agreeable to the manners of the ancients : For, as their armies never came to a general engagement, no great calamity, nor general slaughter, happened ; none of their cities, when conquered, was either rased,

²⁹· Εν Φερειλινῳ. ^d This town, called, by the Romans, *Ferentinum*, and, by the Italians, *Marino*, lies about thirteen miles south east of Rome.

³⁰· Κορας. ^e This town is, still, called, *Cora*. If it belonged to the Latines, as our author thinks, it lay very near the territories of the Volsci.

³¹· Σπυσιος. Portus quotes Festus, upon this occasion, for saying that the ancients used *s*, for *r* ; as *Spusius* for *Spurius*. I could not give myself leave to mention this observation without mentioning Portus, as M. * * * has done.

³²· Πολιτικός. M. * * * must not be excused for translating this, *elle se fit avec politique*, which has not the least pretence to a translation of *πολιτικός*. Le Jay has left it out, chusing rather not to inform, than to mislead, his readers. The Latin language has furnished Portus, and Sylburgius with a very proper version of this word, by *civili modo* ; as the Roman authors say *civile ingenium*. Neither the French language, nor ours can express this without a circumlocution, which the reader will accept, when the sense of an author is conveyed to him.

^d Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 10. ^e Id. B. iii. c. 8.

inflaved,

inflaved, or suffered any other irreparable mischief: But, making incursions into one another's country, when the corn was ripe, they foraged it; then, returning home with their armies, they exchanged prisoners. However, one city of the Latin nation, called Medullia, where, formerly, the Romans had planted a colony in the reign of Romulus, as I said in the preceding book, and which had revolted to their countrymen the Latines, the king of the Romans reduced by a siege, and taught them not to innovate for the future. But no other calamity, the general consequence of war, was felt by either of them, during all that time. For this reason, a reconciliation was easy; which, meeting with no rancor on either side, and the Romans shewing a great inclination to it, a peace was concluded.

XXXVI. These were the actions Tullus Hostilius performed during his reign; a man worthy of uncommon praise for his courage in war, and his prudence in the article of danger; but, above both these qualifications, that, being not precipitate in entering into a war, when he was once engaged, he, steadily, pursued it, till he gained all possible advantages over his adversaries. After he had reigned thirty two years, he perished in a fire, that consumed his palace, together with his wife, children, and all his domestics. Some say that his palace was set on fire by lightning, the gods being angry with him for his neglect of certain holy ceremonies: For, it is allowed that, in his reign, some sacrifices, peculiar to that country, were intermitted, and others, foreign to the Romans, introduced. But the greatest part derive this misfortune

misfortune from human treachery, and ascribe it to Marcius, who succeeded him in the kingdom. For they say that he, being grandson to Numa Pompilius by his daughter, was uneasy to see himself, though descended from the royal family, in the condition of a private man; and, finding Tullus had children, he was, exceedingly, apprehensive lest, upon the death of Tullus, they should succeed him in the kingdom: They add that, from these considerations, and the readiness he found in many of the Romans to assist him in his pretensions to the kingdom, he had, long since, formed a design against the king; and that, being received into the friendship of Tullus, and, chiefly, confided in by him, he was expecting a proper opportunity to execute his treacherous purpose: That Tullus, proposing to perform some sacrifice at his house, with which he would have only his intimate friends acquainted, there happened that day to be a violent tempest, attended with such a storm of rain, and wind, and so great a darkness, that those, who were upon guard before the palace, left the place: That Marcius, looking upon this, as a favourable opportunity, entered the house, together with his friends, who had swords under their garments; and, having killed the king with his children, and all the rest, who were present, he set fire to the house in several places; and that, after he had done this, he spread the report that the palace was burnt with lightning. But, for my part, I do not adopt this relation, nor do I think it either true, or probable; but, rather, adhere to the former, and look upon this unhappy end of Tullus to have been a

judgement of the gods : For, it is neither probable that an action, in which so many were concerned, could be kept secret ; neither could the author of it be certain that, after the death of Tullus Hostilius, the Romans would chuse him for their king ; neither, if he had been assured of the assistance of men, would the gods have concurred in their delusion : For, after the tribes should give their votes, it would be necessary that the gods, by auspicious omens, should approve their choice ; and, which of the gods, or genius's could, without injustice, admit a man impure, and stained with the murder of persons of so great dignity, to approach their altars, begin their sacrifices, and perform the other religious ceremonies ? For these reasons, I do not attribute this fact to the treachery of men, but to the will of the gods : However, let every one judge as he pleases.

XXXVII. After the death of Tullus Hostilius, the Interreges appointed by the senate according to the custom of the Romans, chose Marcius surnamed Ancus, king of the city ; and the decree of the senate being confirmed by the people, and approved by the gods, Marcius, after he had performed every thing the law required, entered upon the government, in the second year of the thirty fifth Olympiad, in which Sphaerus, a Lacedaemonian, gained the prize, when Damafias exercised the annual archonship at Athens. This king, finding many of the religious ceremonies, instituted by Numa Pompilius, his grandfather by the mother's side, fallen into neglect ; and seeing the greatest part of the Romans addicted both to the love of war, and a desire of gain, and,

and, no longer, employed in the culture of their lands, he assembled the people, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the gods, as practised by them in Numa's reign, representing to them that it was owing to their neglect of the gods that diseases, and many pestilential distempers had fallen upon the city, by which no small number of the people were destroyed; and that Hostilius, their former king, not having preserved that regard to them, which his duty obliged him to, had laboured long under a complication of distempers, attended even with the loss of his understanding, till, being decayed both in body, and mind, he, and his family were destroyed by a sad catastrophe. He, then, commended the system of government, introduced by Numa among the Romans, as full of greatness, and moderation, by which every one was supplied with daily plenty, flowing from the justest employments; this constitution he advised them to restore, by applying themselves to agriculture, and grafting, and to those occupations, that were free from the injustice of rapine, and violence, and to despise the advantages arising from war. By these, and the like discourses, he raised in all a great desire of tranquillity, unknown to war, and of honest industry: After this, he sent for the pontiffs, and, receiving from them the collections of religious rites, which Pompilius had composed, he caused them to be written on boards, and exposed them in the forum to be considered by every one. These have since been destroyed by time: For brazen pillars being not, yet, in use, the laws, and religious institutions were, then,

³³ ingraved on oaken boards: But, after the expulsion of the kings, they were, again, written out for the use of the public by Caius Papirius, a pontif, who had the super-

ἡ. Εν δένυαῖς ἐξαπατήσας σαυτοῖς. The boards, on which the laws of Solon were written, were called ἀξονες; from whence, came the expression ὡς ἐν τῷ Αἴονι εἰρηλαί. There is a remarkable story, told by Livy, which ^f Plutarch has, in a great measure, taken from him, concerning fourteen books of Numa. He says that, as some men were digging at the foot of the Janiculum (where our author says Numa was buried) they found two stone coffins, eight feet long, and four broad; each having an inscription on it in Latin, and Greek, by which it appeared, that Numa had been buried in one, and his books deposited in the other. The coffin, in which Numa's body had been laid, was quite empty, without any remains of a human body, or any thing else. In the other, were two bundles, tied up with waxed cords; each containing seven books, all intire, and very fresh: Seven of these books were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law; the other seven were in Greek, and contained the discipline of such wisdom (to use ^g Livy's own words) as could be known in that age; *septem Graeci de disciplinâ sapientiae, quae illius aetatis esse potuit.* The ground, in which these coffins were found, belonged to one L. Petilius; and the books having been read, first, by his friends, and, afterwards, by many others, Q. Petilius, then praetor

of the city, sent for them; and, having perused them, found they tended to destroy the established religion; *pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse.* Upon which, the affair being laid before the senate, the books were, publicly, burned by their order. This happened in the consulship of P. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Baebius Tamphilus, in the 573^d year of Rome: So that, within the space of less than 500 years, the religion of the Romans was so much altered, that the books of Numa, who founded a great part of that religion, were looked upon as destructive to the religion then in fashion. But this is not at all surprising, since the same revolutions in religion have happened in most countries within the same period. But, to return to the religious institutions of Numa, which his grandson Marcius caused to be written on tables, and hung up in the forum; these could not be the same with the seven books *de jure pontificio*, as ^h Livy calls them, found in one of these coffins; because αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν συγγραφαί, which are the words made use of by our author to describe these institutions, do not seem to imply a treatise on the pontifical law, but, rather, a collection of religious rites: This is further confirmed by the addition of the word συνενησαίε, which confines the general sense of συγγραφαί to such a collection.

^f Life of Numa, B. ii. c. 76.

^g B. xl. c. 29.

^h Id. ib.

intendance of all matters relating to divine worship. After Marcius had re-established those religious rites, which had been neglected, and sent the idle people to their proper employments, he commended the careful husbandmen, and reprimanded those, who managed their lands ill, as citizens not to be depended on.

XXXVIII. Having thus settled the civil government, and pleased himself with the hope of passing his whole life, like his grandfather, without war, and vexation, he saw his designs crossed by fortune, and was, contrary to his inclinations, forced to be a warrior, and to lead a life, in every part of it, full of danger, and uneasiness. For he had no sooner entered upon the administration, and made tranquillity the principle of his government, but the Latines, despising him, and looking upon him, as incapable of conducting an army through want of courage, each nation sent bands of robbers into that part of the country, that lay next to them, from whom many of the Romans received considerable damage: And, when ambassadors came from the king, and summoned them to make satisfaction to the Romans, according to the treaties, they pretended to have no knowledge of the robberies complained of, as having been committed without the general consent of the nation; and that they were under no obligation of giving an account of their conduct to the Romans: For, they said, they had entered into no treaties with Them, but with Tullus; and that, by the death of Tullus, their treaties of peace were dissolved. Marcius, therefore, compelled by these
answers.

answers of the Latines, led out his army against them ; and, fitting down before the city of ³⁴ Politorium, he took it by capitulation, before the arrival of any succours from the rest of the Latine cities. However, he did not treat the inhabitants with any severity ; but, allowing them to enjoy their fortunes, he transferred every one of them to Rome, and distributed them among the tribes.

XXXIX. The next year, the Latines, having sent a new colony to the city of Politorium, which was, then, uninhabited, and cultivating the lands of the Politorini, Marcius put himself, again, at the head of his army, and marched against them : And the Latines coming out of the city, and drawing up in order of battle, he defeated them, and took their town a second time. After which, he burned the houses, and rased the walls, to the end that the enemy might not, again, make war upon him from thence, nor cultivate the lands ; and, then returned home with his army. The next year, the Latines marched against the city of Medullia, in which there was a Roman colony ; and, besieging it, attacked the walls on all sides, and took it by storm. At the same time, Marcius took ³⁵ Tellenae, a considerable city of the Latines, after he had overcome the inhabitants both in a pitched battle, and in an assault upon the town : Upon which, he transferred the prisoners to Rome,

³⁴ Πολιτωριον. All the commentators, with great reason, agree in adding the name of this city, which is wanting in all the editions : But the sequel shews it can be no other. *Poli-*

torium was a city of the Latines, not far from Laurentum.

³⁵ Τελλενας. *Tellene*, or *Tellenae* was a city of the Latines to the north of Politorium.

without taking any thing from them, and divided among them a place in the city to build houses. And, after Medullia had been three years subject to the Latines, he retook it the fourth year, having overcome the inhabitants in many considerable battles. Not long after this, he took the city of the ³⁶Ficanenses, which he had taken three years before by capitulation, and, in transferring all the inhabitants to Rome, and doing no other harm to the city, he seemed to have acted with more clemency, than prudence: For the Latines, sending a colony thither, and possessing themselves of the lands of the Ficanenses, they enjoyed the profits of them: So that, Marcius was obliged to lead his army, a second time, against this city; and, having, with great difficulty, made himself master of it, to burn the houses, and rase the walls.

XL. After this, the Latines, and Romans fought two battles with numerous armies: In the first, after they had been engaged a considerable time, without any advantage on either side, they parted, each returning to their own camp: But, in the last, the Romans gained the victory, and pursued the Latines to their intrenchments. After these actions, there was no pitched battle fought between

³⁶ Φικαναιων. All the editions, and manuscripts have Φιδηναιων, which can have no place here; because, our author will, presently, speak of the revolt of the Fidenates. Lapis reads Φικολυεων, which, I find, Hudson approves of: But, I am convinced it

ought to be Φικαναιων, because ⁱ Livy joins the taking of *Ficana* to That of Tellene; *additi eodem, haud ita multo post, Tellenis I'icanâque captis, novi cives. Ficana* was a city of the Latines, and lay to the north of *Ostia*.

ⁱ B. i. c. 33.

them;

them; but continual incursions were made by both on those lands, that lay next to them; and frequent engagements happened between the horse, and light-armed foot, who ranged the country; in which, the Romans had, generally, the advantage, having several detachments of their army in the field, properly, posted in advantageous places, of which Tarquinius, the Tyrrhenian, had the command. About the same time, the Fidenates, also, revolted from the Romans: They did not, indeed, openly, declare war against them; but ravaged their country in small numbers, and, privately, by incursions. Against these Marcius led out his army prepared for expedition; and, before the Fidenates had made the necessary preparations for war, he incamped near their city. The Fidenates, at first, pretended not to know what injuries they had committed, to draw the Roman army against them; and, when the king told them, he was come to punish them for the ravages, and damages they had committed on the lands of the Romans, they excused themselves by alledging that the public had no share in these injuries; and desired time to take cognizance of this matter, and to find out the guilty; and consumed many days, performing no part of their engagement, but employed themselves, in, privately, sending to their allies for assistance, and in making preparation of arms.

XLI. Marcius, having intelligence of their designs, ordered mines to be carried on, from his own camp, quite under the walls of the place; and, when the work was accomplished, he led out his army, and approached the city,
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at a different place from That, where the walls were undermined ; his men being provided with scaling ladders, and other engines proper for an assault. The Fidenates ran, in great numbers, to those parts of the city, that were attacked, and repulsed the assaults with bravery ; while the Romans, who were appointed for that purpose, having opened the mouths of the mines, were, already, within the walls ; and, destroying all, who opposed them, threw open the gates to the besiegers. Many of the Fidenates being slain in the taking of the place, Marcius ordered the rest to deliver up their arms, and gave public notice that all should repair to a certain place in the city ; after which, he caused a few of them, who had been the authors of the revolt, to be whipped, and put to death ; and, having given leave to his soldiers to plunder all their houses, and left a sufficient garrison there, he marched with his army against the Sabines : For these, also, had broken the treaty of peace, which they had entered into with Tullus ; and, making incursions into the territories of the Romans, laid waste the neighbouring country. Marcius, having information by the spies, and deserters, of the proper time to execute the design he had formed ; while the Sabines were dispersed about the country, and employed in plundering it, he marched in person with the foot to the enemy's camp, which was, weakly, guarded, and took it at the first onset : He, then, ordered Tarquinius to go at the head of the horse, with all expedition, against those, who were dispersed in pillaging the country. The Sabines, upon intelligence that the Roman horse were

coming against them, left their plunder, and the booty they were carrying away, and fled to their camp; when, finding That, also, in the possession of the foot, they were at a loss which way to go, and endeavoured to reach the woods, and mountains; but, being pursued by the light-armed foot, and the horse, some few escaped, but the greatest part of them were destroyed. And, after this misfortune, sending, again, ambassadors to Rome, they obtained such terms of peace as they desired: For the war, which was renewed between the Romans, and the Latine cities, rendered both a truce, and a peace with their other enemies necessary.

XLII. About the fourth year after this war, Marcius, king of the Romans, putting himself at the head of his national forces, and sending for as many auxiliaries as he could obtain from his allies, marched against the Veientes, and laid waste a great part of their country: These had, the year before, been the aggressors, by making an incursion into the Roman territories, where they seized many effects, and put many persons to death. The Veientes came out against him with a great army, and incamped near the city of the Fidenates, beyond the river Tiber: Upon which, Marcius marched with all possible expedition; and, being superior in horse, he first seized the pass, that led to their country; then, forcing them to come to a battle, he overcame them, and made himself master of their camp. Having succeeded in this war, also, according to his desire, he returned to Rome; and, performing the procession in
acknow-

acknowledgment to the gods for his victory, he triumphed in the usual manner. The second year after this war, the Veientes, having broken the truce they had made with Marcius, and insisting upon having all those cities restored to them, which they had surrendered by treaties in the reign of Romulus, he fought another battle with them, more considerable than the former, near the ³⁷ salt pits; which he gained with ease; and, from that time, continued in possession of the cities in question without further contest. Tarquinius, general of the horse, by his gallant behaviour in this action, gained the customary rewards, due to those, whose courage is the most conspicuous; and Marcius, looking upon him as the bravest man in his army, among other honors, with which he continued to distinguish him, made him both a patrician, and a senator. Marcius was, also, engaged in a war with the Volsci, they too having committed robberies upon the lands of the Romans: Upon which, he marched against them with a great army; and, having made himself master of a considerable booty, he sat down before one of their cities, called ³⁸ Velitrae, and surrounded it with a ditch, and a rampart, planted with

³⁷ Περὶ τῶν Ἀλάων. The translators are, here, divided as usual; Portus has said, *ad Allas*, and le Jay, *près d'Alles*; Sylburgius, *ad Salinas*, and M. * * *, *auprès des Salines*. ^k I make no doubt but this is a translation of the true reading. The place, where this battle was fought, was near the salt pits at

the mouth of the Tiber, which had been ceded by the Veientes, when they made a peace with Romulus. Besides, I know of no city in Italy called *Allae*.

³⁸ Οὐελίτρας. ^l Velitrae was a city belonging to the Volsci; now called *Velitri*, *Belitri*, and *Belletri*.

^k See the 55th chap. of the second book; and the 111th annot. on the same. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8.

^l Cluver, Ital.

palifades ; and, being master of the open country, prepared to give an assault to the town ; but the elders coming out of it with the ensigns of suppliants, and ingaging both to repair the damages they had done in such a manner as the king should appoint, and to deliver up the guilty to be punished, he, first, made a truce, and, having received a voluntary satisfaction, he concluded a treaty of peace, and friendship with them.

XLIII. Again, some others of the Sabine nation, who had not, yet, felt the Roman power, inhabiting a great, and opulent city, without any provocation from the Romans, but, in envy to their prosperity, which encreased beyond expectation, they, being a very warlike people, began, at first, with robberies, and incursions made by small bodies ; afterwards, being allured by the booty, they, openly, made war upon them, and ravaged a great part of the neighbouring country : But they were not allowed either to carry off their booty, or to retire with impunity : For the king of the Romans, hastening to the relief of the country, pitched his camp near to theirs, and forced them to come to an ingagement : A great battle, therefore, was fought, and many fell on both sides ; but the Romans, through their patience of labor, and perseverance in toil, to which they had been long accustomed, gained the victory, and shewed themselves far superior to the Sabines ; and, pursuing them close, as they fled dispersed, and in disorder, to their camp, they put many to the sword : Then, having, also, made themselves masters of their camp, which was full of all sorts of booty, and recovered

covered the captives the Sabines had taken in their incursions, they returned home. These are the military actions of this king, which the Roman authors have thought worthy of notice : Those, that relate to the civil administration, are as follows.

XLIV. In the first place, he made no small addition to the city, by inclosing mount Aventine within its walls : This is a hill of a moderate height about eighteen stadia in circumference ; which was, then, full of trees of every kind, particularly, of many beautiful laurels, from which one part of the hill was called Lauretum by the Romans ; but the whole is, now, covered with houses ; where, among many other temples, stands That of Diana. It was separated from one of the two hills, that stood within the city of Rome, called the Palatine hill, round which the first city was built, by a deep, and narrow valley ; but, in after times, this valley between the two hills, was quite filled up. Marcius, observing that the Aventine hill, upon the approach of an enemy, might be made use of to annoy the city, incompassed it with a wall, and a ditch ; and settled, in this place, those he had transferred from Tellene, and Politorium, which he had taken. This is recorded as one of the actions of this king relating to the civil administration, which was a work both of great beauty, and effect ; and served, not only, to aggrandize the city by the addition of another city, but, also, to render it less exposed to the enterprizes of great armies.

XLV. The other was, still, of greater consequence, as it increased the happiness of the city by supplying it with all the conveniences of life, and encouraged its inhabitants to undertake greater things: For the river Tiber, falling from the Apennine hills, and running close by Rome, discharges itself into the Tyrrhene sea, whose shore lies³⁹ exposed to the weather without havens; and this river is of small, or inconsiderable advantage to Rome, by not having, at its mouth, any strong place to receive the commodities brought thither either by sea, or by the river from the country, and to exchange them with the merchants; but, as it is navigable quite up to its source for large boats, and, even, to Rome for trading ships of great burden, he resolved to build a sea-port at the entrance of it, and to make use of the mouth itself of the river for a haven; since the Tiber is very large, where it falls into the sea, and forms great bays, equal to Those of the best sea-ports. But the most wonderful thing is, that its mouth is⁴⁰ not stopped up with sand banks,

³⁹· Λιβαλὺς προσεχὺς. Casaubon has shewn, both in this place, and in a note upon a similar passage in the fourth book of Strabo, that all the translators have mistaken the sense of προσεχὺς, in rendering it *vicina, contigua*: So far I agree with him; but I am not of his opinion, when he says that προσεχὺς, upon these occasions, has the same signification with τραχὺς, or προσβραχὺς; for which, he gives a reason, I think, too much strained, viz. that λιβαλὺς προσεχὺς is so called, because it is προσοχὺς ἀξίος; that is, as he explains it, the seamen must use

great *attention* not to strike upon the rocks. I should, rather, derive this sense of the word from such a shore being *exposed* to the weather; which does no violence to the common acceptance of the word. The explication Suidas gives of προσεχὺς, from some author, will justify my conjecture: Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ὁρμῆν ἐκ ἐδυναντο, διὰ τὸ ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕΙΣ εἶναι ἀκλῆς ΤΟΙΣ ΕΤΗΣΙΑΙΣ.

⁴⁰· Οὐκ ἀποκλείεται τὸ σωμαλὸς ὑπὸ τῆς θαλαττίας θινὸς ἐμφραττομένης. So this sentence stands in all the editions, and manuscripts: But I much suspect that

accumulated by the sea, which is an inconvenience, that happens, even, to many great rivers; neither does it, by wandering through fens, and marshes, spend itself in different places, before its stream mixes with the sea; but is, every where, navigable, and discharges itself at one genuine mouth; and, notwithstanding the violence of the west wind, to which that coast is much exposed, repels the surge, that comes from the main. Ships, therefore, with oars, how great soever, and merchant ships of the burden of ⁴¹ three thousand bushels, enter at the mouth of the river,

it ought to be *εμφορτομεναι*. Casaubon, and, after him, M. * * *, oppose the authority of Strabo to That of our author, when he says that the mouth of the Tiber is not stopped up with sand brought in by the sea. I have that passage of ^m Strabo, now, before me, and cannot find that he contradicts Dionysius: The words of Strabo are these; *Ωςια, πολὺς ἀλιμένος διὰ τὴν προσχωσιν, ἣν ὁ Τιβέρις παρὰ σκευάζει, πληρῆμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀλλῶν ποταμῶν*. Our author says, the mouth of the Tiber is free from sand banks accumulated by the sea; and Strabo, that Ostia is a bad port, by reason of the mud, which the Tiber, swelled by many rivers, brings down with it. Where is the contradiction? But, if the reason, given by Strabo, is well grounded, it will be an objection against every port, that stands at the mouth of great rivers; since, there are few large rivers, that do not receive many others, before they fall into the sea. But, I believe, where one port is rendered

dangerous by the mud brought down the river, twenty are rendered so by the banks of sand, gradually, accumulated by the sea. It must be observed that the Tiber, just before it falls into the Tyrrhene sea, divides itself into two branches, which form an island, called, *Insula sacra*: Ostia was built on the left of these branches, which our author calls *γῆσιον ἑσμά*; the other being much smaller; for which reason, the Italians give it the diminutive name of ⁿ *Fiumicine*.

⁴¹ *Μέχρι τρισχιλιοφόρων*. Sylburgius, and Portus are divided in their opinions concerning the burden of these ships: The former thinks they carried three thousand men; Portus says this cannot be, because he never saw, nor read of a ship large enough to carry so many men. But, if he had read the account given by ^o Athenaeus of the ships of Ptolemy Philopator, and Hiero, he would have found they carried many more. However, I have another reason, which

^m B. v. p. 354.

ⁿ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 3.

^o B. v. c. 9. and 11.

and

and are rowed, and towed up to Rome. Those of a larger size ride at anchor at the mouth, where they are unladed, and laded by lighters: Upon the elbow of land, that lies between the river, and the sea, the king built a city, and incompassed it with a wall; which city, from its situation, he called Ostia, as we should call it, *Θύρα, a door*: And, by this means, he made Rome, not only, an inland town, but, also, a sea-port, and gave it a taste of those advantages, that flow from a maritime commerce.

XLVI. He, also, surrounded mount Janiculum with a wall, which is a high hill lying on the other side of the Tiber; and placed there a sufficient garrison for the security of those, who use the navigation of the river: For the Tyrrhenians, being masters of all the country lying on the other side of the river, plundered the merchants. He is, also, said to have built the wooden bridge over the Tiber, which must be framed without brass, or iron, being held together with the wood-work alone: This bridge they preserve to this day, looking upon it as holy; and, if any part of it is decayed, the pontiffs repair it, offering up, at the same time,

induces me to think that three thousand *μεδимиνοι* was the burden of these ships. ^p Julius Pollux, in treating of ships, speaks of a *μυριαφορος ναυς*, which, certainly, cannot mean a ship capable of carrying ten thousand men, but ten thousand *μεδимиνοι*. Now, if we suppose a *μεδимиνος* to be the same measure with our bushel, as it is, generally, thought, the burden of

these ships will just amount to seventy five tun, allowing forty bushels to the tun, which, at a medium between winter, and summer corn, I believe, will appear, pretty, exact. Now, this burden of seventy five tun seems to agree with what our author says, presently after, viz. that the greater ships lay at anchor at the mouth of the river.

^p B. i. c. 9.

certain

certain sacrifices peculiar to their country. After this king had, during his reign, performed these things, which deserve a place in history, and been twenty four years in possession of the kingdom, he died; leaving to his successors the city of Rome not a little improved. He left two sons, one, a child, and the other, a youth.

XLVII. After the death of Ancus Martius, the senate, being impowered by the people to establish what form of government they thought fit, again resolved to continue the same, and appointed interreges: These, having assembled the people in order to the election, chose Lucius Tarquinius for their king; and the ordinance of the people being confirmed by the divine omens, Tarquinius entered upon the government about the second year of the forty first Olympiad, in which, Cleonidas, the Theban, won the prize, Heniochides being archon at Athens. I shall, now, give such an account, as I find in the Roman annals, of the ancestors of this Tarquinius; of his country; of the reasons of his removing to Rome; and, by what qualifications, he came to be their king. There was a certain Corinthian, by name, Damaratus, of the family of the⁴² Bacchiadae, who, engaging in commerce, sailed to Italy

⁴² Βακχιάδων. This is the true reading; and, by this name, they are called by⁹ Pausanias. Aletes, descended from Hercules, having conquered Corinth, at the head of an army of Dorians, became king of that city, where he, and his descendants reigned for five generations, to Bacchis, the son of Prumnis. From that time, the Bacchiadae reigned five other generations to Telestes, the son of Aristodemus. Telestes being killed by Aricus, and Perantas, there were no more kings at Corinth; but annual magi-

⁹ Κορινθ. c. 4.

in a ship of his own, which he himself had freighted ; and, having sold the cargo in the Tyrrhenian cities, which were, at that time, the most flourishing of all Italy ; and gained considerably by that means, he did not think fit, from that time, to put into any other ports ; but, constantly, used the same sea, carrying Greek commodities to Tyrrhenia, and Those of Tyrrhenia to Greece ; by which means, he became exceeding rich. But there happening a sedition at Corinth, and Cypselus having established his tyranny upon the ruin of the Bacchiadae, Damaratus, being possessed of great riches, did not think himself safe under a tyranny ; particularly, as he was of the family, who had governed during the oligarchy ; but, imbarking with all the effects he could get together, he sailed from Corinth : And having, from his continual intercourse with the Tyrrhenians, many valuable friends among them, particularly at ⁴³ Tarquinii, a large,

strates, called Prytanes, of the family of the Bacchiadae, were substituted in their room, till Cypselus, the son of Ection, made himself tyrant, and expelled the Bacchiadae. I have been the more particular in giving this history of the Bacchiadae, because Petavius has been guilty of a mistake, which he supports by this very passage of ¹ Pausanias, and, by his authority, has misled many other authors : His words are these ; *ac deinceps Aletae posteritatem potius sunt ; quorum ultimus Telestes a Pausania recensetur.* Now, it is certain, that Pausanias makes Telestes to have been the last king descended from Bacchis, and not

the last of Those, who were descended from Aletes. But, in order to enable the reader the better to decide this question, I shall lay before him the passage of Pausanias in his own words : *Ἀλκίης δὲ υἱὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπογονοὶ βασιλευσὶν ἐς μὲν Βακχίην τὸν Περικλίδος ἐπὶ γενεᾷς πέντε. Ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ οἱ Βακχιαδαὶ καλεσμένοι πρὸς ἄλλας γενεάς, ἐς Τελέστην τὸν Ἀριστάρχην.*

⁴³ *Ἐν Ταρκευριοῖς.* This city is, often, mentioned by the Roman historians. ¹ Strabo says it was built by Tarcon, from whom it received its name. Tarquinii, or rather the ruins of it, are called, to this day, ² *Tarquene.*

¹ Rationar. Temp. B. i. c. 13.

² B. v. p. 336.

³ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 3.

and flourishing city at that time, he built a house there, and married a woman of illustrious birth : By her, he had two sons, to whom he gave Tyrrhenian names, calling one, Aruns, and the other, Lucumo ; and, having instructed them both in the Greek, and Tyrrhenian learning, when they were men he married them to two women of the best families.

XLVIII. Not long after, the eldest of his sons died without lawful issue : And, a few days after, Damaratus himself died of grief, leaving his surviving son Lucumo heir to all his fortunes ; who, having inherited the great riches of his father, aspired to the administration of the public affairs, and to be considered as one of the first rank in the city : But, being defeated in all his pretensions by the people of the country, and excluded, not only, from the first, but, even, from the middle rank, he resented the disgrace ; and, hearing that the Romans, willingly, received all strangers, and, communicating to them the privileges of Roman citizens, honoured every man according to his merit, he resolved to remove thither with all his riches, and to take his wife, and such of his friends, and domestics with him, as were willing to attend him ; and many were desirous to accompany him in his removal. When they came to the hill, called Janiculum, from whence the city of Rome is, first, discovered by those, who come from Tyrrhenia, an eagle, descending on a sudden, took his cap from his head, and flew up, again, with it ; then, rising in a circular flight, hid itself in the bosom of the ambient air ; and, presently,

N 2

placed

placed the cap on his head in the same manner it was before. This prodigy caused a general wonder, and astonishment, when the wife of Lucumo, by name, Tanaquil, who had been well instructed by her parents in the knowledge of the Tyrrhenian augury, took him aside, and, embracing him, gave him great hopes of rising from a private station to the royal dignity : She advised him, however, to consider by what means he might render himself worthy to receive this dignity from the free choice of the Romans.

XLIX. Lucumo was pleased with the omen; and, as soon as he approached the gates, he besought the gods to accomplish the prediction, and that his arrival might be attended with good fortune ; then, entered the city. After this, being introduced to Marcius, then king of the Romans, he acquainted him, first, who he was, and, then, told him that, being desirous to settle at Rome, he had brought with him all his paternal fortune, which, as it exceeded the condition of a private person, he said he proposed to dedicate to the use of the king, and of the commonwealth : And, having met with a favourable reception from the king, who admitted him, and the Tyrrhenians his followers, into one⁴⁴ of the tribes, and one of the curiae, he built a house upon

⁴⁴ Καταχωριστικῆς — εἰς Θυλὴν τε καὶ ἑρῆγαν. M. * * * stands single, in rendering this passage, and mistaking the sense of it : He makes the king of the Romans create a particular tribe, and curia for the reception of Lucumo, and his followers ; *Marcius*, says he, *le reçut avec beaucoup d'amitié, et le séparant lui et les Tyrrhéniens de sa*

suite en une tribu et en une curie particulière. This cannot, possibly, be ; because there were, at this time, but three tribes, as instituted by Romulus, and so they continued all the reign of Marcius, viz. the Ramnenses, Tatienses, and Luceres. And, as to the curiae, their number was never increased during the whole time of the
a place,

a place, which was allotted to him in the city, as sufficient for that purpose, and received his portion of land. After he had settled these things, and was become a citizen of Rome, he was informed that every Roman had some⁴⁵ common name, and, added to this, another, derived from their family, and ancestors; and, being desirous to resemble them in this also, he took the name of Lucius instead of Lucumo, as a common name, and That of Tarquinius, as a family name, from the city, in which he was born, and brought up. In a very short time, he gained the friendship of the king, by presenting him with those things, which, he knew, he wanted most, and by supplying him with what money he had occasion for to carry on his wars. In all military expeditions, he distinguished himself by his bravery beyond any either of the foot, or horse; and, upon all occasions, where good counsel was required, his advice was held equal to That of the most prudent. The favor of the king did not deprive him of the benevolence of the Romans; for he, not only, engaged many of the patricians by his benefactions; but, also, gained the affections of the people by his affable behaviour, his agreeable con-

commonwealth. Upon reading this gentleman's translation a second time, I am not sure but his intention may be that Marcius placed Lucumo, and his followers, in the same tribe, and the same curia, which is true; and, in that case, I must retract my censure: But the word *séparant*, which he has, unluckily, made use of, looks as if he meant that Marcius placed them in

a *separate* tribe, and curia.

⁴⁵ Κοινὸν τὸ ὀνομα. The Romans had, not only, two names, distinguished by the appellations of *praenomen*, and *nomen*, but, often, a third, and, even, a fourth, called *cognomen*, and *agnomen*: And, in many ancient inscriptions, the father's name is taken notice of; as M. Tullius, M. F. Cicero.

versation,

versation, his liberality, and other instances of his benevolence.

L. This was the character of Tarquinius; and, for these reasons, he was, during the life of Marcius, the most illustrious of all the Romans; and, after his death, by all judged worthy to succeed him. The first war he undertook, after he entered upon the government, was against the ⁴⁶ Apiolani, a people so called, who inhabited a city of no small note among the Latines: For the Apiolani, and all the rest of the Latines, looking upon the treaties of peace to be dissolved by the death of Ancus Marcius, infested the Roman territories by robberies, and devastations; for which injuries, Tarquinius, desiring to take revenge, marched against them at the head of a numerous army, and ravaged the most fruitful part of their country; and the neighbouring Latines, coming to the assistance of the Apiolani, with a considerable force, he fought two battles with them; and, having the advantage in both, he laid siege to their city; and caused his troops to assault the walls successively. The besieged being but few, opposed to many, and having no respite, were, at last, subdued. The city being taken by storm, the greatest part of the Apiolani were slain fighting: But a few, who had delivered up their arms, were sold, together with the rest of the booty; their wives, and children were carried away to slavery by the Romans, and the city was plundered, and burned: After the king had done this, and raised the walls from the foundations, he returned home

⁴⁶ Απιολανεις. I can find nothing concerning this people.

with

with his army. Soon after, he undertook another expedition against the city of the ⁴⁷Crustumerini: This was a colony of the Latines, and, in the reign of Romulus, had submitted to the Romans; but, after Tarquinius was declared king, they began, again, to incline to the Latines. However, he was under no necessity of making use either of a siege, or of any other work of difficulty to reduce them: For the Crustumerini, being sensible both of the numbers of the forces, that were marching against them, and of their own weakness, and no succours coming to them from the rest of the Latines, opened their gates; and the most ancient, and most dignified of the citizens, coming to Tarquinius, delivered up the city to him, desiring that he would use them with clemency, and moderation. This fell out according to his wish; and, entering the city, he put none of the Crustumerini to death, punishing only a very few, who had been the authors of the revolt, with perpetual banishment; and to all the rest he allowed the enjoyment of their fortunes, and of the rights of Roman citizens, as before: But, in order to prevent any innovations for the future, he left a Roman garrison in their city.

LI. The ⁴⁸Nomentani, also, having formed the same design, met with the same fate: For they, sending bands of robbers into the territories of the Romans, engaged themselves in an open war against them, in confidence of the assistance of the Latines; but, upon the approach of

⁴⁷. Κρυστυμερίων. See the 66th annotation on the second book.

⁴⁸. Νωμεντανοίς. See the 104th annotation on the second book.

Tarquinius with his army, and the succours of the Latines not coming in time, they found themselves unable to resist so great a power with their own forces ; and, coming out of the town with the ensigns of suppliants, they surrendered. The inhabitants of ⁴⁹ Collatia resolved to try the fortune of a battle with the Roman army ; and, for that purpose, came out of their city : But, being worsted in every engagement, and having many of their men wounded, they were, again, forced to take refuge in their city ; from whence, they sent to the Latine cities for succours : But they being backward in relieving them, and the enemy attacking their walls in many places, they were, at last, obliged to deliver up their town : However, they were not used with the same moderation, with which the Nomentani, and Crustumerini had been treated : For the king disarmed them, and fined them in a sum of money ; and, leaving a sufficient garrison in the city, he appointed his brother's son, Tarquinius Aruns, to be their governor, and invested him with an absolute power over them for life : This person, being born after the death both of his father Aruns, and of his grandfather Damaratus, had succeeded to neither in that part of their respective fortunes, which, otherwise, would have fallen to his share ; for this reason, he was surnamed

⁴⁹ Κολλατίαν. So we must read the name of this city, from the Vatican manuscript, and not Κολατίαν, as it stands in all the editions. This ^v town stood near the left of the Anio (the Teverone) about six miles from Rome.

Collatia was, very probably, built by the Alban kings, since ^w Virgil makes Anchises say to Aeneas,

*At, qui umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu,
Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam;
Hi Collatinas imponunt moenibus arces.*

^v Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 8. ^w B. vi. §. 773.

⁵⁰ Egerius: For, by that name, the Romans call poor men, and beggars. But, from the time he received the government of this city, he himself had the surname of Collatinus, and all his descendants were called so after him. After the surrender of Collatia, the king led his army against ⁵¹ Corniculum, which was, also, a city of the Latines; and, having ravaged the country with great security, none appearing to defend it, he marched to the city itself, inviting the inhabitants to enter into a league of friendship with him: But they, relying on the strength of their walls, and expecting succours from many of their neighbours, refused all conditions of peace: Upon which, he invested the city on all sides, and assaulted the walls. The Corniculani made a long, and a brave resistance, wounding many of the besiegers; but, being worn out with continual labour, and, no longer, unanimous (for some were for delivering up the town, and others for holding out to the last) their distress was increased by this division, and the town taken by storm. The bravest of the people were slain fighting, while the enemy were taking the town; and the rest, who owed their preservation to their cowardice, were sold for slaves, together with their wives, and children; and their city was plundered by the conquerors, and burned. The Latines, resenting this proceeding, passed a vote to march with united forces against the

⁵⁰ Ηγέριος. * Livy, also, derives the name of this nephew of Tarquinius *ab egendo; puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato, ab inopiâ Egerio inditum nomen.*

⁵¹ Κορνικύλιον. † Corniculum was a city of the Latines, and lay between Ficulca, and Tibur, near the place, where, now, stands *Casale*.

* B. i. c. 34.

† Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 9.

Romans ; and, having raised a great army, they made an irruption into the most fruitful part of their country ; from whence, they carried off many captives, and made themselves masters of a great booty. Upon this, Tarquinius marched out against them with an army prepared for expedition, and ready for action : But, they having retired before he could come up with them, he penetrated into their country, and treated it in the same manner. Many of these advantages, and disadvantages happened, alternately, to each in the incursions they made into one another's country. However, they, once, fought a pitched battle with all their forces near the city of Fidenæ ; in which, many fell on both sides ; but the Romans gained the victory, and forced the Latines to abandon their camp by night, and retire into their towns.

LII. After this battle, Tarquinius led his army in good order to their cities, offering terms of friendship ; and they, having no national army assembled for their defence, nor confiding in their own preparations, received his proposals ; and some of them delivered up their cities, finding that of those, which were taken by storm, the inhabitants were made slaves, and the cities rased ; while the others, who surrendered by capitulation, were treated with no other severity, than to be obliged to yield obedience to the conquerors. First, therefore, Fidenæ, a city of great note, submitted upon certain conditions ; then, Camerium did the same : Their example was followed by some other small towns, and strong fortresses. The rest of the Latines, being
alarmed

alarmed at this, and fearing lest he should reduce the whole nation, held an assembly at ⁵² Ferentinum, and passed a vote, not only, to draw their own forces together out of every city, but, also, to call in the assistance of the most warlike of their neighbours; and, to that end, they sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians, and Sabines, to desire succours. The Sabines promised that, as soon as they should be informed they had made an incursion into the Roman territories, they themselves would, also, take arms, and ravage that part of their country, which lay next to them: The Tyrrhenians engaged to send them whatever succours they should want: However, they were not all of the same opinion: For only five cities agreed to it; that is, the ⁵³ Clusini, the ⁵⁴ Arretini, the ⁵⁵ Volaterrani, the ⁵⁶ Rusellani, and the ⁵⁷ Vetulonienfes.

LIII. The Latines, elevated with these hopes, raised a great army of their own forces; and, having encreased it with the auxiliary troops of the Tyrrhenians, they made an irruption into the Roman territories: And, at the same

⁵²· Εν Φερεντίνῳ. See the 29th annotation on this book.

⁵³· Κλυσίνοι. ^a Clusium was a city of great note in Etruria. It is, now, called *Chiusi*, and *Chiuci*, and stands near the river *Clanis*, known, now, by the name of *la Chiana*.

⁵⁴· Ἀρρήτινοι. ^a Arretium, now, *Arezzo*, lies at the foot of the Appennine, near the river *Arnus*, now called, *l'Arno*.

⁵⁵· Ουολατέρραννοι. ^b *Volaterrae*, now,

Volterra, is a considerable city of Etruria. It stands upon a very high hill near the river *Caecina*, which still retains its name.

⁵⁶· Ρυσελλανοί. ^c *Rusellae*, now, called *Groséto*, or *Grosséto*, lies, a little, to the west of the river *Umbro*, now, *Ombrone*, not far from the sea.

⁵⁷· Ουετυλωνιάται. ^d *Vetulonii*, now, *Vetulia*, stands between the sea, and a river, formerly, called *Lynceus*, and, at this time, *Cornia*.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 3.

^c Id. ib.

^b Id. ib.

^c Id. ib.

^d Id. ib.

time, the cities of the Sabine nation, which had engaged to partake with them in the war, laid waste the country, that was next to them. The king of the Romans, who, in the mean time, had, also, prepared a numerous, and brave army, marched, immediately, against the enemy: But, thinking it unsafe to attack the Sabines, and the Latines at the same time, and to divide his forces into two bodies, he determined to lead his whole army against the latter, and incamped near them. At first, they were both unwilling to hazard a general engagement, being alarmed at each other's preparations: However, the light-armed men, coming down from both camps, skirmished, continually, with one another, and this, generally, happened without any advantage on either side. These skirmishes producing, by degrees, in both armies an eagerness for action, each supported their own men, at first, in small numbers, till, at last, they were all forced to come out of their camps. The troops, which now, engaged, being used to action, and, nearly, equal in the number both of horse, and foot, equally eager for the battle, and sensible of the extreme danger they ran, fought on both sides with memorable bravery, till night parted them leaving the victory undecided. But the different counsels of each after the action, shewed which of them had the advantage: For the next day, the Latines stirred, no more, out of their camp; while the king of the Romans, leading out his troops into the plain, shewed himself ready to renew the fight; and, for a long time, kept his army in order of battle: But the enemy not coming out against him, he took the
spoils

spoils from their dead, and, carrying off his own, led back his army, with great exultation, to his camp.

LIV. Some days after this, the Latines having received a reinforcement from the Tyrrhenians, a second battle was fought, much greater than the former, in which Tarquinius gained a most signal victory ; and he himself was allowed by all to have been the cause of it : For the Roman army being, already, distressed, and the left wing broken, Tarquinius, as soon as he was informed of this disorder (for he happened then to be fighting on the right) took with him the best troops of horse, and the flower of the foot ; and, turning, marched behind his own army ; then, passing by his left wing, advanced beyond his own line of battle ; after which, wheeling to the ⁵⁸ right, and, ordering his men to clap spurs to their horses, he charged the Tyrrhenians in flank : For these fought on the enemy's right wing, and had put to flight those, who stood opposite to them : This unexpected appearance filled the enemy with astonishment, and confusion. In the mean time, the Roman foot, also, having recovered themselves from their former fear, advanced against the enemy : Upon which, there followed a great slaughter of the Tyrrhenians, and their right wing was, intirely, routed. Tarquinius, having ordered the commanders of the foot to follow slowly, and in good order, himself led the horse full

⁵⁸. *Επι δεξι.* This is a term in tactics among the horse, signifying, *to the right* ; as *εφ' ἡνιαν* signifies, *to the left* : The reason of both is obvious. The first was, also, in use among the foot ; but, instead of the latter, they said

επ' αεσπίδα. *La pique à la main*, in le Jay, is a wretched translation of *επι δεξι* ; but, I find, he has translated *infestis hastis* in Portus. M. * * * has rendered it very properly.

speed to the enemy's camp ; and, arriving there before those, who were endeavouring to save themselves by flight, he took their camp at the first onset. For the troops, which had been left there, being neither acquainted with the misfortune, that had befallen their own people, nor able, from the suddenness of the attack, to distinguish the horse that advanced, suffered them to enter. The camp of the Latines being taken, those of the enemy, who were retiring thither from the defeat of their army, ⁵⁹ as to a safe retreat, were slain by the horse, who had possessed themselves of it : While others, endeavouring to escape from the camp into the plain, were met by the Roman foot, and cut to pieces ; the greatest part of them, being pressed by one another, and trodden under foot, perished among the palisades, or in the trenches, in the most miserable, and defenceless manner : So that, those, who were left alive, finding no means of saving themselves, were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. Tarquinius, having made himself master of many prisoners, and a great booty, sold the former, and gave the plunder of the camp to the soldiers.

LV. After this success, he led his army to the cities of the Latines, with a design to reduce those by force, that refused to surrender : But he found himself under no necessity of laying siege to any of them : For all had recourse to supplications, and prayers ; and, sending ambassadors to him from the whole nation, they desired him to put an end to the

⁵⁹ Εἰς ἀσφαλὴ καὶ ἀφυγνῆν. I am afraid the transcribers have left out ὡς, which the sense seems to require.

war upon such conditions as he thought fit, and delivered up their cities to him. The king, being master of their cities upon these terms, treated them all with the greatest clemency, and moderation : For he put none of the Latines to death, forced none into banishment, nor laid a mulct upon any of them ; but allowed them to enjoy their lands, and to govern themselves according to the constitution of their country. However, he ordered them to deliver up to the Romans the deserters, and captives, without ransom ; to restore to their masters the slaves they had taken in their incursions ; to repay the money they had forced from the husbandmen ; and repair every other damage, or loss, they had occasioned in their irruptions. Upon their performing these conditions, and yielding obedience to all the commands of the Romans, they were to be looked upon as their friends, and allies. This was the event of the war between the Romans, and the Latines ; and Tarquinius triumphed for the victory he obtained in this war.

LVI. The following year, he led his army against the Sabines, who had, long before, been informed of his design, and preparations against them ; and disdaining to suffer the war to be brought into their own country, they met him with an army, sufficiently, prepared to oppose him : And a battle being fought upon the confines, which lasted till night, neither army had the advantage, both having suffered exceedingly. The following days, neither the general of the Sabines, nor the king of the Romans drew their forces out of their camp ; but both, decamping, returned home, without
doing

doing any injury to one another's territories. The design of both was the same, that is, to invade each other's country in the beginning of the spring with a greater force. After they had made their preparations, the Sabines first took the field, strengthened with a sufficient body of Tyrrhenian auxiliaries, and incamped near Fidenæ, at the confluence of the Anio, and the Tiber : They formed two camps opposite, and near, to each other, the united stream of both rivers running between them, over which was laid a wooden bridge, built on boats, and rafts, which afforded a quick communication between both, and made them one camp. Tarquinius, being informed of their irruption into the Roman territories, marched out, also, with the Roman army, and pitched his camp a little above theirs, near the river Anio, upon a hill, strongly, situated. But, though both armies had all the desire imaginable to come to an action, no pitched battle, either great, or small, was fought : For Tarquinius prevented it by a stratagem, and, thereby, ruined the affairs of the Sabines, and made himself master of both their camps : The stratagem he made use of was this.

LVII. Having provided boats and rafts in that river, near which he himself lay incamped, he filled them with dry wood, fascines, sulphur, and pitch ; and, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, about the time of the morning⁶⁰ watch, he ordered the combustible matter to be set on fire,

⁶⁰ Περὶ τὴν ἑωθινὴν Φυλακὴν. It is allowed by all authors, who have written upon this subject, that, according to the military discipline of the Romans, the night was divided into four guards, which they called *Vigiliæ*; the first mounted at six a clock in the evening, according to our computation and

and some few putting themselves in a posture of defence, he made himself master of it without any trouble. While this was doing, another part of the Roman army took the camp of the Sabines also, that lay on the other side of the river: This detachment, having been sent by Tarquinius about the first watch, had passed the river, formed by the other two, in boats, and rafts, at a place, where their passage was not likely to be discovered by the Sabines; and had approached the other camp at the same time they saw the bridge on fire; for this was the signal for the attack. Some of those, who were found in the camps, were slain fighting by the Romans; others threw themselves into the confluence of the rivers; and, not being able to disengage themselves from the whirlpools, were swallowed up; and not a few of them perished in the flames, while they were endeavouring to save the bridge. Tarquinius, having made himself master of both the camps, gave leave to the soldiers to divide among themselves the booty, that was found in them; but the prisoners, who were many in number, both of the Sabines themselves, and of the Tyrrhenians, he carried to Rome, where he kept them under a strict guard.

LVIII. The Sabines, subdued by this calamity, grew ⁶¹ sen-

of time, and went off at nine; the second were relieved at twelve; the third, at three; and the fourth continued upon duty till six. From this custom, were derived these phrases, *prima, secunda, tertia, et quarta vigilia*.

⁶¹ Εγνωσιμαχησαν. This is a very elegant, and a very expressive word, and is well explained by the Greek scholiast upon the following passage of

^c Aristophanes, where Pisthetaerus is proposing to the birds to build a city in the air:

Καπεῖτ' ἀν τούτ' ἐπανεστηκῆ, τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸν Δι' ἀπαίλει.
Καὶ μὲν μὴ ὄφρ, μὴδ' ἐθελήσῃ, μὴδ' εὐθὺς Ἰ Ν Ω Σ Ι-
Μ Α Χ Η Σ Η,

Ἰερὸν πολέμῳ πρῶτον ἀνίστα.

Γ Ν Ω Σ Ι Μ Α Χ Η Σ Α Ι εἰς τὸ, γινώσκει ὅτι
πρὸς κρείττονα ἀνίστα ἢ μάχη, ἢ σὺχασται.

^c Οἶν. γ'. 555.

fible of their own weakness; and, sending ambassadors, concluded a truce, and a league for six years. But the Tyrrhenians, resenting the many defeats they had received from the Romans, and that Tarquinius had, not only, refused to restore their prisoners when they sent an embassy to demand them, but, also, retained them as hostages, passed a vote that all the Tyrrhene cities should make war upon the Romans with united forces; and that, if any one refused to take a share in the war, That city should have none in their confederacy. After they had made this decree, they led out their forces; and, passing the Tiber, incamped near Fidenæ, which city they made themselves masters of by treachery, there being a sedition among the inhabitants; and, having taken a great many prisoners, and carried off a considerable booty from the Roman territories, they returned home, leaving a sufficient garrison in Fidenæ: For they looked upon this city, as the most convenient place to carry on the war against the Romans. On the other side, Tarquinius prepared himself for the ensuing campaign, by arming all the Romans, and by adding to them as many auxiliaries as he could procure; and took the field in the beginning of the spring, before the enemy could march against him with an army drawn out of all their cities, as they had done the preceding year: Then, having divided his whole army into two bodies, he put himself at the head of the Roman troops, and led them against the cities of the Tyrrhenians: The command of the allies, consisting, chiefly, of the Latines, he gave to Egerius, his relation, and ordered him to march
against

against the enemy in Fidenæ. The army, composed of auxiliary troops, having, through a contempt of the enemy, incamped in a disadvantageous post not far from Fidenæ, was very near being, totally, destroyed : For the garrison, having, privately, sent for fresh succours from the Tyrrhenians, and watched their opportunity, made a sally ; and, the enemy's camp being ill defended, they possessed themselves of it at the first onset, and made a great slaughter of those, who were out upon a forage. But the Roman army, commanded by Tarquinius, after they had laid waste, and ravaged the country of the Veientes, and carried off a great booty, notwithstanding these were reinforced by a numerous body of Tyrrhenians drawn out of all their cities, came to an engagement with them, and gained an incontestable victory. After which, they marched through the enemy's country, and plundered it securely ; and, having made many prisoners, and possessed themselves of a considerable booty, it being a plentiful country, they returned home at the end of the summer.

LIX. The Veientes, therefore, having suffered, greatly, in the last action, stirred, no more, out of their city, but suffered their country to be laid waste before their eyes. Tarquinius made three incursions into the territories of the Veientes ; and, having deprived them of the product of their lands, during three years, rendered the greatest part of their country desolate ; and, being incapable to do any farther damage to it, he led his army against the city of the Caeretani, which was, before, called

⁶² Agylla, while it was inhabited by the Pelasgi ; but, falling under the power of the Tyrrhenians, it changed its name to Caere : This city was as flourishing, and populous, as any in all Tyrrhenia ; and, upon this occasion, sent out a considerable army to defend their country ; which, after destroying many of the enemy, and losing still more of their own men, retired into the city. The Romans, being masters of their country, which afforded them plenty of every thing, continued there many days ; and, when it was time to depart, they carried away all the booty they were able, and returned home. Tarquinius, after his expedition against

^{62.} Αγυλλὰ. This Tuscan city, afterwards, called *Caere*, and, now, *Cerveteri*, stands within four miles of the sea. ^f Strabo says that this city changed its name from Agylla to *Caere*, upon the following occasion. The Pelasgi, who came from Thessaly, having built Agylla, and, then, inhabiting it, the Lydians, who, since their arrival in Italy, were called Tyrrhenians, making war upon the Pelasgi, besieged this city ; and, one of the Lydians, coming to the walls, asked the name of it ; but, instead of an answer, received the salutation χαίρε, which name the Tyrrhenians gave to the city, after they had taken it. This story, whether true, or false, can only tend to the amusement of the reader : But what follows may serve for his instruction, that is, if he has been as much puzzled as myself with an expression, often to be met with in the ancient authors, viz. *in Caerites tabulas referri*, which took its origin from the inha-

bitants of this city. They had, it seems, given refuge to the Vestals, and their images, at the time of the Gallic invasion : In return for this hospitality, the Roman people granted to them the privileges of the city without the right of suffrage : From whence, those Romans, who were deprived of this right by the censors for any misdemeanor, were said *in Caerites tabulas referri* : So that, the privilege, granted by the Romans to the inhabitants of *Caere*, became a mark of ignominy, when inflicted on the former. ^g *Hinc tabulae Caerites appellatae, vice versâ, in quas censores referri jubebant, quos notae causâ suffragiis privabant.* And ^h Horace, when he, ironically, advises to lay aside decency, and live in such a manner, as to deserve this animadversion of the censors, says,

Quid deceat, quid non, obliti ; Caerite cerâ Digni.

^f B. v. p. 337.

^g Gellius, B. xvi. c. 13.

^h B. i. Epist. 6. x. 62.

the Veientes had succeeded according to his desire, marched with his army against the enemy, who were in Fidenae, being desirous both to drive out the garrison, and to punish those, who had delivered up the city to the Tyrrhenians. Upon this, there was, not only, a pitched battle fought between the Romans, and the garrison, that sallied out of the city, but, also, a sharp conflict in the attacks, that were made upon the walls: However, the city was taken by storm, and the garrison, together with the rest of the Tyrrhenian prisoners, were kept in chains under a guard; but, of the Fidenates, who appeared to have been the authors of the revolt, some were whipped, and beheaded in public; others condemned to perpetual banishment, and their fortunes distributed by lot among those Romans, who were left both to inhabit, and garrison the city.

LX. The last battle between the Romans, and Tyrrhenians was fought near the city of Eretum in the territory of the Sabines: For the Tyrrhenians had been prevailed on by some persons there, who were indisposed to the Romans, to march through that country in their expedition against the latter, upon assurance given them that they should be joined by the Sabines; because the six years truce, which these had made with Tarquinius, was, already, expired; and their cities being, sufficiently, supplied with a numerous youth, which had grown up since the last war, many of the Sabines were desirous to repair their former defeats. But their attempt did not succeed according to their desire, the Roman army appearing sooner than they expected; neither

neither was it possible for the Sabines to send public succours to the Tyrrhenians from any of their cities: So that, the only assistance they received, consisted of a few volunteers allured by the greatness of their pay. This battle, the greatest of any, that had yet happened between the two nations, gave a wonderful ascendant to the Romans, who there gained a most glorious victory; for which both the senate, and people decreed the honors of a triumph to Tarquinius: On the other side, it broke the spirits of the Tyrrhenians; who, having sent out the whole strength of every city into the field, saw but few of all that number return in safety: For some of them were slain in the action; others, having, in their flight, engaged themselves in impassable fastnesses, surrendered themselves to the conquerors. The leading men, therefore, of their cities, having felt so great a calamity, acted as became prudent men: For, Tarquinius taking the field against them with another army, they met in a general assembly, and passed a vote to treat with him concerning peace: And, sending to him the most ancient, and most dignified persons of every city, they gave them full powers to settle the conditions of it.

LXI. The king, after he had heard the many arguments they made use of to persuade clemency, and moderation, and been put in mind of his affinity to their nation, said he desired to be informed by them but of one thing, whether they, still, contended for an equality, and were come to make peace upon certain conditions; or whether they acknowledged themselves to be overcome, and were ready to deliver

up

up their cities to him. And they answering that they, not only, delivered up their cities to him, but should, also, be satisfied with a peace upon any terms; he was, greatly, pleased with their answer, and said; “Hear, then, upon
 “what conditions I shall put an end to the war, and what
 “favors I propose to confer on you; I desire neither to
 “put any of the Tyrrhenians to death, to banish any of
 “them, nor punish any with the loss of their possessions;
 “I impose no garrisons, nor tributes, upon any of your cities,
 “but allow each of them to enjoy their own laws, and their
 “ancient form of government: But, in return for all these
 “favors, I think, I have a right to expect one thing from
 “you, that is, the sovereignty of your cities, which I
 “shall obtain, even, against your will, as long as I am more
 “powerful in arms: However, I had rather enjoy it with
 “your consent, than without it: Inform your cities of this;
 “and I promise to grant you a suspension of arms, till your
 “return.”

LXII. The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed; and, after a few days, returned, not with empty words, but with the ensigns of sovereignty, with which they used to decorate their own kings: These were ⁶³ a crown

⁶³ Στεφανὸν τε χρυσεόν, etc. The reader will observe that these were triumphal ornaments, in use among the Romans, the terms of which our author has translated into Greek. They are mentioned as such by ¹ Livy, where he speaks of the presents made to

Masinissa by Scipio; *Ibi Masinissam primum regem appellatum, eximisque ornatum laudibus, aureâ coronâ, aureâ paterâ, sellâ curuli, et scipione eburneo, togâ pictâ, et palmatâ tunicâ donat. Adidit verbis honorem, neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos,*

¹ B. xxx. c. 15.

of gold ; an ivory throne ; a scepter, on the head of which was an eagle ; a purple vest wrought with gold ; and a purple robe imbroidered, like those worne by the kings of Lydia, and Persia, with this difference, that theirs were four-square, and this semicircular : This kind of robe is, by the Romans, called *Toga*, and, by the Greeks, ⁶⁴ Τηξεννος ; but I know not from whence they have taken the name : For it does not seem to me to be a Greek word. According to some historians, they also brought with them the twelve axes, taking one from every city : For it seems to be a Tyrrhenian custom for each king of the several cities to be preceded by a licitor, bearing an ax together with a bundle of rods ; and, when the twelve cities undertake any military expedition in common, to deliver the twelve axes to the person, who commands in chief. However, all authors do not agree with those, who are of this opinion ; but maintain that, long before the reign of Tarquinius, twelve axes were

neque triumphantibus amplioem eo ornatu esse. In the passage of our author, now before us, we find he has rendered *tunicam palmatam*, by χιτωνὰ πορφυρεὴν χρυσοσημόν ; and *togam pictam*, by περιβολαῖον πορφυρεὴν ποικίλιν. This deserves the more to be taken notice of, because Portus, and Sylburgius ought to have rendered the Greek words by such, as were in Latin, peculiarly, adapted to the description of these triumphal robes. As for the French translators, they have followed their respective guides without any suspicion of their inaccuracy.

⁶⁴ Τηξεννον. There is a note in

Hudson upon this occasion, in which it is wondered much that our author did not know the origin of this word ; since Suidas says, from Artemidorus, that this kind of robe was so called from Temenus, an Arcadian, who was the inventor of it. This note M. * * * has translated, and wonders just as much as the author of that note. I must, also, wonder in my turn, that either Artemidorus, whose *ονειροκριτικα*, *the interpretation of dreams*, ^k Vossius, desc vedly, calls *opus vanissimum*, or his transcriber, Suidas, should be thought to have known any thing Dionysius of Halicarnassus was ignorant of.

^k De Hist. Græc. B. i. c. 22.

carried before the kings of Rome ; and that Romulus instituted this custom as soon as he entered upon the government. But nothing forbids us to believe that the Tyrrhenians were the authors of this invention ; that Romulus borrowed the use of it from them ; and that the twelve axes, also, were brought to Tarquinius, together with the other royal ornaments, as the Romans, even at this day, give scepters, and diadems to kings, in confirmation of their power : Since, without receiving those ornaments from the Romans, these kings make use of them.

LXIII. However, Tarquinius did not use these honors, as soon as he received them, as the greatest part of the Roman authors write ; but, referring the matter to the senate, and people, he left them to determine whether he should accept them, or not ; and they being unanimous for it, he then accepted them ; and, from that time, till he died, always wore a crown of gold, and a purple robe imbroidered, and sat on a throne of ivory, with a scepter of the same in his hand, and twelve lictors, bearing the axes, and rods, attended on him, when he sat in judgment ; and preceded him, when he went abroad. These ornaments were retained by all his successors ; and, after the expulsion of the kings, by the annual consuls, except the crown, and the imbroidered robe ; these alone were taken from them, as seeming offensive, and invidious : But, when they return with victory from a war, and are honoured with a triumph by the senate, they still wear both

a ⁶⁵ crown of gold, and a purple robe imbroidered. This, therefore, was the event of the war between Tarquinius, and the Tyrrhenians, after it had lasted nine years.

LXIV. The nation of the Sabines being, now, the only one left able to contend with the Romans for the sovereignty, and being well supplied with warlike men, and inhabiting a large, and fertile country in the neighbourhood of Rome, Tarquinius was, extremely, desirous of subduing these also, and declared war against them: His cause of complaint against their cities was, that they had refused to deliver up those, who had promised the Tyrrhenians, if they entered their country with an army, to conciliate to them the minds of their countrymen, and alienate them from the Romans. The Sabines, not only, cheerfully accepted the declaration of war, being unwilling to be deprived of the most powerful of their citizens; but, before the Roman army entered their territories, they themselves invaded Those of the Romans. As soon as Tarquinius had intelligence that the Sabines had passed the river Anio, and

⁶⁵ Χρυσόφορος. This must not be understood of the crown, which the generals, who triumphed, actually wore; but of That, which a slave held over their heads, during their triumphal procession. The former was of laurel; that is, of a particular kind of laurel, called by ^m Pliny, *sterilis*. I have seen this plant in the physic garden at Chelsea. Its leaves are much smaller than Those of the common laurel, and

curled at their edges: *Sterilem vero earum (quod maxime miror) triumphalem, cūque dicunt triumphantes uti.* The crown, carried by the slave, was of gold, very large, and set with precious stones. This is the triumphal crown mentioned by ⁿ Juvenal:

*Magnæque coronæ
Tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla:
Quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus, et sibi consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.*

^m B. xv. c. 30.

ⁿ Sat. 10. v. 39.

that

that all the country round their camp was laid waste, he took with him such of the Roman youth as were best prepared for a sudden march, and led them, with all possible expedition, against that part of the enemy, that was dispersed in plundering; and, having killed many of them, and taken away all their booty, he pitched his camp near to theirs; and, having remained quiet there for a few days, till both the remainder of his army from Rome, and the auxiliary forces of his allies had joined him, he came down into the plain with a design to engage the enemy.

LXV. The Sabines, seeing the Romans advancing to the combat with alacrity, they, also, led out their army, being not inferior to the enemy either in numbers, or courage; and, engaging, fought with all possible resolution, while they had no other enemy to encounter but those, who charged them in front: But, seeing another army of the enemy advancing in good order to attack them in the rear, they deserted their standards, and fled: The troops, that appeared behind the Sabines, were chosen men of the Romans, both horse, and foot, whom Tarquinius had placed in an ambuscade, the night before, in proper places: The unexpected appearance of these troops struck such a terror into the Sabines, that they acted, no longer, like brave men; but, looking upon themselves as circumvented by this stratagem of the enemy, and fallen under an irresistible calamity, they endeavoured to save themselves some one way, and some another; and, being pursued by the Roman horse, and surrounded on all sides, the greatest slaughter of them was in this rout: So

that, very few escaped into the neighbouring cities, and the greatest part of those, who were not slain in the battle, fell into the hands of the Romans: For the forces, that were left in the camp, had not the courage either to repulse the assault of the enemy, or to hazard an engagement; but, astonished at the unexpected misfortune, surrendered both themselves, and their camp, without striking a blow. The Sabine cities, looking upon themselves as circumvented by a stratagem, and that the enemy had gained the victory rather by artifice, than valor, were preparing to send, again, a more numerous army into the field, and a more experienced commander: But Tarquinius, being informed of their design, prevented them; and, before their forces were all assembled, he got his army together, and passed the river Anio. The Sabine general, upon intelligence of this, led out his new raised army with all expedition, and incamped near the Romans upon a high, and craggy hill: However, he judged it not adviseable to engage in a battle, till he was joined by the rest of the Sabine forces; but, by sending, continually, some of the horse against the enemy's foragers, and placing ambuscades in the woods, and vallies, he hindered the Romans from making excursions into the country.

LXVI. While the Sabine general was conducting the war in this manner, there happened many skirmishes between small parties both of the light-armed foot, and the horse, but no general action. The time being thus protracted, Tarquinius grew uneasy at the delay, and resolved to lead his

his army against their camp, and attacked it several times : But, finding it not easy to be taken by force, by reason of its strength, he determined to reduce those within by famine ; and, by building forts upon all the roads, that led to the camp, and, hindering them from going out to get wood for themselves, and forage for their horses, and from receiving many other necessaries out of the country, he reduced them to so great a want of all things, that they were obliged to take the opportunity of a tempestuous night, attended with rain, and storms of wind, and to quit their camp in a shameful manner, leaving behind them their beasts of burden, their tents, their wounded, and all their warlike stores. The next day, the Romans, being informed of their flight, took possession of their camp without opposition ; and, having made themselves masters of their tents, their beasts of burden, and their effects, returned to Rome with the prisoners. This war continued five years without intermission, in which, they both, continually, plundered one another's country, and were engaged in many actions, some of greater, and some of lesser consequence, the advantage of which was, sometimes, even on the side of the Sabines ; but, much oftener, on That of the Romans : However, the following battle put a final end to the war. For the Sabines did not, as before, take the field successively, but all, who were of an age to bear arms, appeared together : And all the Romans, being joined by the auxiliary troops of the Latines, the Tyrrhenians, and the rest of their allies, advanced to meet them. The general
of

of the Sabines, dividing his forces, formed two camps: And the king of the Romans divided his into three bodies, which he disposed in three different camps, nor far asunder; and took upon himself the command of the Roman troops; to his nephew, Aruns, he gave That of the Tyrrhenian auxiliaries; and appointed a man of courage, and consummate prudence, but a foreigner, and an exile, to command the Latines, and the rest of the allies; this person's surname was Servius, and his family name Tullius; after the death of Lucius Tarquinius without issue male, the Romans, admiring the man both for his military, and political accomplishments, chose him for their king: I shall give an account of the birth of this person, of his education, and his fortunes, and of the manifestation made by the gods of his future greatness, when I come to that part of the history.

LXVII. Both armies, therefore, having made the necessary preparations for the combat, engaged. The Romans were posted on the left wing, the Tyrrhenians on the right, and the Latines in the center: And a sharp battle ensuing, which lasted the whole day, the Romans were, by far, superior; and, having killed many of the enemy, who behaved themselves with great bravery, and taken many more of them prisoners in the rout, they possessed themselves of both their camps, where they found great riches: And, now, being masters of all the open country without fear of an enemy, they laid it waste with fire, and sword, and every kind of severity; and, decamping at the end of the summer, they returned home. Tarquinius triumphed for the third time
during

during his reign, upon the occasion of this victory. The following year, when the king was preparing to lead his army, once more, against the cities of the Sabines, pursuant to the resolution he had taken to make himself master of them by sieges, there was not one of those cities, that, from this time, took any brave, or vigorous resolution; but all, unanimously, determined, before the danger of slavery, and demolition approached, to put an end to the war: And the most considerable among the Sabines came from every city to Tarquinius, who had, already, taken the field with all his forces, to deliver up their cities to him, and to desire him to make peace with them upon reasonable terms. Tarquinius, willingly, accepted this subjection of the nation unattended with the hazard of a battle, and concluded a league of peace, and friendship with them upon the same conditions, which he had, before, granted to the Tyrrhenians upon their submission, and restored their captives to them without ransom.

LXVIII. These are the military actions of Tarquinius, which are recorded in history: Those that relate to peace, and to the civil administration, are as follows; neither do I design to pass these over in silence. As soon as he had entered upon the government, being desirous to gain the affections of the people after the example of his predecessors, he engaged them by this obligation: He chose ⁶⁶ a hundred

⁶⁶. Επιλεξας αιδεας εκατον. These hundred senators, added by Tarquinius, are called by Livy *minorum gentium*; probably, because they were, originally, plebeians, though he does not say so: *centum in patres legit, qui*

" B. i. c. 35.

persons out of the whole body of the plebeians, who were acknowledged by all to be possessed of some military, or political accomplishment; and, having made them patricians, he raised them to the dignity of senators; and, upon this occasion, the Roman senate, which, till then, had consisted only of two hundred persons, was, first, encreased to three hundred. After that, he added to the four holy virgins, who have the custody of the perpetual fire, two others: For the sacrifices, performed by the city, at which these priestesses of Vesta were obliged to be present, being, now, encreased, four were not thought sufficient: The example of Tarquinius was followed by the rest of the kings, and, to this day, six priestesses of Vesta are, always, appointed. He seems, also, to have first instituted the punishments, which are inflicted by the pontifs on those virgins, who do not preserve their virginity, being induced to it either by his own judgement, or, as some think, by a dream, which the interpreters of the holy things say was found, after his death, among the Sibylline oracles: For, in his reign, a priestess, by name, Pinaria, the daughter of Publius, was discovered to have approached the altars with impurity.

deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati. However, it is certain that they had, in all respects, the same prerogatives with the other two hundred senators: As had, also, those senators, whom ° Livy, in another place, calls, *conscriptos*, who were chosen into the senate, after the expulsion of the kings, to supply the places of those, who had

been put to death by Tarquinius Superbus: *Traditumque inde fertur, ut in senatum vocarentur, qui patres, quique conscripti essent: conscriptos videlicet in novum senatum appellabant lectos.* But, in process of time, all, who spoke in the senate, addressed themselves to the fathers, under the denomination of *Patres conscripti*.

• B. ii. c. 1.

I gave

I gave an account, in the preceding book, of the manner of punishing those virgins, who are debauched. Tarquinius, also, adorned the forum, where justice is administered, the assemblies of the people held, and other civil matters transacted, by surrounding it with shops, and porticos. Besides this, he was the first, who built the walls of the city (of which the structure was extemporary and mean) with stones, regularly, squared, each being a tun weight. He, also, began the sinking of the ⁶⁷ sewers: These are trenches, through which the water, collected from every street, is conveyed into the Tiber; a wonderful work, exceeding all description: And, in my opinion, the three most magnificent works in Rome, by which the greatness of the Roman empire, chiefly, appears, are the aqueducts, the paved ways, and the sewers: I say this, not only, with regard to their usefulness, concerning which I shall speak in its proper place; but, also, with respect to the greatness of the expence, of which we may judge by one of those works, rely-

⁶⁷ Τας ὑπονομῆς. These common-shores, called by the Romans, *Cloacae*, are spoken of by many authors as a stupendous work. ^p Pliny calls it *Operum omnium dictu maximum, suffossis montibus, atque urbe pensili, subterque navigatâ*. He, then, shews the firmness of these arches, which neither the conflict between the seven rivers, that were derived into them, and the Tiber, when it overflowed, nor the fall of houses by accident, and fire, nor earthquakes could dissolve: And concludes that they had remained impregnable

for eight hundred years, that is, from the time of Tarquinius Priscus, to his own. He says, a little after, that these *Cloacae* were so spacious, that a large load of hay might pass under them; *Amplitudinem cavis eam fuisse proditar, ut vehem foeni large onustam transmitteret*. This ^a Strabo, also, says, but the passage is very much corrupted. I find, by a note of Harduin upon this passage of Pliny, that Marlianus, who measured these arches, says they are sixteen feet in width.

^p B. xxxvi. c. 15.

^a B. v. p. 360.

ing on the authority of Caius Acilius, who says that the sewers, being once neglected, and rendered impassable for the water, the censors put out the cleaning, and repairing of them at a ⁶⁸ thousand talents.

LXIX. Tarquinius, also, built the ⁶⁹ greatest circus, which lies between the Aventine, and Palatine hills; and was the

⁶⁸. Χιλίων ταλαίων. According to Arbuthnot's tables, which are thought very correct, the common Attic talent, containing 60 minae, amounted to 193*l.* 15*s.* sterling; consequently, a thousand talents will make 193,750 pounds of our money. I know very well that some talents contained 70, 80, and, even, 100 minae: But, in all probability, our author understood the common Attic talent. Le Jay, in translating this passage, has thought fit to employ the censors in cleaning these common-shores; his words are these; *les censeurs qui entreprirent de les réparer et de les rétablir reçurent mille talents pour les frais qu'il leur falloit faire.* It is not possible he could have mistaken the sense of the word μιθυσαι, if he had consulted the Greek text; but, instead of that, he has, according to his custom, translated the Latin of Portus, which he has, unfortunately, mistaken. Portus says, *a censoribus purgandas et reficiendas mille talentis locatas fuisse*: Now, le Jay has rendered this, as if the signification of the words was, *a censoribus purgandas*, instead of, *a censoribus locatas*. The author, who is here quoted by Dionysius, is called C. Aquilius, by the Latin translators,

who are followed by the French: The editions call him Acylius, and the Vatican manuscript Acillius. It is odd that, in all this variety, we should not discover the true name of this historian, who is quoted by ^r Plutarch, and called Γαῖος Αιλιός; and by ^s Cicero, *Acilius, qui Graece scripsit historiam*: This history, by what he quotes from it, must have related to the war of Annibal. These annals, as ^t Livy calls them, were translated out of Greek into Latin by Claudius: *Auctor est Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem vertit.* ^v Vossius says that the name of this historian was Acilius Glabrio; that he was a provincial quaestor in the year of Rome 551, and tribune of the people in 556.

⁶⁹. Τὸν μέγιστον τῶν ἵπποδρομῶν. This is a translation of the *Circus maximus* at Rome. I cannot help thinking that our author describes this circus as it was in his time, because he speaks of the euripus, which, we are assured by ^w Suetonius, was added by Julius Caesar; *spatio circi ab utraq; parte producto, et in gyrum euripo addito.*

^x Pliny says that the circus maximus could contain 200,000 men, *ad sedem cclx millium*. But, as this number is

^r Life of Romulus. ^s De Offic. B. iii. c. 32.

^t B. xxv. c. 39.

^v De Hist. Graec. B. i. c. 17.

^w Life of Julius Caesar, c. 39.

^x B. xxxvi. c. 15.

first,

first, who erected covered seats round it: For, till then, the spectators stood on scaffolds, supported by poles: And, dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular part; so that, every spectator was seated in the place, that belonged to him. This work, also, became, in time, one of the most beautiful, and most admirable structures in Rome: The circus is three stadia, and a half in length, and ⁷⁰ four hundred feet in breadth; round the two greater sides, and one of the lesser, runs a canal, ten feet deep, and as many broad, to receive the water; behind the canal, porticos are erected three stories high, of which the lowest has stone seats, as in the theatres, raised a little above the level of the ground; and the two upper porticos,

expressed by letters, there may have been some mistake in the transcribers; which I am the more inclined to believe, because I find, by a note of Hardu'n upon this passage, that it is different, in different manuscripts. ⁷ Juvenal, indeed, says it held all Rome, but That, no doubt, is a poetical exaggeration;

ac mihi pace

*Immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis;
Totam hodie Romam circus capit.*

I need not acquaint the reader that *εὐρεπός*, a word taken from the streight between Euboea, now Negropont, and the continent, which was so called, signifies *a canal*, both in Greek, and Latin.

⁷⁰ Τετρακωνπλευρών. I can, by no means, approve of *quatre arpents* in the French translators. It is very well

known that their *arpent*, like our *acre*, is a square measure; whereas, *πλεθρον* is a measure of length, containing the sixth part of a stadium, or 100 Greek feet: το τε σταδιον ἕκτον μέρος. Suidas. I am sensible that the *arpent* is different, in different parts of France: But, let us take a Paris *arpent*, for example, and see how their *four arpents* will agree with the breadth of the circus, as described by our author. An *arpent* of Paris contains a square of 2200 French feet; four times this will make 8800 feet: Now, if this number is designed for a measure of length, it is plain that it is, vastly, too much for the breadth of the circus; and, if we are to take the square root of 8800 feet, it will be much too little: For the nearest square root, in round numbers, is 94; and our author says the breadth of the circus was 400 feet.

wooden seats: The two larger porticos are connected into one, and joined together by means of the lesser, and, meeting, form a semicircular figure; so that ⁷¹all three constitute one amphitheatrical portico of eight stadia, capable of receiving one hundred and fifty thousand persons: The other lesser side is left uncovered, and contains several arched starting-places for the horses, which are all opened ⁷²at one

⁷¹ Ως μίαν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γενέσθαι σὺν ἀμφιθέατρον οὐκ ἑξαδίων. I know nothing, that deserved more to be explained by the commentators, than this passage: Yet all are silent. Our author says that the amphitheatre, formed by the two larger, and one of the lesser porticos, contained eight stadia, which it, certainly, does. Each of the larger porticos contained, as we have seen, three stadia and a half in length: Both, therefore, contained seven stadia. The breadth of the circus, our author has told us, was four hundred feet, which must be considered as the chord of the semicircle he speaks of: Consequently, this semicircle will contain, in its periphery, 600 feet, which is just the measure of a stadium, and completes the eight stadia, of which the amphitheatre consisted. I know, very well, that the periphery of a circle is to its diameter, something more than three to one; and, consequently, that the periphery of this semicircle is to its chord half that more than 600 to 400: But, I, also, know that historians do not consider fractions in so minute a manner, as mathematicians.

⁷² Δια μίας ὑσπληγος. Ὑσπληγξ, or ὑσπληξ signifies, no doubt, *repagulum*,

as the Latin translators have rendered it. This word, also, signifies the starting-places, which our author has before mentioned, and called them *ἱπποφρεσις*, in Latin, *carceres*. So that, I should think he would not have expressed the same thing again by the word ὑσπληξ: This, therefore, must either signify *repagulum*, the bar, that was opened when the horses were to start, or the signal for them to start. Now, I believe, every chariot, that was to run, had one of these *carceres* allotted to it, which was secured by a bar: But I cannot think that one bar served for all of them; which must have been the case, if ὑσπληξ, in this place, signifies a bar; because our author says they were all opened *δια μίας ὑσπληγος*, by one bar. I am, therefore, of opinion, that these words here signify, at one signal. There is an expression in Aristophanes, not unlike to this, which, in my opinion, will serve to explain it. Every one, who has read his comedy called *Lyssistrate*, must remember the unnatural conspiracy entered into by the women, not to admit their husbands to their beds, till they should make peace: This conspiracy of the women, and, what is still more extraordinary, their ad-
signal:

signal: On the outside of the circus, runs another portico of one story, which has shops in it, and habitations over them: In this portico, are entrances, and ascents for the spectators at every shop, contrived in such a manner, that so many thousand persons may go in, and out, without any molestation.

LXX. This king, also, designed to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, in performance of the vow he had made to the gods in the last battle against the Sabines: Having, therefore, surrounded the hill, on which he proposed to place the temple, with ⁷³ high piles in many places (for, as it was neither easy of access, nor even, but craggy, and ending in a point, there was great difficulty in rendering it fit for the purpose) he filled up the interval between the piles, and the top of the hill with earth; and, by levelling it, made it very fit to receive the temple. But he was prevented by death from laying the foundations of it: For

hiring to it, caused a great uproar at Sparta, of which the herald, sent from thence to Athens to treat of a peace, thus explains the cause²;

Ἐπεὶ αὖ ἅλλαι ται καὶ αὐτὰν Σπαρτῶν ἄμα
Γυναικες, ἅπερ ἀπὸ ΜΙΑΣ ΤΣΠΛΑΤΙΔΟΣ
Ἀπὸ λαοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑσσάων.

They had all driven their husbands from their embraces with one crack of a whip.

⁷³ Ἀναλημματιν ὑψηλαίς. The two French translators are divided in rendering these words: Le Jay has said, *de grosses poutres*; and M. * * *, *de hautes murailles*. The reason of which

I presume, to have been, because Portus had said, *fudibus*; and Sylburgius, *celsis substructionibus*. However, I make no doubt but ἀναλημματα, here ought to be rendered, *piles*; because we find in * Livy that a wall of free stone was, afterwards, erected in this place, which would have been unnecessary, if Tarquinius Priscus had built a wall there before: *Eodem anno ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum est; opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspicendum*. This was in the 366th year of Rome.

² §. 958. ² B. vi. c. 4.

he lived but four years after the end of the last war : However, many years after, Tarquinius, the third king after him, who was dethroned, laid the foundations of this structure, and built a great part of it ; but even he did not complete the work, which was finished under those annual magistrates, who were consuls the third year after his expulsion. It is proper to relate, also, the incidents, that preceded the building of it, which all the writers of the Roman history have given an account of. When Tarquinius was preparing to build the temple, he called the augurs together, and ordered them, first, to consult the gods concerning the place itself, which was the most proper of all the city to be consecrated, and the most acceptable to the gods ; and, upon their naming the hill, that commands the forum, which was, then, called the Tarpeian, and, now, the Capitoline hill, he ordered them, again, to declare, after they had consulted the gods, in which part of the hill the foundations ought to be laid ; in this there was no small difficulty : For there were upon the hill many altars, both of the gods, and genius's, not far distant from one another, which were to be removed to some other place, and the whole area cleared for the temple, that was proposed to be built there. The augurs thought proper to consult the gods, to whom these altars were consecrated, concerning every one of them ; and, if they gave their consent, then to remove them : The rest of the gods, therefore, and genius's gave them leave to remove their altars ; but Terminus, and Juventus, although the augurs besought them with great earnestness, and importunity,

portunity, could not be prevailed on to leave their places; for which reason, their altars were included within the circuit of the temple, and one of them, now, stands in the portico of the chapel of Minerva, and the other, in the chapel itself near to the statue of that goddess: From hence, the augurs concluded that no time would ever remove the boundaries of the Roman empire, or impair its vigor; and both have proved true to this age, which is, now, the twenty fourth generation.

LXXI. The most celebrated of the augurs, who removed the altars, and marked out the area for the temple of Jupiter, and, in other things, foretold the will of the gods to the people by his prophetic art, was himself called, by his common, and first name, ⁷⁴ Navius, and, by his family name, Attius, and is allowed to have been the most favoured by the gods of any of his profession, and to have gained the greatest reputation by it; some extraordinary instances of his prophetic knowledge being incredible: I shall select one, which appears to me the most wonderful; but I shall, first, give an account, by what accident, and, by what opportunities vouchsafed to him by the gods, he arrived to so great a reputation, that he surpassed all the augurs of his age, and rendered them disregarded. His ⁷⁵ father was a poor man,

⁷⁴ Το κοινὸν ὄνομα. See the 45th annotation on this book.

⁷⁵ Πενὴς αἰτῶ πατρὸς εὐγενέος. This story is related by ^b Cicero, with very little variation: Which I do not men-

tion to prove the truth of it; but only to shew that it was a tradition supported by the authority of their best writers.

^b De Divinat. B. i. c. 17.

who

who cultivated a small piece of land, whom Navius, then a boy, assisted in those things his age could bear; and, among other employments, used to drive the swine out to pasture, and tend them; and, falling asleep one day, when he waked, he missed some of the swine: At first, he wept, apprehending his father would beat him; then, going to a chapel, dedicated to the heroes, that stood in the field, he besought them to assist him in finding his swine, with a promise that, if they were found, he would offer up to them the largest bunch of grapes in the place. Having found the swine shortly after, and, being desirous to accomplish his vow, he he was at a loss how to discover the largest bunch of grapes: In this anxiety, he prayed to the gods to direct him by some omen, to what he sought; then, by the inspiration of the gods, he divided the vineyard into two parts, one being on his right hand, and the other on his left; after which, he observed the omens attending each; and, there appearing in one of them such birds as he desired, he, again, divided That into two parts, and distinguished the birds, that came to it, in the same manner: Having continued this method of dividing the places, and, coming to the last vine, that was pointed out by the birds, he found a monstrous bunch of grapes, and was discovered by his father, as he was carrying it to the chapel of the heroes; and, upon his admiring the size of it, and inquiring whence he had it, the boy informed him of the whole matter from the beginning: His father, upon this, concluded, as the truth was, that his son had some innate principles of the prophetic art in him; and, carrying

carrying him to the city, put him to school: After he was, sufficiently, instructed in common learning, he placed him under the most celebrated master, among the Tyrrhenians, to learn the augural art: Navius, who had the principles of the prophetic art implanted in him by nature, being, now, improved by his education among the Tyrrhenians, far surpassed, as I said, all the other augurs: And those of that profession in the city, always, called him to assist at their consultations relating to the public, though he was not of their college, induced to it by the success of his predictions, and foretold nothing without his approbation.

LXXII. This Navius, when Tarquinius was, once, desirous to create three new ⁷⁶ tribes out of the horse he had, before, levied, and to give his own name, and the names of his friends to these additional tribes, alone, violently, opposed it, and would not allow any of the institutions of Romulus to be altered: The king, resenting this opposition, and being displeased with Navius, endeavoured to bring his profession under an absolute disrepute; and to shew him to be a vain man, whose predictions were void of all truth: In this view, he called Navius to the tribunal, many people being present in the forum; and, having acquainted those about him in what manner he expected to shew the augur to be a false prophet; when he appeared, he received him with great civility, and said, “ This is the time, Navius, for you to shew the certainty of your prophetic art; for I have in my thoughts “ a great undertaking, and would know whether it be

⁷⁶ Φυλας. See the fifteenth annotation on the second book.

“ practicable, or not : Go, therefore, consult your auspices, and
“ return presently ; I shall sit here in expectation of you.”
The augur did as he was ordered ; and, returning soon after,
assured the king that the auspices were favourable, and that
the thing was practicable. Upon this, Tarquinius fell a
laughing ; and, taking out a razor, and a hone from under
his robe, said to him, “ You are, now, convicted, Navius,
“ of imposing on us, and of making use of the name of the
“ gods to support an apparent falsehood, since you dare affirm
“ that even impossible things are practicable : I wanted to
“ know, by the rules of your art, whether, if I strike the
“ hone with this razor, I shall cut it asunder ?” This raising
a great laughter in all, who stood round the tribunal, Na-
vius, unmoved at their raillery, and noise, “ Strike the hone,
“ confidently, says he, as you proposed, Tarquinius : For it
“ will be cut asunder ; if not, I am ready to submit to any
“ punishment.” The king, surprised at the confidence of
the augur, struck the razor against the hone ; and the edge
of the razor making its way quite through the stone, cut,
not only, the hone asunder, but, also, part of his hand, that
held it. All who saw this wonderful, and incredible fact,
were amazed, and gave a general shout : While Tarquinius,
ashamed of having made this trial of his art, and desiring
to repair the indecency of his reproaches, in the first place
desisted from his purpose relating to the tribes ; and, after
that, in order to recover the good will of Navius himself,
as of a person the most acceptable of all men to the gods,
among many other instances of benevolence, by which he
gained

gained his affection, he erected a brazen statue of him in the forum, to eternize his memory with posterity. This statue is, still, remaining, and stands before the senate house, near to the ⁷⁷ holy fig-tree: It is less than a middle sized man, and has a veil over its head: At a small distance from this statue, both the hone, and the razor are said to be ⁷⁸ buried under a certain altar; the place is called ⁷⁹ Φρεαρ, *Puteus*, by the Romans. And this is the account given of this augur.

⁷⁷· ἱεράς στυκής. There is a note of Portus in Hudson, upon this passage, which M. * * * has translated: In this note, it is alledged that Lopus has said *prope sacrum templum*; which gives reason to believe that he read ἱεράς στυκής. However, the common reading, in my opinion is the true one; since we find by Festus that this-fig-tree was called *Ficus Navia*; and that Tarquinius planted it in memory of this extraordinary event. They called this fig-tree *holy*, because the liberty of the Roman people was thought to depend upon its prosperity; or, to use the words of the same author, *divinis etiam responsis promittentibus, quamdiu ea viveret, libertatem populi Romani incolumem mansuram: ideoque coli, et subseri ex illo tempore coeptam*.

⁷⁸· Κεκευφθαι. For this word, which is, certainly, the true reading, we are obliged to the Vatican manuscript; κεκευφθαι being in all the editions, which can have no place here. There is a note, upon this occasion, in Hudson, which M. * * * has, also, translated without any acknowledgement to him: In this note, a passage of Cicero

is quoted, which supports the reading of the Vatican manuscript; *cotem autem illam, et novaculam defossam in comitio, supraque impositum puteal accepimus*.

⁷⁹· Φρεαρ. It appears, by a note in Hudson, that Jos. Scaliger finds fault with our author for calling *puteal* Φρεαρ; since *puteal*, as he says, does not signify Φρεαρ, but πωμα Φρεαλος. In the same note, Hudson says that Chimentellius justifies Dionysius for using this word. As I have not this author myself, neither can I get a sight of his work in the country, I shall lay before the reader what occurs to me concerning the signification of *puteal*, and *puteus*; by which he will be able to determine, in some measure, what judgement he ought to form of this criticism of Scaliger. The words quoted from Cicero in the last note, shew, indeed, that a *puteal* was erected over the place, where the hone, and the razor were buried: And I agree, intirely, with Scaliger that *puteal* does not signify Φρεαρ, but πωμα Φρεαλος, *the cover of a well*. This, I know, is one signification of the word, and, in

• De Divinat. B. i. c. 17.

LXXIII. Tarquinius, being now, through age, obliged to desist from war (for he was eighty years old) lost his life by the treachery of the sons of Ancus Marcius: They had, before, endeavoured to dethrone him, and had, often, attempted it, in hope that, when he was removed, the government would devolve upon them, as a succession from their father, and that the Romans would, easily, be prevailed on to confirm it: But, failing in their expectation, they formed a treacherous design against him not to be avoided, which heaven did not suffer to go unpunished. I shall, also, relate the method they took to execute their treachery. Navius, that celebrated augur, who, as I said, had opposed the king, when he was desirous to encrease the number of the tribes, while he was in the greatest credit for his art, and exceeded all the Romans in power, whether through the envy of some antagonist in his own profession, the treachery of enemies, or any other accident, disappeared on a sudden, and none of his friends could either guess at the manner of his death, or find his body: The people being

this sense, ^d Cicero uses it, when he writes to Atticus to send him *putealia sigillata duo*, which ^e Dr. Middleton has, very properly, translated, *the covers of two of his wells, or fountains*. But this is not the only signification of *puteal*: It signifies, also, *an altar*, like That, which is represented ^f in an old coin of Libo, who erected the *puteal*, called by ^g Horace, *puteal Libonis*. Whether this was the same with That erected over the place, where

these things were buried, may be doubted; but, certain it is by this coin, that a *puteal* was either an altar, or, very much, resembled one; for which reason, our author says they were buried *ὑπο βωμῷ τινι*. This altar, or *puteal*, was, therefore, erected over the *puteus*, or *hole in the ground*, where the bone, and the razor were buried; and this *puteus* is, very properly, called; by our author, *φρεαγ*.

^d B. i. Let. 10. ^e Life of Cicero, vol. i. p. 144. ^f Augustin. Dialog. iv. ^g Epist. 19. B. i. y. 8.

uneasy at, and resenting, this misfortune; and, withal, entertaining several suspicions against several persons, the sons of Marcius, who observed this disposition of the multitude, fixed the imputation of the guilt upon Tarquinius, without any other proof, or argument to support their accusation, than these two probable circumstances: The first, that the king, designing to introduce many innovations in the government, had a mind to take off a person, who was sure to oppose him, as he had done upon former occasions: The other was, that an accident of so dreadful a nature having happened, he had caused no inquiry to be made after the authors, but, intirely, neglected the matter; which, they said, no innocent man would have done: And, having formed a strong faction, both of the patricians, and plebeians, among whom they had distributed their fortunes, they poured out their accusations against Tarquinius, and exhorted the people not to suffer a guilty person to approach the altars, and defile the royal dignity, especially, since he was not a Roman, but a foreigner, whom no country would own. These men, who wanted no abilities, nor eloquence, by urging these things in the harangues they made in the forum, inflamed the minds of many of the plebeians, who, when he came into the forum, endeavoured to drive him from thence, as an impure person: However, they were not strong enough to prevail over the truth, or to persuade the people to depose him: But, after Tarquinius himself had made the best defence possible, and refuted the accusation, and Tullius, his son-in-law, to whom he had given.

given one of his two daughters in marriage, a very popular man, had raised the compassion of the Romans, they were looked upon as calumniators, and wicked men, and left the forum with great ignominy.

LXXIV. Having failed in this attempt, and, being through the means of their friends, restored to the favor of Tarquinius, who, by reason of the obligations he had received from their father, bore their folly with temper, looking upon their repentance as sufficient to reform their rashness, they continued three years in this affectation of friendship : But, as soon as they thought a favourable opportunity presented itself, they contrived the following device against him. They dressed up two youths, the boldest of their accomplices, like shepherds ; and, arming them with bills, sent them at noon to the king's palace, with proper instructions relating to what they were to say, and do, and, in what manner, they were to proceed in this enterprise : When they came near the palace, they abused one another, as if they had received some injury ; and, proceeding to blows, both, with a loud voice, implored the king's assistance ; and many of their accomplices, who had the appearance of countrymen, being present, and taking part with each of them in the quarrel, gave testimony in their favor : And, when the king ordered them to be brought before him, and commanded them to inform him of the subject of their dispute, they pretended their contest arose about some goats, and both of them bawling at the same time, and expressing the vehemence of their passion in a rustic manner, without
saying

faying any thing to the purpose, they raised a general laughter : When they thought that, by being despised, they had a proper opportunity of putting their design in execution, they wounded the king in the head with their bills ; after which, they endeavoured to escape out of the palace. But this action having occasioned an outcry, and assistance coming from many parts, they, not being able to make their escape, were apprehended by those, who pursued them. When, being put to the torture, and forced to declare the authors of the conspiracy, they, afterwards, met with the punishment they deserved. Tarquinius, therefore, from whom the Romans had received many considerable advantages, ended his life in this manner, after a reign of thirty eight years.

The end of the Third book.

THE

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

TARQUINIUS, dying in the manner I have mentioned, left two ¹grandsons who were infants, and two daughters, already, married. He was succeeded in the kingdom by Tullius, one of his sons-in-law, in the fourth year of the fiftieth Olympiad, when Epitelides, a Lacedaemonian, won the prize of the stadium; Archeſtratides

ANNOTATIONS on the Fourth Book.

¹. *Υιους*. Since our author has employed so many arguments to prove that Lucius Tarquinius, and his brother, were not the sons, but the grandsons of Tarquinius Priscus, it is something extraordinary that all the editions, and manuscripts, should call them *υις*, instead of *υιους*, which last reading I have made no difficulty to follow in the translation. ² Livy says

it is not clear whether they were his sons, or grandsons; but rather inclines to think them his sons, upon the authority of the greatest number of historians. However, I believe the reasons, alledged by our author, will clear up this point of history. All this makes it plain that we must read *υιους*, as Casaubon has, very well, observed.

² B. i. c. 46.

being

being archon at Athens. This is the proper place to mention those particulars relating to Tullius, which we, at first, omitted, and to give an account both of his parents, and of the actions he performed, while he was yet a private person, and before his accession to the government. Concerning his family, therefore, the relation I think the most probable is this : There lived at Corniculum, a city of the Latine nation, a man of the royal family, named Tullius, who was married to Ocrisia, a lady far excelling all those of her sex in Corniculum, both in beauty, and modesty. When this city was taken by the Romans, Tullius himself was slain fighting for his country ; and Ocrisia, then with child, was selected from the spoils, and given to Tarquinius, then king of the Romans, who presented her to his wife : She, being informed of every thing, that related to this woman, manumitted her soon after, and distinguished her above all other women by the marks of tenderness, and regard she continued to bestow upon her. While Ocrisia was yet a slave, she was brought to bed of a boy, to whom, when he was brought up, his mother gave the name of Tullius, from his father, as his proper, and family name ; and, also, the name of Servius, as a common, and appellative name, from her own condition, because she was a slave, when she was brought to bed of him : Which appellation, if translated into Greek, would be expressed by *Δεσλιος*, *Servile*.

II. There is another tradition concerning his birth, mentioned in the writings of this nation, which, though it, fabulously, exalts him, we have met with in many Roman

histories; and the account of it, if the gods, and genius's will allow it to be related, is as follows: They say that, from the altar in the palace, on which the Romans offer sacrifices, and consecrate the first offerings of their evening meals, a man's privy member rose up above the fire; and that Ocrisia first saw it, as she was carrying the customary cakes to the fire, and, immediately, informed the² king, and queen of it: That Tarquinius, upon hearing this, and, afterwards, seeing the prodigy, was astonished: But Tanaquil, who was, otherwise, a woman of sense, and inferior to none of the Tyrrhenians in the knowledge of the prophetic art, told him, it was ordained by fate that the child, foretold by the prodigy seen upon the altar of the palace, and sprung from the woman, who conceived by the phantom, should be of a condition superior to human nature: And the other augurs affirming the same thing, the king thought fit that Ocrisia, to whom the prodigy had first appeared, should converse with him: After which, this woman, being dressed like a bride, was shut up alone in the room, in which the prodigy had been seen; and one of the gods, or genius's, whether Vulcan, as they think, or the hero, to whom the house was dedicated, having had conversation with her, and, afterwards, disappearing, she conceived by him, and was delivered of Tullius at the proper time. This fabulous account, which seems not altogether credible, is the less disbelieved by reason of another manifestation of the

² Τῆς βασιλεως. This could not well be rendered otherwise than *the king, and the queen*, as, I find, the French

translators have rendered it. However, it must be remembered, that the wives of the Roman kings were not queens.

gods relating to this man, which is wonderful and extraordinary. For he, falling asleep, as he was sitting in the portico of the palace about noon, a fire shone from his head : This, his mother, and the king's wife, as they were walking in the portico, saw, as well as all, who then happened to be present with them : And the flame continued to shine quite round his head, till his mother, running to him, waked him ; and, when his sleep was ended, the flame disappeared. These are the accounts, that are given of his birth.

III. The memorable actions he performed before his accession, in consideration of which Tarquinius admired him, and the Roman people honoured him next to the king, are these. Being very young at the time, when Tarquinius undertook his first expedition against the Tyrrhenians, and in the horse, he was thought to have behaved himself with so much bravery, that he, presently, gained an universal reputation ; and, preferably to any other person, received the prize of valor. Afterwards, when another expedition was undertaken against the same nation, and a sharp battle fought near the city of Eretum, he was judged to have shewn greater bravery than any man, and was, again, crowned by the king in testimony of his having deserved the same reward. When he was at most twenty years old, he was appointed to command the auxiliary forces, sent by the Latines, and assisted Tarquinius in obtaining the sovereignty over the Tyrrhenians. In the first war against the Sabines, being general of the horse, he put to flight That of the enemy, pursuing them as far as the city of Antemnæ,

and, again, received the same customary rewards for the superior bravery he had shewn upon this occasion. He was engaged in many other actions against the same nation, sometimes commanding the horse, and, sometimes, the foot; in all which he shewed himself a man of the greatest courage, and, always, was the first person crowned upon these occasions. And, when that nation came to surrender themselves, and deliver up their cities to the Romans, he was looked upon by Tarquinius as the chief author of this sovereignty also, and crowned by him with the crowns, usually, given upon a victory. Besides, he had the ³ justest thoughts of civil government, and was inferior to none in his manner of expressing them; and possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of accommodating himself to persons of all conditions, and all characters. In consideration of these accomplishments, the Romans thought proper to translate him, by their votes, from a plebeian, to the rank of a patrician, an honor they had conferred on Tarquinius, and, before that, on Numa Pompilius: The king, also, made him his son-in-law, giving him one of his two daughters in marriage; and, whatever business his infirmities, or his age, rendered him incapable of attending to himself, he ordered Tullius to transact it; and committed to his care, not only, the private affairs of

³· Ην δὲ καὶ φρονησαὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι τὰ κατὰ. If Thucydides has συνέλιξις, etc. This thought our author has taken from ^b Thucydides, though he has expressed it in other words: Those of the latter are, ὅς κενος ἴστων οἶσμαι εἶναι γινώσκειν τε τὰ δεινὰ, the advantage of the expression, our author has, certainly, That of decency; since the former makes Pericles give himself these qualifications, and the latter gives them to another.

^b B. ii. c. 60.

his own family, but, also, Those, that related to the public. In all these employments, he was found to have acted with integrity, and justice; the people finding no difference between the administration of Tarquinius, and That of Tullius; so effectually did he gain their affections by the favors he conferred upon them.

IV. This person, therefore, being, sufficiently, formed by nature for command, and, also, supplied by fortune with many, and great opportunities of attaining it, as soon as Tarquinius was slain by the treachery of the sons of Marcius, who, thereby, fought to recover the kingdom their father had been possessed of, as was shewn in the preceding book, he looked upon himself to be called to the royal dignity by the very situation of affairs; and, being a man of activity, he did not let slip the opportunity. The person, to whose assistance he owed the possession of the regal power, and, who was the author of all his good fortune, was the wife of the deceased king, who supported him both as he was her son-in-law, and, as she found, by many oracles, it was ordained by fate that this man should be king of the Romans. It happened that her own son, a youth, was, lately, dead, and that his two sons were left infants: She, therefore, reflecting on the desolation of her family, and being under the greatest apprehensions lest, if the sons of Marcius possessed themselves of the sovereignty, they should destroy these infants, and extirpate all the royal family, first ordered the gates of the palace to be shut, and a guard to be placed there, with
orders

orders to suffer none to pass in, or out; then, causing every one to leave the room, in which they had laid Tarquinius just ready to expire, except Ocrisia, Tullius, and her daughter, who was married to Tullius, she directed the children to be brought thither by their nurses, and spoke to the others in the following manner: “ Tarquinius, the
“ king, O Tullius, by whom you were brought up, and
“ educated, and who honoured you more than any of his
“ friends, and relations, has, by an impious assassination,
“ finished his destined course, without having made either
“ any disposition of his private affairs, or any regulation
“ concerning Those, which relate to the public, and to the
“ civil administration; and without having had it in his
“ power even to embrace any of us, or to take his last farewell
“ of any: And these unfortunate orphans are left destitute,
“ and in imminent danger of their lives: For, if the power
“ falls into the hands of the Marcii, the murderers of their
“ grandfather, they will be put to death by them in the
“ most miserable manner; even, the lives of you, to whom
“ Tarquinius gave his daughters in preference to them,
“ will not be safe, should his murderers possess themselves
“ of the sovereignty, any more than the lives of the rest of
“ his friends, and relations, or of us miserable women;
“ but they will endeavour to destroy us all, both openly,
“ and privately. These things, therefore, being considered
“ by us, we ought not to suffer the wicked murderers of
“ Tarquinius, and, at the same time, the enemies of us all,
“ to obtain so great a power; but to oppose, and prevent
“ them,

“ them, upon this occasion, by art, and deceit; for these
 “ are necessary at present; and, when our first attempt
 “ has succeeded, then to attack them, even, openly with
 “ our whole force, and with arms, if these, also, shall be
 “ found necessary: But that will not be the case, provided
 “ we, now, take proper measures: What are they? Let
 “ us, in the first place, conceal the king’s death, and cause
 “ a report to be spread among all the people, that he has
 “ received no mortal wound; and let the physicians give
 “ out that they expect to restore him to his health in a few
 “ days: After which, I will appear in public, and acquaint
 “ the people, as from Tarquinius, that he has committed
 “ to one of his two sons-in-law, naming you, Tullius, the
 “ care, and guardianship, both of his private affairs, and of
 “ Those of the public, till he is recovered of his wounds;
 “ and the Romans will be so far from being displeased, that
 “ they will rejoice, in seeing the government of the city
 “ vested in you, to whom it has, already, been, often, com-
 “ mitted. When we have dispersed the present danger (for
 “ the power of our enemies will be at an end the moment
 “ the king is reported to be alive) do you assume the rods,
 “ and the military power, and call those, who formed the
 “ design of assassinating Tarquinius, before the people;
 “ beginning with the sons of Marcius, and summon them
 “ to take their trial. After you have punished all these, if
 “ they submit to be tried, with death; or, if they fly from
 “ justice, which I rather believe they will do, with perpetual
 “ banishment, and the confiscation of their estates, then
 “ settle

“ settle every thing, that relates to the administration of
 “ affairs; conciliate the affections of the people by an obliging
 “ affability; take great care that no injustice be committed,
 “ and gain the favor of the poorer sort, by conferring on
 “ them some marks of beneficence, and liberality. After-
 “ wards, when we see a proper time, let us say that Tarqui-
 “ nius is dead, and make a public funeral for him. It is but
 “ just, Tullius, that you, who have been brought up, and
 “ educated by us; have partaken of every advantage, that
 “ children receive from their parents, and are, actually,
 “ married to our daughter, if, besides this, you become
 “ king of the Romans, should, at least, for my sake, to
 “ whose assistance you will owe that dignity, shew all the
 “ benevolence of a father to these infants; and, when they
 “ come to be men, and are capable of the administration of
 “ affairs, that you declare the eldest king of the Romans.”

V. Having said this, and thrown each of the children into
 the arms both of her son-in-law, and her daughter, and
 raised the greatest compassion in them both, it being now
 time, she went out of the room, and ordered the servants
 to get every thing ready for dressing the king's wounds,
 and to call the physicians. The night being passed, the next
 day, the people flocking in great numbers to the palace,
 she appeared at one of the windows, that looked upon
 the street before the gates; and, first, acquainted them
 who the persons were, who had formed the design of mur-
 dering the king, and produced the assassins, employed by
 them, in chains: Then, finding that many lamented the mis-

misfortune, and were exasperated at the authors of it, she, at last, told them that they had reaped no fruit from their wicked design, as not having been able to kill Tarquinius. This being received with a general joy, she, then, presented Tullius to them, as the person appointed by the king to take care of all his affairs, both public and private, till he himself recovered. The people, therefore, went away, greatly, rejoicing that the condition of the king was not dangerous; and continued for a long time in that opinion. After this, Tullius, attended by a strong body of men, and, also, with the king's lictors, went to the forum, and caused proclamation to be made for the Marcii to appear, and take their trial: But they not obeying, he pronounced sentence of perpetual banishment against them; and, having confiscated their estates, he, now, securely possessed the sovereignty of Tarquinius.

VI. I shall suspend the narration of what follows, that I may give the reasons, which have induced me to disagree with ⁴Fabius, and the rest of the historians, who affirm that the infants Tarquinius left, were his sons, to the end that those, who have read their histories, may not think I advance, without due consideration, that they were his grandsons, and not his sons: For those writers have, very inconsiderately, and, negligently, published this account of them, without examining any of the impossibilities, and absurdities, that destroy the truth of it: Every one of which

⁴ Φαβίος. See the 21st annotation on the first book.

I shall endeavour to point out in a few words. Tarquinius removed from Tyrrhenia, with all his family, at an age the most capable of reflexion: For it is said that he, then, aspired to a share in the government, to dignities, and to the administration of affairs; and that he removed from thence, because he was not allowed to partake of any of these honors; any other might, therefore, suppose him to have been thirty years old at least, when he left Tyrrhenia: For, at this age, generally, the laws call those to the magistracy, who desire it, and to the administration of public affairs: But I will suppose him five whole years younger than this, and allow him to have been but five and twenty, when he removed. Certainly, all the Roman historians agree that he carried his wife, a Tyrrhenian, with him, whom he had married, while his father was yet alive. He came to Rome in the first year of the reign of Ancus Marcius, as ⁵ Gellius writes; but, according to ⁵ Licinnius, in the eighth year. However, let him have come to Rome the year Licinnius writes, and not before: For he could not have come thither after that time; since, in the ninth year of the reign of Ancus, he was sent by the king to command the horse in the war against the Latines, as both those historians agree. Now, if he was no more than twenty five years old, when he came to Rome; and, having been received into the friendship of Ancus, then king, in the eighth year of his reign, lived with him the remaining seventeen years (for Ancus

⁵ Γελλιος, Λικιννιος. See the 25th annotation on the first book.

reigned

reigned twenty four years, and he himself reigned thirty eight, as all agree) he must have been fourscore years old, when he died : For this appears by computing the number of years : His wife was five years younger, as may well be supposed ; so that, she was in her seventy fifth year, when Tarquinius died ; and, if she was brought to bed of her youngest, and last son, when she was fifty years old (for, after this time, a woman is incapable of bearing children, this being the end of their conceiving, as those authors write, who have examined these things) this son could not have been less than five and twenty years old when his father died, and Lucius the elder, not less than twenty seven ; the sons, therefore, Tarquinius left by this woman could not be infants : And, certainly, if her sons had been men grown when their father died, it cannot be imagined that either their mother would have been so wicked, and so void of sense, as to deprive her own children of the sovereignty their father had left them, and give it to a stranger, and to the son of a slave ; or that they themselves, thus deprived of their paternal dignity, would have borne the injustice in so abject, and supine a manner, and that at an age, when their faculties both of speaking, and acting, were in their utmost vigor : For Tullius, being the son of a slave, could not have the advantage of them in birth, or much excel them in the dignity of age ; being only three years older than one of them : For which reasons, they would not, willingly, have yielded the sovereignty to him.

VII. This opinion, is subject to some other absurdities, which all the Roman historians have been ignorant of, except one, whom I shall name presently : For it is allowed that Tullius, having succeeded to the kingdom after the death of Tarquinius, enjoyed it four and forty years : So that, if the eldest of the Tarquini was twenty seven years old when he was deprived of the sovereignty, he must have been above seventy, when he killed Tullius : But the historians say, that he was then in the vigor of his age ; and add, that he himself carried Tullius in his arms out of the senate, and threw him down the stairs : And his expulsion happened in the five and twentieth year after this. The same year, he is introduced making war against the ⁶ Ardeates, and performing every thing himself. Now, it is not reasonable to suppose that a man of ninety six years of age, could, personally, assist at the operations of war. After he is deprived of the government, he, still, makes war against the Romans, and continues to do so no less than fourteen years, he himself being present, as they say, upon all occasions ; which is contrary to the general sense of mankind : Thus, according to them, he must have lived above one hundred and ten years ; which is a length of life unknown to our climate. Some of the Roman historians, being sensible of

⁶ *Ἀρδεῖα*. ^c Ardea was, formerly, a city of great note, and the capital of the Rutuli. It is, now, a village, and retains its name. It lies twenty Roman miles south east of Rome, and

five from the Tyrrhene sea. ^d While Tarquinius was besieging Ardea, the revolution happened at Rome, by which he was banished, and monarchy proscribed.

^c Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 5.

^d See the sixty fourth chapter of this book.

these absurdities, have endeavoured to solve them by others ; alledging that, not Tanaquil, but one Gegania, of whom we read nothing in history, was the mother of these children. Again, the marriage of Tarquinius is unseasonable, he being then very near fourscore years old, and the begetting children, in men of that age, incredible. Neither was he childless, so as to wish for children at any rate ; for he had two daughters, and these, already, married. Considering, therefore, all these impossibilities, and absurdities, I agree with Piso Frugi, and affirm that these children were not the sons, but the grandsons of Tarquinius : For he is the only historian, who has maintained this opinion, which he has asserted in his annals ; unless the children were the king's grandsons by birth, and his sons by adoption ; and this may have misled all the other Roman historians. These things being premised, it is time to resume the narration we have interrupted.

VIII. When Tullius thought he had secured to himself the possession of the kingdom, by having received the government of it, and expelled the faction of the Marcii, he celebrated the funeral of Tarquinius in a magnificent manner, as if he had, just before, died of his wounds, and adorned his memory with a noble monument, and all other honors ; and, from that time, as guardian of the royal children, he took upon himself the administration, and care, both of their private fortunes, and the public affairs of the city. But these proceedings were not agreeable to the patricians, who could

7. Πιστων. See the 25th annotation on the first book.

not see, without indignation, and resentment, that Tullius had, artfully, obtained a kind of regal power, without either the concurrence of the senate, or any other requisite ordained by the law. And the most powerful of them, often, met together, and discoursed with one another concerning the means of putting an end to this illegal government ; and they came to this resolution, that the first time Tullius assembled the senate, they would compel him to lay aside the rods, and the other ensigns of royalty ; and that, after this was done, they would appoint those magistrates, called interreges, and, by their means, chuse a person, according to the laws, who should govern the city. While they were taking these resolutions, Tullius, having notice of their design, applied himself to flatter, and court the poorer sort, in hopes of retaining the power by their means ; and, having assembled the people, he placed the children before the tribunal, and spoke in the following manner :

IX. “ I think myself under a great obligation, citizens,
“ to take care of these infants: For Tarquinius, their
“ grandfather, received me, when I was deprived both of
“ my father, and my country, and brought me up, being
“ no less tender of me, than of his own children : He, also,
“ gave me one of his two daughters in marriage ; and,
“ during the whole course of his life, continued to honor,
“ and love me, as you, also, know, with the same affection,
“ as if I had been his own son : And, after the treacherous
“ design formed against him was executed, he intrusted me
“ with the care of these children, if he should happen to
“ die.

“ die. Who, therefore, will think me pious towards the
 “ gods, or just towards men, if I abandon, and betray the
 “ orphans, to whom I am so much obliged? But I am
 “ resolved, as far as I am able, neither to betray the trust
 “ reposed in me, nor to abandon the children in the forlorn
 “ condition, to which they are reduced. You, also, ought
 “ in justice to remember the benefits their grandfather con-
 “ ferred upon the commonwealth, in reducing to your
 “ obedience so many cities of the Latines, your rivals for
 “ the sovereignty; in making all the Tyrrhenians, the
 “ most powerful of your neighbours, your subjects; and in
 “ forcing the Sabine nation to submit to you; all which he
 “ effected with many, and great dangers. While, therefore,
 “ he himself was living, it became you to give him thanks for
 “ the advantages you had received from him; and, now he is
 “ dead, it becomes you to make a grateful return to his
 “ posterity, and not to bury the remembrance of the bene-
 “ fits, together with the persons of your benefactors. Look
 “ upon yourselves, therefore, to have been all left the
 “ common guardians of these infants; and confirm to
 “ them the sovereignty their grandfather left them: For
 “ they will not receive so great an advantage from my single
 “ guardianship, as from the joint assistance of you all. I am
 “ under a necessity of saying these things, because I hear
 “ that some people are conspiring against them, and desire
 “ to transfer the kingdom to others. I desire you, also,
 “ Romans, to call to mind the many battles I have fought
 “ for your sovereignty; these, which are neither inconfi-
 “ derable

“derable in themselves, nor few in number, I need not
 “relate, because you are acquainted with them : But,
 “whatever acknowledgements they may claim from you, I
 “desire you will pay them to these children : For the design
 “of protecting the posterity of Tarquinius, not of securing
 “the sovereignty to myself (of which, if that was my aim, I
 “am not less worthy than any other) has led me to take
 “upon myself the administration of the public affairs.
 “Behold me in the posture of a suppliant, and let me
 “intreat you not to abandon these orphans, who are, now,
 “indeed, only in danger of losing the sovereignty ; but, if
 “this first attempt of their enemies succeeds, will be, also,
 “expelled the city : However, concerning these, I need say
 “no more, since you both know, and will perform, your
 “duty. I shall, now, acquaint you with the benefits I myself
 “propose to confer upon you, and with the reasons, that
 “induced me to call you together. Those among you,
 “who have contracted debts, and, through poverty, are
 “unable to discharge them, as they are citizens, and have
 “undergone many labours in the service of their country,
 “I desire to relieve ; and, to the end that such, as have
 “secured the common liberty, may not be deprived of their
 “own, I will myself supply them with money to pay their
 “debts. As to those, who shall, from this time, contract
 “debts, I will not suffer them to be carried to prison on
 “account of those debts ; but will provide a law, that no
 “man shall lend money on the security of the persons of
 “free men : For I look upon the possession of the fortunes
 “ of

“ of the debtor to be a sufficient security to the creditor ;
 “ and, in order to lighten, for the future, the burden of the
 “ taxes you pay to the public, by which the poor are op-
 “ pressed, and obliged to contract debts, I will order all the
 “ citizens to give in a valuation of their possessions, and
 “ every one to pay his share of the taxes, according to
 “ that valuation, which I hear is practised in the greatest,
 “ and best governed cities. And I look upon it in itself
 “ to be both just, and advantageous to the public, that those,
 “ who have great possessions, should pay great taxes ; and
 “ those, who have small possessions, small ones. I am, also,
 “ of opinion that the public lands, which you have con-
 “ quered by your arms, and now enjoy, should not, as they
 “ now, are, be possessed by those, who have the least share,
 “ and who are not intitled to them either by gift, or pur-
 “ chase ; but, by those among you, who have no lands of
 “ their own, to the end that, as you are free men, you may
 “ not be servants to others, nor cultivate their lands, instead
 “ of your own : For a generous spirit cannot dwell in the
 “ breasts of men in want of daily sustenance. But, above all
 “ these things, I have determined to render our constitution
 “ equal, and common to all ; and that^s justice be, impartially,
 “ administered to all, and against all : For some are arrived
 “ to that degree of insolence, that they take upon them-
 “ selves to insult the common people, and do not look upon

^s. Δίκαια ὅμοια. I have given the same sense to ὅμοια, in this place, that this passage, το ὅμοιος ἀμφοιν ἀκροαθαι, which, he tells his judges, was part of
 * Demosthenes has given to ὅμοιος in the oath they had taken.

“ the poor among you to be, even, free men. To the end,
 “ therefore, that great men may receive justice from, and
 “ do justice to, their inferiors, I will provide such laws, as
 “ shall, without distinction, prevent violence, and preserve
 “ justice; and I myself will never cease to support the
 “ equality of all the citizens.”

X. While he was speaking, the assembly, greatly, extolled him, some for his fidelity, and justice to his benefactors; others, for his humanity, and generosity to the poor; and others for his moderation, and public spirit towards those of an inferior rank; but all loved, and admired him for making the laws, and justice, the rules of his government. After the assembly was dissolved, the following days he ordered a list to be made of all the insolvent debtors, together with the sum each of them owed respectively; and this list being delivered to him, he commanded tables to be placed in the forum; and, in the presence of all the citizens, paid the money to their creditors. Having done this, he published a royal edict, by which it was ordained, that all those, who enjoyed the profits of the public lands, and had converted them to their own use, should quit possession within a limited

9. *ἰσότης*. Portus has translated this, *aequalem dicendi libertatem*, which, though it may be the literal sense of the word, is not, I think, That, in which our author has taken it; since it has no relation either to the evils Tullius says the people had reason to complain of, or to the remedies he proposes for those evils. Among these evils, he has never, mentioned their being deprived of an *equal liberty of speech*,

neither has he proposed to redress this complaint: But he has complained of the insolence of the great men; and, to reform this, he has promised to introduce an equal form of government, an equal administration of justice, and equal laws. I have, therefore, understood *ἀπᾶντων ἰσότης*, in this place, to relate to an equality of all the citizens.

time,

time, and that those citizens, who had no lands, should give in their names to him. He, also, compiled, and renewed some old laws enacted by Romulus, and Numa Pompilius, which had been neglected; and others he himself established. While he was pursuing these measures, the patricians, finding they tended to destroy the power of the senate, were, highly, offended, and entered upon counsels contrary to those they had, before, resolved on: For, at first, they had determined to deprive him of his illegal power; to appoint interreges; and, by their means, to chuse a person, qualified by law, to govern: Whereas, they, now, thought it most adviseable to acquiesce under their present circumstances, and to be passive: For they concluded that, if the senate brought the man they proposed into the administration of the public affairs, the people, when they came to give their votes, would oppose them; and, if they left the election of the king to the people, all the curiae would chuse Tullius, and, consequently, he would appear to have a legal title to govern. They thought it, therefore, better for them to suffer him to continue in the possession of the sovereignty by stealth, and by deceiving, rather than persuading the citizens, and, openly, receiving it. But none of their designs succeeded; so artfully did Tullius defeat them, and, contrary to their desire, kept possession of the kingdom. For, having, long before, caused a report to be spread about the city, that the patricians were forming treacherous designs against him, he came into the forum, meanly dressed, and with a countenance full of sorrow, his mother Ocrisia,

Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius, and all the royal family attending him ; and the people flocking, in great numbers, to so unexpected a fight, he assembled all the citizens, and, ascending the tribunal, spoke to them in this manner :

XI. “ The children of Tarquinius are, no longer, the
 “ only persons exposed to the severity of their enemies, but
 “ my life, also, is, now, in danger ; and I have reason to
 “ fear that I shall be, cruelly, requited for my justice. For
 “ the patricians have formed treacherous designs against me,
 “ and I have received information that some of them have
 “ conspired to kill me, without being able to charge me
 “ with any crime ; but, resenting the benefits I have con-
 “ ferred, and am prepared to confer upon the people, they
 “ look upon those benefits as so many injuries, undeservedly,
 “ accumulated upon themselves. Some of these are usurers,
 “ who complain of me for not suffering the poorer sort
 “ among you to be carried to prison by them for non-pay-
 “ ment of their debts, and to be deprived of their liberty ;
 “ others are such, as rob the public, and enjoy the lands
 “ you have purchased with your blood : These, finding
 “ themselves obliged to quit the possession of those lands, are
 “ as angry as if they were ¹⁰ deprived of their paternal estates,

¹⁰ Ωςπερ τα παλῖρα ἀποστεργόμενοι, καὶ
 τὰ αλλοτρία ἀποδιδόντες. This com-
 plaint, too common in cases of restitu-
 tion, is lost in all the editions, and
 manuscripts, without excepting, even,
 That of the Vatican, though this be-
 gins the following sentence with οἱ δὲ
 ἀνείμενοι τῶν εισφορῶν. I am surprised
 none of the translators, or commen-

tators, saw that the text was here cor-
 rupted, and that οἱ τὰ αλλοτρία ἀποδι-
 δόντες could not belong to οἱ δὲ ἀνείμενοι
 τῶν εισφορῶν. I have made no other
 alteration in the words of the text,
 than That of οἱ into εὐ, which, how-
 ever small, is sufficient to do justice
 to Dionysius, by striking out a noble
 thought from confusion.

“ and

“ and not compelled to restore Those, that belong to others :
 “ And others, who have contributed nothing to the expences
 “ of the wars, think it hard to be obliged to give in a
 “ valuation of their possessions, and to pay taxes in pro-
 “ portion to that valuation. But the general complaint of
 “ them all is, that, from this time, they will be taught to
 “ live according to written laws ; and both to do justice
 “ to you without distinction, and receive it from you ; and
 “ not to abuse the poor in the manner they now do, as if
 “ they were slaves they had purchased with their money.
 “ These complaints they have communicated to one another,
 “ and have come to a resolution, which they have confirmed
 “ by their oaths, to recal the banished men, and to restore
 “ the kingdom to Marcius sons, against whom you have
 “ decreed an interdiction of fire, and water, for having assas-
 “ sinated Tarquinius, your king, a worthy man, and a lover
 “ of his country ; and, after they had committed so wicked
 “ an act, for having fled from justice, and contrived to banish
 “ themselves. And, if I had not received early information
 “ of these designs, they had, with the assistance of a foreign
 “ force, introduced the banished men into the city, in the
 “ middle of the night. You all know what would have
 “ been the consequence of this, without my acquainting
 “ you with it : That the Marcii, supported by the patricians,
 “ having obtained the power without any trouble, would ;
 “ first, have seized me, as the guardian of the royal family,
 “ and the person, who pronounced sentence against them ;
 “ and, after that, have destroyed these children, and all the
 “ other

“ other relations, and friends of Tarquinius ; and, as they
“ are of an exceeding savage, and tyrannical nature, they
“ would have treated our wives, mothers, daughters, and
“ all the female sex, like slaves. If it is your pleasure, also,
“ Romans, to recal the assassins, and make them kings ;
“ to banish the sons of your benefactors, and to deprive
“ them of the kingdom their grandfather left them, we shall
“ submit to our fate. But we all, together with our wives,
“ and children, make supplication to you, by all the gods,
“ and genius’s, who watch over the affairs of men, that,
“ in return for the many benefits Tarquinius, the grand-
“ father of these children, never ceased to confer upon you ;
“ in return for the many services I myself have, as far as I
“ have been able, done you, you will grant us this single
“ favor, to declare your own sentiments : For, if you think
“ any other persons more worthy of this honor, the children,
“ with all the other relations of Tarquinius, shall withdraw
“ themselves from your city : As for myself, I shall take a
“ more generous resolution : For I have, already, lived long
“ enough both for virtue, and for glory ; and, if I am
“ disappointed of your favor, which I look upon as the
“ greatest of all advantages, I will never live disregarded
“ among any other people. Take, then, the rods, and give
“ them, if you think fit, to the patricians ; my presence shall
“ give you no trouble.”

XII. While he was saying this, and offering to leave the tribunal, they all raised a vast clamor ; and, mixing tears with their intreaties, besought him to stay, and continue in
the

the administration of affairs without fearing any man. After which, some of his emissaries, who had placed themselves in different parts of the forum, cried out that they ought to make him king; and, desiring the curiae might be called together, insisted upon its being put to the vote. After these had set the example, the whole body of the people were of the same opinion: Tullius, seeing this, resolved not to let slip the opportunity, but told them that he thought himself under great obligations to them for remembering the services they had received from him; and, having assured them he would yet do them many more, if they thought proper to make him king, he appointed a day for the election; and, ordered all the inhabitants of the country, as well as Those of the city, to be present at it. The people being assembled on the day appointed, he called the curiae, and took the votes of each curia, one by one: And, being by all the curiae judged worthy of the royal dignity, he, then, accepted it from the plebeians, without shewing any regard to the senate, who refused to confirm the proceedings of the people according to their custom. Being advanced to the sovereignty by these means, he became the author of many civil institutions; and carried on a great, and memorable war against the Tyrrhenians. But I shall, first, give an account of his civil institutions.

XIII. As soon as he was invested with the government, he divided the public lands among such of the Romans, as,
having

"having no lands of their own, cultivated Those of others. After which, he confirmed, in an assembly of the curiae, both the laws concerning private contracts, and Those relating to injuries : These were about fifty in number ; of which I need not make any mention at present. He, also, added ¹² two hills to the city, That called the Viminal, and the Esquiline hill ; each of which form in extent a considerable city : These he divided among such of the Romans, as had no houses, to the intent that they might build there ; and he himself fixed his habitation in the most convenient part of the Esquiline hill. This king was the last, who enlarged the circumference of the city by the addition of these two hills to the other five, having first consulted the auspices, as the law directed, and performed the other religious rites. Further than this the city has not, since, been extended, the gods, as they say, not allowing it : But all the inhabited parts round it, which are many, and large, are open, and without walls, and very much exposed to the invasion

¹¹ Θήλευσαι. This word has been, already, explained in the eighteenth annotation on the second book. Here it, evidently, signifies those among the Romans, who, having no lands of their own, cultivated Those of others, τὰς μηδὲν κληρὸν ἐχούσας, καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτρίας κτήσεις, ἢ τὰς ἰδίας γεωργούσας, as Tullius had described them in his speech to the people, when he acquainted them with his design of dividing the public lands among those, who had none of their own. This promise he, now, performs.

¹² Δυο λοφὸς Οὐϊμινάλιον, καὶ Ἰσχυλινον. ^f Livy, also, says that Servius Tullius added the *Mons Viminalis*, and *Esquilinus* to the city ; and that he himself lived upon the latter in order to dignify the place ; *ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat*. It is true that ^g Livy says he added, also, the *Mons Quirinalis* : But we have, already, seen by our author, that this was done by Romulus, and Tatius ; which is confirmed by ^h Strabo as to Romulus.

^f B. i. c. 44.

^g B. ii. c. 50.

^h B. v. p. 358.

of an enemy. And, whoever considers these buildings, and desires to examine the extent of Rome, he will, necessarily, be misled, for want of a certain boundary, that might distinguish the spot, to which the city extends, and where it ends ; so connected are the buildings within the walls to Those without, that they appear to the spectators like a city of an immense extent. But, if any one is desirous to measure the circumference of it by the wall, which, though hard to be discovered by reason of the buildings, that surround it in many places, yet preserves, in several parts of it, some traces of the ancient structure ; and, to compare it with the circumference of the city of Athens, the circuit of Rome will not appear much greater, than That of the other. But, concerning the extent, and beauty of the city of Rome in its present condition, I shall speak in a more proper place.

XIV. After Tullius had surrounded the seven hills with one wall, he divided the city into four regions, giving to them the names of the hills : The first he called the Palatine, the second the Suburræan, the third the Colline, and the fourth the Esquiline region ; by which means, he made the city to contain four tribes, which had, till then, consisted but of three ; and he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions, like persons living in villages, should neither take another house, give in their names for soldiers in any other place, nor pay their contributions appropriated to military uses, and other purposes, which every man was bound to pay for the service of the commonwealth ;

neither did he, after this, levy soldiers, as before, according to the division of the ¹³three national, but according to That of the four local, tribes established by himself; and, over each tribe, he appointed commanders, in the nature of chiefs of tribes, or villages, whom he ordered to take an account of the house every man lived in. After this, he commanded chapels to be erected in every street, by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, to the heroes, whose statues are placed in the ¹⁴porticos of those chapels; and made a law that sacrifices should be performed to them every year, each family contributing a cake. He directed, also, that the persons, who attended, and assisted those, who performed the sacrifices in these porticos on behalf of the neighbourhood, should not be free men, but slaves; the

¹³· Και νῦν ἐλὶ κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς φυλάς τὰς γενικὰς ἑρατῆαικας, ὡς πρὶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς τεσσαρὰς τὰς τοπικὰς, καὶ τὰς ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς διαλαχθεῖσας ἐποίησεν. This, and the next period, are transposed by M.***. I shall defer entering into a detail of the tribes, till I come to the trial of Coriolanus. In the mean time, it will be sufficient to take notice that the three *national tribes*, φυλαὶ γενικαί, were the *Ramnenses*, *Tatienfes*, and *Luceres*, instituted by Romulus; and the *four local tribes*, φυλαὶ τοπικαί, those, just now, mentioned by our author. I much suspect that the last καὶ was added by the transcribers.

¹⁴· Ἡρώεσι προνοπιοῖς. The translators are much divided in rendering this passage. Portus has said *laribus*, in

ⁱEumenid. §. 21.

which he is followed by the French translators. Sylburgius has said *geniis compitalibus*. I have given the same sense to προνοπιοῖς, that ⁱAeschylus gives to προναῖα in this verse,

Παλλὰς ΠΡΟΝΑΙΑ δ' εἰ λόγοις προσβέναι.

Upon which, the Greek scholiast quotes the following verse from Callimachus;

κ' ἡ Παλλὰς, Δελφοὶ μιν ὑπ' ἰδρυμένῳ ΠΡΟΝΑΙΗΝ.

Pallas was, also, called προναῖα, as we find in Harpocration, who gives this reason for it, δια τὸ πρὸ τῆς ναὸς ἰδρυθῆναι, because her temple was placed before That of Apollo at Delphi. This I take to be the sense of προνοπιος, which is, thus, explained by ^kJulius Pollux, προνοπία, τὰ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν.

^kB. ii. c. 4. segm. 53.

ministry

ministry of slaves being looked upon as more acceptable to the heroes, than That of free men : Which festival the Romans, still, continue to celebrate in a very solemn, and magnificent manner, a few days after the Saturnalia, calling it ¹⁵ *Compitalia*, from *Compita*, which, in their language, signifies *Streets* : In which, they preserve the ancient custom of performing these propitiatory sacrifices to the heroes, by the ministry of slaves ; and, during these days, they take away every badge of their slavery, to the end that the slaves, being softened by this instance of humanity, which has something great, and solemn in it, should render themselves more acceptable to their masters, and be less sensible of the severity of their condition.

XV. Tullius, also, divided the whole country into six and twenty parts, as Fabius writes, which he, also, calls *Tribes* ; and, adding the four city tribes to them, he makes the number of both to amount to thirty. Cato makes the whole number of tribes to have been the same under Tullius. But, according to Venonius, Tullius divided the country into ¹⁶ one and thirty tribes : So that, with the four city

¹⁵ Κομπιτλια. This was a moveable feast among the Romans. We find, here, that it was celebrated a few days after the ¹ *Saturnalia* : Now, the last festival was begun to be celebrated, in our author's time, on the sixteenth before the calends of January, the seventeenth of December, after Julius Caesar had reformed the calendar. Before that, the *Compitalia* were, tho',

¹ Macrob. Saturn. B. i. c. 10.

I suppose, not, constantly, on the fourth of the nones of January ; since ^m Cicero says to Atticus, *Ego quoniam* 1111. *non. Januar. Compitalitius dies est, nolo eo die in Albanum venire, ne molestus sem familiae.*

¹⁶ Εἰς μίαν καὶ τριακοντὰ φυλάς. There is a note in Hudson upon this occasion, in which Sigonius is quoted for a reading in the manuscript of Cardinal

^m Ad Attic. B. vii. Epist. 7.

tribes, the number of thirty five tribes, which subsists to this day, was completed. He deserves the more to be credited in not fixing the number of the parts, into which the country was divided. After Tullius, therefore, had divided the country into a certain number of parts, whatever that was, he built places of refuge upon such eminences, as could best provide for the security of the husbandmen; to which he gave a Greek appellation, calling them *Παγοί*, *Hills*. To these places the inhabitants of the country repaired upon the appearance of an enemy, and, generally, passed

Bessarion, which, as it restores this passage, otherwise very obscure, I have followed in the translation. It is something very surprising that M. * * * should have translated this note without mentioning Hudson's name. Venonius, here quoted, is supposed to be the same historian Atticus speaks of, when he is endeavouring to persuade Cicero to write history. It is not certain when he lived. I shall shew, when we come to the trial of Coriolanus, that it is impossible there could have been five and thirty tribes in the time of Servius Tullius, as Venonius asserted. But here arises a difficulty: The Vatican manuscript, which agrees with the other in every thing but in the Name of Venonius, who is called, there, Ennonius, applies *αξιωματικός* to Ennonius, and Sigonius applies it to Cato: Now, I think it applicable to neither with regard to this fact; not to Cato, because he asserts that there was the whole number of tribes in the reign of Tullius: Nor to Venonius, or Ennonius, because he says that

Tullius divided the country into thirty one tribes. Whereas, the author, to whom Dionysius gives the character of *αξιωματικός*, does not fix the number of parts, into which the country was divided, *καὶ ὁρίζει τῶν μερῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν*; or, which is the same thing, does not fix the number of tribes: For, it appears throughout that the country was divided by Tullius, into as many parts, as there were rustic tribes. Since, therefore, the epithet of *αξιωματικός* is not applicable, upon this occasion, either to Cato, or Venonius, I cannot help thinking that the name of the author, to whom Dionysius applied it, is lost in all the editions, and manuscripts. Besides, it seems strange that he should commend the authority of Cato, or Venonius, and yet follow neither, which it is plain he has not done: For * he says there were no more than one, or two and twenty tribes, when Coriolanus was tried, that is, eighty seven years after the time he, now, speaks of.

* De Leg. B. i. c. 2. * B. vii. c. 64.

the night there. These, also, had their governors, whose duty it was to take an account of the names of all the husbandmen, who belonged to the same village, and of the lands, by the culture of which they maintained themselves. And, whenever there was occasion to summon the husbandmen to take arms, or to collect the contributions, that were assessed on each of them, these governors were to bring the men together, and levy the money; and, to the end that the number of these husbandmen might be, easily, found, and, clearly, computed, he ordered them to erect altars to the gods, who presided over, and were guardians of, the village, whom he directed them to honor by common sacrifices every year; at which they were all to assemble; and, upon this occasion also, he appointed a festival of great solemnity, called *17 Paganalia*; and composed laws concerning these sacrifices, which the Romans observe to this day. To the expence of this sacrifice, and of this congregation, he ordered all those of the same village to contribute, by paying each of them a certain piece of money; one sort of which was to be paid by the men, another by the women, and a third by the children: When these pieces of money

17. Παγανάλια. This festival is thought to have been celebrated by the Romans, on the sixth before the nones of May, the second of that month, after they had done sowing their summer corn, which seems late for their climate; since, in many parts of England, that seed time is over by

the second of May. However, this festival is thus described by *18* Ovid;

*Villice, da requiem terrae, semente peracta:
Da requiem, terram qui coluere, viris.
Pagus agat festum. Pagum lustrate, coloni;
Et date paganis annua liba focis.*

18 Fastor. B. i. §. 667.

were

were told by those, who presided at the sacrifices, the number of people, distinguished by their sex, and age, became known. Being, also, desirous, as ¹⁸ Lucius Piso writes in the first book of his annals, to know the number of the inhabitants of Rome, and of all, who were born, and died, and arrived to the age of manhood, he fixed the value of the piece of money, which, for each of them respectively, was to be paid by their relations into the treasury of Ilithyia (called, by the Romans, ¹⁹ Juno Lucina) for those who were born; into That of Venus (called, by them, ²⁰ Libitina) situated in a grove, for such as died; and into the treasury of ²¹ Juventus, for those, who, then, arrived to the age of manhood: By which pieces of money, he could, every year, know both the number of all the inhabitants, and which of them had attained the military age. After he had established these things, he ordered all the Romans to register their names, and give in a valuation of their possessions, and, at

¹⁸. Λευκίος Πίσων. See the 25th annotation on the first book.

¹⁹. Ἥραν Φωσφερον. The Latin translators have rendered this, very properly, *Juno Lucina*. ^a Cicero shews her to be the same goddess with the Diana of the Greeks; *Luna est Lucina. Itaque, ut apud Græcos, Dianam, eamque Luciferam, sic, apud nostros, Junonem Lucinam in pariendo invocant.* She is represented on the reverse of a medal of Faustina Aug. Pii, like a matron, holding, in her right hand, a patera, and, in her left, a spear, with this inscription,

IVNONI LVCINAE.

^a De Nat. Deor. B. ii. c. 27.

²⁰. Λιβίτινν. This goddess, every body knows, presided over funerals. The register of the dead, kept by the treasurers of Venus Libitina, is called, by ^r Suetonius, *Ratio Libitinae; Pestilentia unius autumnii, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerunt.*

²¹. Νεότης. This goddess was called, by the Romans, *Juventus, Juventas, and Juventa.* She is represented like Flora; and, I believe, often, mistaken for her by the antiquaries.

^r Life of Nero, c. 39.

the

the same time, to take the oath appointed by law, that they had given in a true, and, in all respects, a just valuation. They were, also, to set down the names of their parents, with their own age, and the names of their wives, and children; and every man was to declare in what part of the city, or, in what village in the country, he lived: And the punishment he ordained against those, who failed to register all these particulars, was, that their possessions should be forfeited, and themselves whipped, and sold for slaves: Which law continued, long, in force among the Romans.

XVI. After all had given in the account required, he took the register; and, observing both the number, and the greatness of their fortunes, he introduced the wisest of all institutions, from whence the Romans derive the greatest advantages, as the effects of it have shewn; the institution was this: He selected from the whole number of the citizens, one part, consisting of those, whose possessions were the largest, and amounted to no less than ²² one hundred minae; of these he formed eighty centuries, whom he ordered to be armed with ²³ Argolic bucklers, with pikes, brazen helmets, corslets, greaves, and swords: These centuries he divided into two bodies, of forty centuries each; the first of which consisted of the younger sort, whom he appointed to take the field in time of war; and the other, of the elder sort, whose

²². Εκατον μινων. According to Arbuthnot, a mina amounted to 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* sterling: Consequently, one hundred minae will make 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*

²³. Ασπίδας Αργολικας. This is the

reading of the Vatican manuscript; and, certainly, preferable to *αργυρεας* in Stephens's edition. Concerning these bucklers, see the 59th annotation on the first book.

duty it was, when the others were in the field, to remain in the city, and defend it. This was the first class. In an engagement, the youth were posted in the first line, and charged first. After that, from those, who were left, he took another part, whose possessions, upon the register, were ²⁴ under ten thousand drachmae, but not less than seventy five minae. Of this part he formed twenty centuries, whose arms he ordered to be the same with Those of the former, except the corslets, which he did not suffer them to wear; and, ²⁵ instead of bucklers, gave them shields: These

²⁴ Οἱς ἦν ἐνὶ οὐ μὲν μυξίων δραχμῶν, 8 μίον
δε πέντε καὶ ἑβδομηκοντὰ μινῶν τὸ τιμήμα.
Our author reckons, now, by drachmae, as he reckoned before, by minae: One hundred drachmae make one mina; consequently, 10,000 drachmae make 100 minae, or 322 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.* which was the qualification of the first class; as 75 minae, or 242 *l.* 3 *s.* 9 *d.* of our money, was the qualification of the second; that is, the qualification of the second class was a fourth less than That of the first. I find that le Jay has understood all along that the members of the first class were to have one hundred, and Those of the second seventy five minae *annually*; and has translated these passages according to that supposition. But there is not the least word in the Greek text to justify his translation: Neither can it be imagined that, so early as the reign of Servius Tullius, a sufficient number could have been found of men possessed of 322 pounds *a year* to complete the eighty centuries of the first class.

^s B. ii. §. 734.

²⁵ Αἷτι τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀπέδωκε θυρεοῖς.
Ασπίς was the *Clypeus*, and θυρεός the *Scutum*; as the Latin translators have, very well, rendered this passage. I have shewn in a note, just before referred to, that the former was round, and the latter oblong. I know it is, generally, thought that the ἀσπίς, so early as the time of the Trojan war, was made of brass: To support this, the following verse of ^s Virgil is quoted, where Anchises says to his son, as they were making their escape from Troy,

Ardentes Clypeos, atque æra micantia cernit.

To this I shall oppose the only authority, that can be opposed to Virgil, I mean, That of ^s Homer, who, expressly, says that the bucklers, both of the Trojans, and Greeks, were made of leather,

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἀρ' εἰδωλὼ Τρῶες καὶ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ
Δῆδ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι ΒΟΕΙΑΣ
ΑΣΠΙΔΑΣ ΕΥΚΥΚΛΟΤΣ.

This passage answers a double purpose:
^s Il. i. §. 451.

centuries,

centuries, also, he divided into those, who were above forty five years old, and those, who were of the ²⁶ military age,

It shews, not only, the matter, but, also, the shape of their bucklers. I must, likewise, think that, if the *ασπίδες* *Αργολικαί*, which were given to the foldiers of the first class, had been of brass, our author would have applied that epithet to them, as well as to their *κρηνη*, which he has not done. I know that ^v Livy says all their defensive weapons were of brass; *Galea, clypeus, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere*. But, it is very possible that he may have said this with relation to subsequent times, rather than to That of Servius Tullius: For I am ready to own that, in later ages, their bucklers were made of brass, and other metal. We come, now, to the *scutum*, *θυρεός*. This was, certainly, made of thin boards, covered with neats leather. Pliny says the aquatic trees afforded the best wood for this purpose, particularly, the willow, and the fig-tree: The reason he gives for it, is, that the wood of these trees is, not only, the lightest of all others, but, when pierced with any weapon, contracts itself presently, and shuts up its own wound; which makes it more difficult for a sword to pass through it. ^w *Quorum plaga contrahit se protinus, clauditque suum vulnus, et ob id contumacius transmittit ferrum. In quo genere sunt ficus, salix, tilia, betula, sambucus, populus utraque. Levissima ex his ficus et salix, ideoque utilissimae*. For this reason, *ῥέα*, which signifies a willow, is taken by the poets for a shield, as *μελία* is taken for a

spear, because these were made of ash:

Αλλ', ὡ' παλῆρων ὀλαχων, ἔξεις ἑμῶς
Εν ἡ ταφῆσιν χαλκονῶλον ΙΙΕΑΝ ^x.
Πηλιαδα ΜΕΛΙΗΝ, τὴν πᾶσι Φιλά πορε Χερῶν
Πηλις ἐκ κορυφῆς ^y.

The Romans used many sorts of shields, most of which are represented on the pillar of Trajan, together with their arms both offensive, and defensive. The reader may, also, find there a very remarkable kind of shield, called by ^z Dion Cassius, *ασπίδες αἱ κοιλαι σωληνοειδεις*; these were, particularly, used in forming the *testudo*. These shields resembled a large tube, cut in two, lengthwise. It is remarkable that the French language has no word to express a shield; which has obliged the two French translators, I dare say, very much against their will, to render these words, *ἀντὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀπέδωκε θυρεός*, *au lieu de boucliers presque ronds, il leur en donna d'autres plus longs que larges, and, le bouclier d'une forme differente*.

²⁶. *Στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν*. This division, plainly, shews that the military age ended at forty five years complete: It is not so certain when it began. Many are of opinion that it was at the end of the sixteenth year; but I rather think that the military age did not begin, I mean in the time of the commonwealth, when the laws were in vigor, till the seventeenth year was completed, when the manly gown, *toga virilis*, was received.

^v B. i. c. 43.

^w B. xvi. c. 40.

^x Eurip. Troades, *ψ*. 1192.

^y Iliad. π. *ψ*. 143.

^z B. xlix. p. 468.

constituting ten centuries of the younger sort, whose duty it was to serve their country in the field; and ten of the elder, to whom he committed the defence of the walls. This was the second class: Their post in battles was in the second line. Of those, who were left, he formed a third class, consisting of such, whose possessions were under seven thousand five hundred drachmae, but not less than fifty minae: The armour of these he diminished, not only, by taking away the corslets, as from the second, but, also, the greaves: He formed, likewise, twenty centuries of these, dividing them like the former, according to their age, and assigning ten centuries to the younger sort, and ten to the elder. In actions, the post of these centuries was in the third line.

XVII. Again, he took from those, who were left, such, whose possessions were less than five thousand drachmae, and amounted to five and twenty minae; and of these he formed a fourth class: This he, also, divided into twenty centuries; ten of which he composed of such, as were in the vigor of their age; and the other ten of those, who were past it, in the same manner as the former: He ordered the arms of these to be shields, swords, and pikes; and their post in engagements to be in the ²⁷ last line. The fifth class he formed

²⁷ Στασιν—ὕστατον. This seems contrary to the received opinion, which supposes the Roman armies to have been drawn up only in three lines, called the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*: Whereas, our author speaks of a

fourth line, consisting of the fourth class. For the fifth class were, certainly, light armed men, who, as he says, ἐξω τάξεως ἐσπαρτευμένοι; and these I look upon to have been called by the Romans *Accensi*, as the fourth line

of those, whose possessions were from twenty five, to twelve minae and a half; which he divided into thirty centuries: These were, also, distinguished according to their age; fifteen of these centuries being allotted to the elder sort, and fifteen to the younger. These he armed with darts, and slings; and placed out of the line of battle. He ordered four unarmed centuries to follow those, who were armed; two of which consisted of armourers, and carpenters, and of those, whose business it was to prepare every thing, that might be of use in time of war; and the other two of trumpeters, and blowers of the horn, and of such, as, with any other instruments, sounded the charge. The artificers were divided, according to their age, into two centuries, and added to the centuries of the second class; That consisting of the elder artificers, following the elder centuries; and That of the younger, the younger centuries. The trumpeters, and blowers of the horn were added to the fourth class; and one of their centuries, also, consisted of the elder sort, and the other, of the younger. Out of all the centuries the bravest men were chosen to command them:

were called *Rorarii*. ^a Livy, in describing the method of the Romans in drawing up their armies, gives the first line to the *Hastati*; *Prima acies* *Hastati erant*; the second to the *Principes*; *Robustior inde aetas—quibus Principibus est nomen*. He, then, comes to the *Triarii*; *Primum vexillum* *Triarios ducebat*; *veteranum militem spectatae virtutis*. Next to these, were posted the *Rorarii*, or the fourth class; *Se-*

cundum Rorarios minus roboris aetate factisque. The fifth class had no certain post, but stood in the rear of the army, ready to receive the command of the general, who, sometimes, ordered them to charge in one place, and, sometimes, in another: These Livy calls *Accensos*; *Tertium Accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem rejiciebantur*.

^a B. viii. c. 8.

And each of these commanders took care that his century should yield a ready obedience to orders.

XVIII. This was the disposition, which completed the army, both of the ²⁸ heavy armed, and light armed, foot: As for the horse, he chose them out of such, as had the greatest possessions, and were of distinguished birth. Of these he formed eighteen centuries, and added them to the first fourscore centuries of the heavy armed foot. These centuries of horse were, also, commanded by persons of the greatest distinction. Of the rest of the citizens, whose possessions did not amount to twelve minae and a half, being more in number than the former, he composed one century, and freed them from serving in the army, and from all sorts of taxes. Thus, there were six divisions which the Romans call *Classes*, deriving the term from the Greek word, Κλησεις, which signifies *a Summons*: (For, instead of the verb, which we use in the imperative mood, Καλει, *Call*, they say ²⁹ Καλα,

²⁸ Φαλαγγιδων. The Latin translators have rendered this, *Legionarium*. This I will not find fault with, because I know that ^b Caesar uses that word for the foot of a legion. Whether this will justify the French translators in rendering it *des legionaires*, must be left to the reader. Our author has been treating of the Roman foot, and, now, proceeds to treat of their horse. It is certain that the Roman legions consisted both of foot, and horse; ^c and, equally, certain that the Macedonian phalanx consisted only of foot. The Greek historians, and the masters of tactics, constantly, oppose

ὀπλῖται to ψῖλοι; and our author, in this passage, has opposed Φαλαγγῖται to ψῖλοι; for which reason, I have given the same sense to φαλαγγῖται, which the former give to ὀπλῖται.

²⁹ Καλα. This is a farther proof of what our author has been, all along, contending for, that the Romans were, originally, Greeks. There is an observation of Servius upon the following verse of ^d Virgil, which deserves to be mentioned upon this occasion;

*Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
Curiam Calabriam dicit, quam Romulus
texerat culmis; ad quam calabatur, id
est, vocabatur senatus.*

^b Bell. Gall. B. i. c. 42.

^c Livy, B. xxxvii. c. 40.

^d Aeneid. B. viii. v. 654.

Cala;

Cala; and the Classes they, anciently, called *Calefes*) the centuries, of which these classes consisted, amounting to one hundred and ninety three. The first class contained ninety eight centuries with the horse; the second, twenty two, with the artificers; the third, twenty; again, the fourth contained twenty two, with the trumpeters, and blowers of the horn; the fifth, thirty; and the last of all one century, consisting of the poor citizens.

XIX. In consequence of this disposition, he raised soldiers according to the division of the centuries; and taxes, in proportion to their possessions: For, whenever he had occasion to raise ten thousand, or, as it happened, twenty thousand men, he ³⁰ divided that number among the hundred and ninety three centuries, and ordered each century to furnish the number of men, that fell to its share. As to the expence, necessary to supply the army with provisions, and for other military uses, he, first, computed how much money would be sufficient to answer that expence; and having, in like manner, divided that sum among the hundred and ninety three centuries, he ordered every man to pay his

30. Καταδαιρων το πληθος εις τας εκατον εννενηκοντεις λοχους. Both the Latin translators have rendered το πληθος, in this place, as if our author understood it of the people, who, upon this occasion, were divided into the hundred and ninety three centuries. I have taken it in the same sense as if the Greek words had been το πληθος των στρατιωτων των καταλεχθισομενων, *the number of the soldiers to be raised*. I think myself justified in this by what follows,

where it is said that, after Tullius had computed the expence, that was necessary for their military preparations, he divided, *that sum*, among the 193 centuries. For δαιρων τον αυτον τροπον εις τας εκατον εννενηκοντεις λοχους, which are the words there made use of, are scarce Greek, unless την δαπανην, which precedes, is understood. The French translators, I dare say, saw the difficulty of this passage, by their leaving it out.

share

share towards it, in proportion to his possessions : Thus it happened that those, who had the largest possessions, being fewer in number, but distributed into more centuries, were obliged to serve oftener, and without any intermission, and to pay greater taxes, than the rest ; that those, who had small, and moderate possessions, being more in number, ³¹ but

³¹ Εἰκοσιν ελαττοσι λοχοῖς. This can never be the true reading, any more than εἰκοσιν ἔσιν ελαττοσιν in the Vatican manuscript : Because I do not think that either of these signify *viginti centuriis inferiores*, which is the sense the Latin translators have given to these words ; since to express this sense, it must have stood thus in the Greek ; εἰκοσι λοχῶν ελαττοσι. But, even, in this case, I cannot understand how those, who had small, or moderate possessions, were *fewer* than the members of the first class *by twenty centuries*. I have read a note of M. * * *, upon this passage, in which he explains it thus : The first class consisted of eighty centuries, the second, third, and fourth, of twenty each : In the first, were the rich citizens ; and, in the other three, Those of moderate fortunes : Consequently, says he, the citizens of moderate fortunes made twenty centuries less than the rich, who composed the first class of eighty centuries. I applaud this gentleman's diligence, though I cannot admit of his explanation. He himself owns that, in this comparison, Dionysius takes no notice either of the eighteen centuries of horse, that were added to the first class, or of the four centuries of artificers, and trumpeters that were added to the second, and fourth class. But this is not all : Here is no notice taken of

the thirty centuries of the fifth class ; which is, alone, sufficient to render this explication imaginary. Instead, therefore, of endeavouring to explain what is inexplicable, I will endeavour to restore the text, in such a manner, as to make the whole period consistent with itself. Dionysius tells us that three things resulted from this method of raising men by the division of the people into centuries, and money, by levying it in proportion to every man's possessions : The first was, that the rich, being fewer in number, and divided into more centuries, served *without intermission*, and paid greater taxes than the rest : The second, that those of moderate fortunes, being more in number, and distributed into fewer centuries, served *successively*, and paid small taxes : And the third, that the poor neither served, nor paid any taxes. This is certainly the sense, and these the consequences flowing from this regulation : In order, therefore, to adapt the text to this sense, we have no more to do, than to repeat the same words our author himself has made use of in the first member of this period, and to read τοῖς δὲ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ μέγιστα κεκλημένοις, πλείοσι μὲν ἔσιν, εἰς ελαττονας δὲ λοχῶς μεμερισμένοις, στρατεύεσθαι τε οὐλοῦσθαι ἐκ διαδοχῆς, καὶ βραχέως συντελεῖν εὐφορίας.

distributed

distributed into fewer centuries, served seldom, and successively, and paid small taxes; and that those, whose possessions were not sufficient to maintain them, were discharged of every thing, that was burdensome. Tullius made none of these regulations without reason, but, from a persuasion that all men look upon riches as the prize contended for in war, and that the desire of preserving them induces all men to submit to the hardships of it: He thought it, therefore, reasonable that those, who had most to lose, should suffer the greatest hardships, both in their persons, and in their fortunes; that those, who had less to lose, should be less burdened in respect to both; and that those, who had nothing at stake, should be discharged from every burden; from ³² taxes, by reason of their poverty; and from the service, because they paid no taxes: For, at that time, the

³²· Των μὲν εἰσφορῶν ἀπολυομένους διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. It appears, by a note in Hudson, that μὲν, which Sylburgius excepts against, is supported by the authority of the Vatican manuscript, which supplies the passage in this manner, τῶν μὲν εἰσφορῶν ἀπολυομένους διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῶν δὲ στρατιῶν διὰ τὴν εἰσφορὰν. Upon this, I shall make two observations: The first, that, after Hudson had contended for reading μὲν from the authority of the Vatican manuscript, he has omitted that particle in giving the words of that manuscript: The second, that διὰ τὴν εἰσφορὰν, plainly, contradicts what our author has, before, asserted, viz. that the sixth class, that is, the poor, were exempted both from

serving, and paying taxes, στρατίας τε ἀπελυσέ, καὶ πάσης εἰσφορᾶς ἐποίησεν ἀλλεῖς: I would, therefore, read the passage in this manner, τῶν μὲν εἰσφορῶν ἀπολυομένους διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῶν δὲ στρατιῶν διὰ τὴν ἄκ' εἰσφορὰν. The learned reader will not be surprised at the use of the negative particle οὐ before a substantive, when he reflects that he has read, in a remark of Thucydides upon the letter of Themistocles to Artaxerxes, τὴν τῶν γέφυρων οὐ διαλυσιν. This kind of expression our author has, not only, taken notice of in his critical works, but, also, imitated in the following passage, ἐπεὶ ἀκατάφρονες αὐτοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Αἰμάνος τῆς οὐ περιεσχέμεως.

¹ Thucyd. B. i. c. 137.

² Περὶ Θεκυδ. ἰδιωμ. c. 5.

³ B. x. c. 43.

Romans received no pay from the public, but served at their own expence; from whence he concluded it to be unreasonable either that those men should be charged with taxes, who were so far from having wherewithal to pay them, that they wanted daily necessaries; or that such, as contributed nothing to the public taxes, should, like mercenary troops, be maintained in the field at the expence of others.

XX. Having, by this means, laid the whole burden both of the dangers, and expences upon the rich, and seeing they were discontented at it, he contrived, by another method, to relieve their uneasiness, and mitigate their resentment, by granting to them an advantage, the design of which was to throw the whole power of the commonwealth into their hands, and to take it from the poor; the consequence of which measure the common people were not aware of: The advantage he gave them related to the assemblies of the people, where matters of the greatest moment were enacted by the latter. I have said before, that, by the ancient laws, three things were subject to the power of the people; all of the greatest consequence, and necessity: These were the election of magistrates, both civil, and military; the enacting, and repealing of laws; and the declaring war, and making peace: In the determination of all which, they voted by their curiae; and citizens of the smallest fortunes had an equal vote with Those of the greatest; the rich being but few in number, as may well be supposed, and the poor much more numerous, the latter carried every thing by a majority of votes. Tullius, observing this, transferred
this

this majority from the poor, to the rich: For, whenever he thought proper to have magistrates appointed, a law considered, or war to be declared, he assembled the people by centuries, instead of assembling them by curiae: And he first called the centuries of the first class to give their votes: These were the eighteen centuries of horse, and the four-score centuries of foot: As these centuries amounted to three more than all the rest, if they agreed, their opinion carried it, and the affair was decided: But, in case all these did not agree, then he called the twenty two centuries of the second class; and, if the votes were still divided, he called the centuries of the third class; and, in the fourth place, Those of the fourth class; and ³³ this he continued to

33. Καὶ τὰς ἐποικίαις μέχρι τῆς γενέσθαι
λοχῶν ἑπτά καὶ ἐννεηκοντὶα ἰσοψηφίαις. I cannot approve of the correction of Sylburgius, who prefers ἐξ, to ἑπτά; because 97, not 96, was the majority of 193 centuries. I suspect much that ἰσοψηφοί, or συμψηφοί, was the word made use of by our author upon this occasion, and not ἰσοψηφοί; because I never met with the latter used in this sense by him, or any other writer. And he himself uses the word in another sense a few lines before. When I say this, I would not be understood to assert that ἰσοψηφοί was, never, used to signify *consentientes*; I only say, I never met with the word taken in that sense. Before I leave the subject of this passage, I must beg leave to make a few observations on the method of voting in the *Comitia Centuriata*, by

which the fate of the greatest part of the then known world was, once, determined. The whole number of centuries amounted to 193; of these the first class alone contained 98, which, if they all agreed, was a majority of three; but, if they disagreed, the presiding magistrate called the second class, and so on, till 97 centuries were of the same opinion: This was the smallest majority; but, when this was, once, obtained, it was in vain to call any more: However, it might, possibly, happen that, after the fifth class had voted, the 192 centuries, contained in those five classes, were, equally, divided, that is, 96 on each side: In this case, the vote of the sixth class decided the question. After this state of the case, I believe the reader will agree with me, that the censure, passed upon our au-

ε See the eighty third annotation on the second book.

do, till ninety seven centuries concurred in the same opinion: And if, after the centuries of the fifth class had been called to give their votes, this happened not to be the case, and that the opinions of the hundred and ninety two centuries were equally divided, he, then, called the last century, consisting of a great number of those citizens, who were poor, and, for that reason, discharged of the obligation both of serving, and paying taxes; and, with which side soever this century joined, That side carried it; but this seldom happened, and was next to impossible: Generally, the question was determined by calling the first class, it being, rarely, necessary to call the fourth: So that, the fifth, and last were superfluous.

XXI. In establishing this institution, which gave so great an advantage to the rich, Tullius concealed his intentions from the people, as I said, and, by this stratagem, took the power of the commonwealth out of the hands

thor by M. ***, is very ill grounded. He says that Dionysius was in too much haste (*s'est trop pressé*) in asserting that they took the votes of the first, second, third, and fourth classes, till 97 were of the same opinion, before he had said that they took the votes of the sixth class. The reason he gives for this censure is, that, till they had taken the votes of the fifth, and the sixth classes, there could not be 97 on one side, and 96 on the other. But the misfortune of this reasoning is, that he makes Dionysius assert an absurdity, and then quarrels with him for asserting it. When our author

says they called the first, second, third, and fourth classes to give their votes, till 97 centuries were of the same opinion, he does not say that, when this happened, there were 96 centuries of the other opinion. On the contrary, he says that, after the fifth class had voted, it might happen that the 192 centuries were, equally, divided, that is, that there were 96 on each side: Upon which, the sixth class was called, whose vote decided the question; and then, and not till then, there were 96 centuries on one side, and 97 on the other.

of the poor: For they all thought they had an equal share in the government, because every single man was asked his opinion, each in his own century: But they were deceived in this, that the whole century, whether it consisted of a small, or of a very great, number of citizens, had but one vote; and, also, in this, that the centuries, which first gave their votes, consisted of men of the greatest fortunes; which centuries, though more in number than all the rest, yet contained fewer citizens: But above all, in that the poor, who were very numerous, had but one vote, and were the last called. This being established, the rich, though obliged to pay great taxes, and exposed, without intermission, to the dangers of war, yet, when they saw themselves the arbiters of the greatest affairs, and had taken the whole power out of the hands of those, who were not under the same obligations, they bore these burdens the more easily: And the poor, who had the least share in the government, finding themselves discharged both of taxes, and of the service, prudently, and, quietly, submitted to this diminution of their power: And the commonwealth itself had the benefit of seeing the same persons, who were to resolve upon what should be for her advantage, take the greatest share of the dangers attending those resolutions, and appointed to carry them into execution. This institution was observed by the Romans for many generations; but has been altered in our time, and changed to a more popular form; some great necessity having forced this change, which has not been effected by a

dissolution of the centuries, but by their not being ³⁴ called to vote in the exact order, that was, anciently, observed; which I myself have taken notice of, having been, often, present at the elections of their magistrates. But this is not a proper place to consider these things.

XXII. Tullius, therefore, having completed the census, assembled all the citizens in arms, in the largest field before the city; and drew up the horse in their respective troops, and the foot in their lines, placing the bodies of light armed forces, each in their own centuries: After which, he performed an expiatory sacrifice with a bull, a ram, and

³⁴ Της κλησεως. This reading of the Vatican manuscript is, I think, preferable to κρισεως, which stands in all the editions, but can have no place here; since our author says he made this observation by having been, often, present at the elections of their magistrates, at which the centuries pronounced no *judgement*, properly, so called. As our author seems to defer to another opportunity the entering into a detail of the popular alteration, made in calling the centuries to give their votes, and, as nothing of this kind appears in that part of his history, which remains, I suspect that alteration was made, when all the centuries came to draw lots which should be, first, called to vote: This, certainly, was more popular, than for the centuries of the first class, always, to vote first. When, or upon what occasion, this method of drawing lots was introduced, I cannot find; but many passages in

the ancient authors shew that this was become the constant practice, whenever the *Comitia Centuriata* were held. The century, to whose lot it fell to vote first, was called ^a *Praerogativa*; *Praerogativa Veturia juniorum declaravit consules T. Manlium Torquatum, et T. Otacilium*. The first century, therefore, that voted, was called *Praerogativa*, and the rest *jure vocatae*, I suppose, because they were called in their turn. ^b *Galeria juniorum, quae sorte Praerogativa erat, Q. Fulvium, et Q. Fabium consules dixerat, eodemque jure vocatae, inclinassent, ni, etc.* The popularity of this method of drawing lots will best appear when it is considered that, in all elections, the vote of the *Prerogative century*, generally, governed Those of all the rest; ^c *auctoritatem Praerogativae omnes centuriae secutae sunt*. Of this many instances are to be found in the Roman authors, besides Those, already, mentioned.

^b Livy, B. xxvi. c. 22.

^c Id. B. xxvii. c. 6.

^a Id. B. xxvi. c. 22.

a bear:

a boar: These victims he ordered to be led three times round the army; and, then, sacrificed them to Mars, to whom that field is consecrated. The Romans are, to this day, purified by this expiatory sacrifice, after the census is performed, by those, who are invested with the most sacred magistracy; which purification they call ³⁵ *Lustrum*. The number of all the Romans, who, then, registered their

³⁵ *Assgov.* The *Lustrum* was a different thing from the *Census*: The latter was performed, originally, in the forum; and the former, always, in the *Campus Martius*. I said the *Census* was, at first, performed in the forum, till in the year of Rome 319, in the consulship of C. Julius for the second time, and of Proculus, or Lucius Virginus, a public hall was erected in the *Campus Martius* for that purpose: *‘Eo anno C. Furius Pacilus, et M. Geganius Macerinus, censes, villam publicam in Campo Martio prolataverunt, illicque primum census populi est actus.* The sacrifice of the boar, the ram, and the bull, was called, by the Romans, *Suovetaurilia*, and is represented on the Trajan pillar. There is, certainly, a mistake in the Greek text of *πεντε* for *επτε*: For the name alone shews that a goat was not sacrificed upon this occasion. As many men of learning are of opinion, that the *Lustrum*, like the Olympiad, contained only four years complete, I shall produce some few authorities, out of a great many, to shew that the *Lustrum* contained five years complete. ^m Horace, in his ode to Venus says,

¹ Livy, B. iv. c. 22.

^m Ode i. B. iv.

² Nat. Hist. B. vii. c. 48.

*Desine dulcium
Mater saeva cupidinum
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Iam durum imperiis.*

If a *Lustrum* contained no more than four years, Horace was, then, but forty years old, which is too early to complain. Pope shews himself of this opinion in his imitation of this ode;

*Ab sound no more thy soft alarms,
Nor circle sober fifty with thy charms.*

ⁿ Ovid speaks more clearly, when, in his epistle to Brutus, he calls a *Lustrum* a quinquennial Olympiad,

*In Sythia nobis quinquennis Olympias
Acta est;
Et tempus lustris transit in alterius.*

However, there is a passage in Pliny, which, in my opinion, will decide this question: He, there, uses *quinquennium*, for *Lustrum*: His words are these; *Qua in re et illud adnotare succurrit unum omnino quinquennium fuisse, quo senator nullus moreretur; cum Plautus, et Albinus censes lustrum condidere usque ad proximos censes, et annis urbis quingentesimo septuagesimo no-*

³ Ex Ponto, B. iv. Epist. 6. l. 5.

fortunes,

fortunes, was, as appears by the books relating to that census, eighty four thousand seven hundred. This king, also, took no small care to encrease the number of the citizens; and, to that end, discovered a method unobserved by all the kings before him: For they, by receiving foreigners, and communicating to them the rights of citizens, without rejecting any man, of what nation, or condition soever, had, indeed, rendered the city populous: But Tullius communicated those rights, even, to the manumitted slaves, unless they themselves chose to return to their own country: For he ordered these, also, to register their fortunes together with all the free men, and distributed them among the four city tribes, in which the body of freed men, how numerous soever, continue to be ranked, even, to this day: Besides this, he admitted them to every other privilege, which the rest of the plebeians enjoy.

XXIII. The patricians being uneasy at this, and, hardly, submitting to it, he assembled the people, and told them that, in the first place, he wondered at those, who were displeased with this institution, for imagining that free men

no. I find, by ^p Livy, that the censors Pliny speaks of were chosen in the consulship of Sp. Postumius Albinus, and Q. Mucius Scaevola, in the year Pliny mentions, that is, the 579th, and performed the duties of their function that year. From these censors, to the next, whom Pliny does not name, there was an interval of five years, or a *lustrum*. These censors were ^q C. Claudius Pulcher, and Titus Sempronius

Gracchus, elected to that office in the consulship of Q. Marcius Philippus for the second time, and Cn. Servilius Caepio, and in the year of Rome 584. By which it appears that there were five years complete, from the first censors to the last. I know that some *Fastī consulares* advance these two consulships one year; but we see they are contradicted by Pliny.

^p B. xli. c. 27.

^q Id. B. xliii c. 14.

were

were distinguished from slaves by their nature, and not by their condition ; and secondly, for not making the manners, rather than the fortune, of men the measure of their merit ; particularly, when they saw how unstable a thing fortune is, and how subject to sudden changes, and that it is not easy to say, how long, even, the happiest man will enjoy a continuance of her favors. He desired them, also, to consider how many people, both Barbarians, and Greeks, from being slaves, had become free ; and how many, from being free, had become slaves : He told them, he should think them guilty of a great weakness, if, after they had granted liberty to such of their slaves as deserved it, they envied them the rights of citizens : And advised them, if they thought them bad men, not to make them free ; and if good men, not to despise them, because they were foreigners : He added, that they would be guilty of an absurdity, and of ignorance, to communicate the rights of citizens to all foreigners, without distinguishing their condition, or inquiring whether any of them had been manumitted, or not ; and to look upon such as had been slaves among themselves, as unworthy of this favor : And he said, that they, who thought themselves wiser than the rest of the world, did not see what lay before them, was obvious to every one, and manifest to the most ignorant ; which was, that, as the masters would take great care not, easily, to manumit any of their slaves, for fear of granting the greatest of human blessings without distinction ; so the slaves would serve their masters with greater assiduity, when they knew
that,

that, if they were thought worthy of liberty, they should, presently, become citizens of a great, and flourishing city, and receive both these benefits from their masters : He concluded with shewing the advantage, that would result from this institution ; he put those, who were acquainted with the consequence of it, in mind, and informed the ignorant, that, to a city, which aimed at sovereignty, and thought herself worthy of great things, no one point was so necessary as populousness, to the end she might find, in her own citizens, a constant supply for every war ; and might not be exhausted with the expence of hiring mercenary troops ; for which reason, he said, the former kings had communicated the rights of citizens to all foreigners ; and, that, if they enacted this law also, great numbers of youth, sprung from those, who were manumitted, would be taken into the service ; by which means, the city would, never, want national forces ; but would have armies, continually, supplied with numbers sufficient to make war, even, against all mankind, if necessary : That, besides this advantage to the public, the richest men would, in particular, be, greatly, benefited by suffering their freed men to be admitted into the public assemblies, where, by their votes, and other gratifications of a public nature, they would receive a return in those matters, in which they, chiefly, wanted their assistance, and leave the children of these freed men, as so many clients to their posterity. These reasons of Tullius induced the patricians to suffer this custom to be introduced into the commonwealth ; and, to this day, it is looked upon as one of the sacred

facred, and immovable laws, and as such continues to be observed by the Romans.

XXIV. Since I am come to this part of the history, I think it necessary to give an account of the customs, which, at that time, prevailed among the Romans, with regard to slaves; to the intent that no one may accuse either the king, who first undertook to make freed men citizens; or the Romans, who received that law, for having prostituted an honourable distinction. The Romans acquired their slaves by the justest means: For they either purchased them of the public, at an open sale, as part of the spoils, or the general permitted his men to keep the prisoners they had taken, together with the rest of the booty; or else they acquired their slaves, by buying them of those, who, by the means I have mentioned, had obtained the possession of them: So that, neither Tullius, who established this custom, nor those, who received, and observed it, thought they did a thing, in itself, dishonourable, or detrimental to the public, if those, who had lost both their country, and their liberty by the fate of war, and behaved themselves well to such, as had, first, inflaved them, or to such, as had purchased them from the former, had both those advantages restored to them by their masters. Some of these slaves obtained their liberty in a gratuitous manner, as a reward of their merit; and this was the most honourable method of being discharged from their masters: Others, though fewer, paid a ransom, raised by lawful, and honest labor. But these things are, now, changed: For all affairs are in so great a confusion, and the privileges of

the city are so much debased, and fullied, that some, who have raised a fortune by robbery, housebreaking, prostitution, and all other wicked means, purchase their liberty with the money so acquired; and, presently, become Romans: Others, who have been privy to, and accomplices with their masters in, poisonings, murders, and in crimes committed against the gods, or the public, receive from them their liberty, as a reward for these services: Some are made free with this view, that, after they have received the monthly allowance of corn, given by the public, or some other gratification distributed by the men in power among the poorer sort, they may bring it to those, who granted them their liberty: And others owe their liberty to the levity, and vanity of their masters. I myself have known some, who have ordered all their slaves to be made free, after their death, with a design of being called good men, when they were dead, and that many people might attend their funerals with caps upon their heads; in which processions, some malefactors have been seen (as many, who knew it, would say publicly) just come out of jail, who had, for their crimes, deserved ten thousand deaths. Upon these occasions however, the greatest part of the citizens are grieved to see the badges of liberty, thus, defiled, and condemn the custom, looking upon it as unbecoming a city, which is the sovereign of all others, and thinks herself worthy of being mistress of the world, to adopt such citizens. One might, with reason, condemn many other customs also, which were, wisely, instituted by the ancestors of this people, but are,
now,

now, shamefully, abused by their posterity. However, I am not of opinion that this law ought to be repealed, lest, by that means, some greater evil should break out to the detriment of the public: But I affirm that it ought to be reformed as much as possible; and that great scandals, and stains, hard to be wiped off, should not be introduced into the commonwealth: And I could wish that the censors, rather than any other persons, or, if that could not be, that the consuls would take upon themselves the care of this matter, which requires the controul of some great magistracy; and that these should inquire into the characters of the persons, who are, every year, made free; for what reason, and how they have been manumitted; as they inquire into the manners of the knights, and senators; after which, they should incorporate among the tribes such of them, as they found worthy to be citizens, and allow them to remain in the city; from whence they should expel the profligate, and corrupt, under the specious pretence of sending them to some colony. These things, therefore, as the subject required it, I thought it both necessary, and just to alledge to those, who censure the customs of the Romans.

XXV. But Tullius did, not only, shew himself a friend to the people in those institutions, by which he seemed to lessen the authority of the senate, and patricians; but, also, in those, by which he diminished the royal power, half of which he himself took away: For, whereas the kings, his predecessors, thought proper to have all sorts of causes brought before them, and determined all suits both of a

B b 2

private,

private, and public nature, as they themselves thought fit; he distinguished those, which related to the public, from such, as concerned private persons; and he himself took cognizance of all crimes, in which the public was interested; and, in private causes, he appointed private persons to be the judges, whose jurisdiction was both limited, and regulated by the laws, which he himself had established. The government of the city being, now, by his means, modelled in the best manner, he was desirous to eternize his memory with posterity by some illustrious enterprise: When, therefore, he considered the monuments both of ancient kings, and legislators, by which they gained reputation, and glory, he could not think that great praise was due either to the ³⁶ Assyrian woman, for having built the walls of Babylon; or to the Egyptian kings, for having raised the ³⁷ pyramids in Memphis; or to any other prince, for whatever work he might have erected in ostentation of his riches, and of the number of workmen he could command: All these things

³⁶ Την Ασσυρίαν κτιστὴν γυναῖκα. The French translators say this was Semiramis, who, I know, is said by ^aJustin, and many other authors, to have built the walls of Babylon. But the learned ^bUsher treats this as a fable, and says they were built many years after by Nebuchadnezzar, and his daughter-in-law Nitocris; so that, our author may, possibly, mean the latter.

³⁷ Τὰς ἐν Μενφίδι πυραμίδας. So much has been said both by ancient, and modern writers concerning these

pyramids, that it would be a vain attempt to add any thing to their relations. ^cHerodotus has given us the names of the Egyptian kings, who built these pyramids, and described them so exactly, that those accounts of modern travellers are most esteemed, that come nearest to his description. He has told us they were designed as burying places for the kings, who built them; which is confirmed by the relations of the most judicious travellers.

^a B. i. c. 2. ^b P. 25. ^c In Euterpe, c. 124, 125, 126, 127.

he esteemed as mean, and of short duration, as trifles, and delusions of the sight, of no advantage to the conduct of life, or to the administration of public affairs, and tending only to the acquisition of a vain applause: But he looked upon those works of the mind to deserve praise, and imitation, of which the advantages are enjoyed by the greatest number of people, and for the greatest length of time. For which reason, he admired, above all works of this nature, the thought of ³⁸ Amphictyon the brother of Hellen; who, seeing the Greek nation weak, and easy to be extirpated by the neighbouring Barbarians, assembled the former in a general council, and convention of the whole nation, called from him the Amphictyonic council; and, exclusive of the particular laws, by which every city was governed, appointed others common to them all, which they call the Amphictyonic laws, by the advantage of which they lived in mutual friendship, and, fulfilling the obligations of consanguinity by their actions, rather than their professions, continued troublesome, and formidable neighbours to the Barbarians. His example was followed by the Ionians, who, leaving

³⁸. Ἀμφικλίωνος τῆς Ἑλλήνος. Amphictyon was the son of Deucalion, and elder brother to Hellen, as it is, generally, supposed; though some authors make Hellen the elder. For which reason, M. * * * thinks that Ἀμφικλίωνος τῆς Ἑλλήνος signifies *Amphictyon the Greek*. But, when Amphictyon instituted the Amphictyonic council, the Greeks were called Ἰεῶνες, not Ἑλλήνες. I am, therefore, of opinion

that we ought to supply the passage with the word Ἀδελφῶν; which may have been omitted by the transcriber. The institution of this council by Amphictyon is taken notice of in the Parian marble, by which we find that it preceded the taking of Troy 312 years. The council met at Thermopylae, from whence this assembly was called Πύλαια.

* See the 197th annot. on the first book.

† See the fifth, and twenty fifth Epoc.

Europe,

Europe, settled in the ³⁹ maritime parts of Caria ; and, also, by the Dorians, who built cities near the same place, and erected temples at the public expence ; the Ionians building the temple of Diana in Ephesus ; and the Dorians That of Apollo in ⁴⁰ Triopium : In which temples, they assembled with their wives, and children, at the appointed times, sacrificed all together, and celebrated a common festival, in which, prizes were run for by horses, and contended for by gymnastic combatants, and by masters of music ; and offerings were made

³⁹ Τα παραθαλάσσια μέρη της Καρίας. Casaubon has a note upon this occasion, which M. * * * has translated, though with a proper acknowledgement. In this note, the former contends that we ought to read *Ασίας* ; because none of the ancient authors say that the Ionians came into the maritime parts of Caria. I am sorry to find myself obliged to differ from the learned Casaubon : However, it is certain that the Ionian colony, not only, came into the maritime parts of Caria, but that two cities of Caria, viz. * Myus, and Priene, built by the Ionians, were two of the twelve cities, that repaired to the festival called, * *Panionia*, that was celebrated at *Panionium*, near Mycale, a promontory of Caria ; which festival was, afterwards, removed to Ephesus. It is, also, to be observed that Miletus, a sea port of Caria, was inhabited by the Ionians. The Ionian migration is mentioned in the [†] Parian marble, before quoted ; the words of which I shall lay before the reader ; both to confirm what I have advanced relating to Caria, and to give the names of the

twelve Ionian cities, which constituted the assembly at Panionium. Αφ' ἧ Νηλεὺς ὤκισε Μιλήϊον ἐν Καρίᾳ λαὸν Ἀίγυπτος Ἰωνῶν, οἱ ἐκίσαν Εὐφρόσιν, Εὐρυθρᾶς, Κλαζομένηας, Τέων, καὶ Λεβέδον, καὶ Κολοφῶνας, Μυσηῖα, Φωκαίαν, Πριηνήν, Σάμον, Χίον, καὶ τὰ Πανιώνια ἐγένετο, εἴη Π'ΗΗΗΔΙΙΙ βασιλευσὶν Ἀθηνῶν μὲν Νηλεὺς τρεῖς καὶ δεκάτ' εἶχε. By this, it appears that the Ionic migration was only 132 years after the taking of Troy. However, I find some chronologists make it 140.

⁴⁰ Ἐν Τριοπίῳ. This is the true reading without all doubt. Triopium was a city of Caria, and a promontory of the same name, now called, *Capo Chio*. Here, the Dorians had a temple dedicated to Apollo : To this temple, the five Doric cities resorted for the same purposes, as the twelve Ionic cities to Panionium. [‡] Herodotus gives us the names of these five Doric cities, viz. Lindus, Ialyssus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus. He says, also, that, in this place, a game was celebrated in honor of the *Triopian* Apollo ; and that the prizes, given to the victors, were brazen tripods.

* Herodotus, in Clio, c. 142.

‡ Id. ib. c. 148.

† Epoch. 28.

‡ In Clio, c. 144.

to the gods in the name of the public. After they had all assisted at this spectacle, celebrated the festival, and received from one another every instance of benevolence, if a city had any complaint against another, judges, appointed for that purpose, took cognizance of it; after which, they consulted together concerning the means both of carrying on the war against the Barbarians, and of cementing the national union. These, and the like examples, inspired Tullius, also, with a desire of forming a general council, and assembly of all the Latine cities; lest, if they were engaged in seditions, and mutual wars, they might be deprived of their liberty by the neighbouring Barbarians.

XXVI. After he had taken this resolution, he sent for the most considerable men of every city, intimating to them that he desired their advice in an affair of great consequence, and of a common concern. When they were all come, he held an assembly consisting both of the Roman senate, and of those, who came from the cities, and made a speech, exhorting them to concord; in which, he displayed the beauty of harmony, when established among a number of cities, and the deformity of discord intervening among relations: He told them also, that unanimity strengthened the weak; and that mutual envy depressed, and weakened, even, the strongest. After this, he made it appear that the Latines ought to have the command over their neighbours; and that, as they were Greeks, they ought to give laws to Barbarians; and that the Romans were intitled to the pre-eminence over all the Latines, not only by the greatness of
their

their city, and the superiority of their actions, but, also, by a visible preference of the divine providence, by which they had arrived to so great a splendor. Having said this, he advised them to build an inviolable temple at Rome, at the public expence; to which the cities should repair every year, and offer up both their private, and public sacrifices; and, also, celebrate festivals at such times, as they should appoint; and, if a difference should arise between any of these cities, this communion of sacrifices would be a means to compose it, they submitting the determination of their complaints to the rest of the cities. After he had explained these, and the many other advantages they would reap from the appointment of a general council, he prevailed on all, who were present at this consultation, to consent to it: After which, with the money arising from the contributions of all the cities, he built the temple of Diana, which stands upon mount Aventine, the greatest of all the hills in Rome. At the same time, he composed laws relating to the mutual rights of the cities, and ordered in what manner every thing else, that concerned the festival, and the general assembly, should be performed. And to the end that no length of time should deface these laws, he erected a brazen pillar, upon which he ordered to be engraved both the decrees of the council, and the names of the cities, which had assisted at it. This pillar is still to be seen in the temple of Diana with the inscription in Greek characters, which are the same, that were, anciently, used in Greece. This alone is a proof of no small weight, that the founders of Rome were not Barbarians:

For,

For, if they had been so, they would not have made use of
⁴¹ Greek characters. These are the most considerable, and
 most conspicuous actions, that are recorded of this king,
 relating to the civil administration, besides many others of
 less note, and certainty. His military actions were directed
 against one nation only, which was That of the Tyrrhenians,
 of which I shall, now, give an account.

XXVII. After the death of Tarquinius, those cities,
 which had yielded the sovereignty to him, disdaining to
 submit to Tullius, as he was a man of mean birth ; and
 withall promising to themselves great advantages from the
 disgust, conceived by the patricians against their prince,
 refused to observe their treaties. The Veientes were the
 authors of this revolt ; and, when Tullius sent ambassadors
 to expostulate with them upon this occasion, they replied
 that they had never yielded the sovereignty to him, nor
 entered into any treaty of friendship, and alliance with him.

⁴¹ Ου γαρ αν Ελληνικοις εχρωλο
 γραμμασιν, οντεσ Βαρβαροι. This is,
 indeed, a strong proof of what Dio-
 nysius has, all along, asserted, viz.
 that the Romans were, originally,
 Greeks ; since, I believe, there never
 was any nation in the world, except
 the Jews after their captivity, who
 writ their own language in foreign
 characters. It may seem a paradox
 to assert that the Roman letters, and,
 consequently, Those, we, and our
 neighbours, at this day, make use of,
 were the ancient Phoenician characters,
 brought by Cadmus into Greece, used
 there for many ages, carried from

thence by the Greek colonies into Italy,
 adopted by the Romans, and, by them,
 dispersed with their conquests over all
 the western world: Yet, this assertion,
 as extraordinary as it may appear at
 first sight, I think, I can prove to be
 founded on truth, by the authority of
 the best writers, and the concurrent
 testimony of the most authentic in-
 scriptions. But I find this discussion
 will be much too long for a note ; and,
 therefore, desire the reader will give
 me leave to refer him to a small dis-
 sertation on this subject, which he will
 find at the end of this book.

These having set the example, the Caeretani, and Tarquinienfes followed it, and, at laft, all Tyrrhenia was in arms. This war lafted twenty years without intermiffion, during which time, both of them made many irruptions into one another's territories with great armies, and many pitched battles were, fucceffively, fought between them: But Tullius, having had the advantage in all the battles, in which he was engaged, as well againft the feveral cities, as againft the whole nation, and been honoured with three moft fplendid triumphs, he, at laft, forced thofe, who refufed to obey, willingly to receive the ⁴² yoke. In the twentieth year, therefore, of the war, the twelve cities, again, affembled together; and, finding themfelves exhausted by the war both of men, and money, determined to yield the fovereignty to the Romans upon the fame terms they had before fubmitted to: And deputies, fent by all the cities, arrived with the fymbols of fuppliants; and, delivering up their cities to Tullius, begged of him not to treat them with feverity. Upon which, Tullius told them that, by their folly, and their impieties to the gods, whom they had called upon as witneffes to their treaties, and yet had violated thofe treaties, they deferved many fevere punifhments; however, fince they acknowledged their fault, and were come, with the marks of fuppliants, and with intreaties, to deprecate the refentment they had merited, they fhould, now, feel the whole effect of the clemency, and moderation of the Romans.

⁴². Χαλινον. Literally, *the bridle*. very material which of thefe two they are forced to receive.
When a people are inflaved, it is not

Having

Having said this, he put an end to the war; and allowed the greatest part of the cities to use the same form of government as before, without restraining them in any degree, or preserving the least resentment for past injuries; and, also, to enjoy the fruits of their lands, while they observed the conditions of the treaties, prescribed to them by Tarquinius: But, as to the three cities of the Caeretani, the Tarquinienfes, and the Veientes, who had, not only, been the authors of the revolt, but, also, induced the rest to make war upon the Romans, he punished them by seizing their lands; which he divided among those, who had, lately, come to settle at Rome: After these actions both in peace, and war, he built two temples to Fortune, who seemed to have favoured him all his life; one in the market, called the Boarian market; the other, on the banks of the river Tiber; which he called⁴³ *Fortis Fortunae*, as it is called by

⁴³ Ἀνδρείαν. The Latin translators have called this, *Templum Fortunae virilis*, in which they have been followed by the French translators. *Virilis* seems, at first view, so obvious a translation of ἀνδρείος, that I am not at all surpris'd it imposed upon them; particularly, since Servius Tullius did, really, build a temple to *Fortuna Virilis*, which was the temple erected by him in the *forum Boarium*. This temple, though said by our author to have been dedicated to Fortune generally, I shall prove to have been the temple of *Fortuna Virilis*, and That on the banks of the Tiber, which is the temple in question, to have been the

temple of *Fors Fortuna*, which he has translated Τύχη ἀνδρεία. No author is so exact as Ovid in describing, not only, the Roman festivals, but, also, the occasions, that gave birth to those festivals. ^a He says that Servius Tullius instituted a festival, called *Matralia*, and built a temple to *Matuta*, in the *forum Boarium*;

*Ite, bonae matres (vestrum Matralia festum)
Flavaque Thebanæ reddita liba deae.
Pontibus, et magno juncta est celeberrima circo
Arca; quae posito de Iove nomen habet.
Hac ibi luce ferunt Matutæ sacra parenti
Sceptraferas Servî templa dedisse manus.*

After this, he comes to the festival of

^a Fastorum, B. vi. §. 475.

the Romans, even to this day. And being, now, advanced in years, and not far from a natural death, he was, treacherously, slain by Tarquinius, his son-in-law, and by his own daughter: I shall, also, relate the manner, in which this treacherous action was executed; after I have resumed some few things, that preceded it.

Fortuna Virilis, which, he says, was celebrated on the same day with the *Matralia*, and, in the same place, and, also, founded by the same person, that is, by Servius Tullius, whose statue stood in this temple with its head veiled; ^b

*Lux eadem, Fortuna, tua est, auctorq; locusque
Sed superinjectis quis latet aede togis?
Servius est;*

Now, it is very well known that the *Matralia* were celebrated on the third day before the ides (the eleventh) of June; on which day was, also, celebrated the feast of *Fortuna Virilis*.

Ovid, then, gives the reason of this appellation, which he derives from the same extraordinary tradition, that is related by our author in the beginning of this book, concerning the *αἰδοῖον ἀνδρός*, which was seen by Ocrisia, and, from which, the name of *Virilis* was given to this goddess. ^c

*Arserat hoc templum: Signo tamen ille pepercit
Ignis: Opem nato Mulciber ipse tulit.
Namque pater Tulli Vulcanus, Ocrisia mater,
Praesignis facie Corniculana fuit.
Hanc secum Tanaquil, sacris de more paratis,
Jussit in ornatum fundere vina focum.*

*Hic inter cineres obsceni forma virilis
Aut fuit, aut visa est: Sed fuit illa magis.
Jussa foco captiva foveat; conceptus ab illâ
Servius a Coelo semina gentis habet.
Signa dedit genitor, tum cum caput igne corusco
Contigit, inque comâ flammeus arsit apex.*

All the circumstances of this tradition are the same both in Dionysius, and Ovid. As to the temple of *Fors Fortuna*, for that is the name, not *Fortis Fortuna*, it stood on the western bank of the Tiber; and her festival was celebrated on the eighth of the calends of July (the twenty fourth of June) all this will, also, appear from ^d Ovid:

*Quam cito venerunt Fortunae Fortis honores!
Post septem lucas Junius actus erit.
Ite, Deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites:
In Tiberis ripâ munera regis habet.
Pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cymbâ.
Nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.*

By all these circumstances, the temple of *Fors Fortuna* can be no other than That, which our author says, Servius Tullius erected on the banks of the Tiber; which temple he had, no doubt, often heard the Romans call *Templum Fortis Fortunae*, and this might induce him to translate it *ναὸν Τυχῆς ἀνδρείας*.

^b Fastorum, B. vi. §. 569.

^c Id. ib. §. 625.

^d Id. ib. §. 773.

XXVIII. Tullius had two daughters by his wife Tarquinia, whom Tarquinius, the king, had given to him in marriage: These, when marriageable, he disposed of to the nephews of their mother, who were, also, the grandsons of Tarquinius; and gave the eldest of his daughters to the eldest of her nephews; and the youngest, to the youngest; looking upon this disposition as the most suitable to their husbands: But it happened that each of his sons-in-law was matched to a character different from his own: For the wife of Lucius, the elder of the two brothers, who was of a bold, insolent, and tyrannical nature, was a good woman, modest, and fond of her father: On the other side, the wife of Aruns, the younger brother, a man of great mildness, and prudence, was a wicked woman, hated her father, and was capable of any rash action. In this situation, each of the husbands followed the dictates of his own nature, while his wife endeavoured to inspire him with contrary sentiments: For, when the wicked husband desired to dethrone his father-in-law, and was forming designs of every kind to effect it, his wife, by her prayers, and tears, endeavoured to prevail on him to desist: And, when the mild husband thought himself obliged to abstain from all attempts against the life of his father-in-law, and to wait till he should end his days by the course of nature, and discountenanced the unjust designs of his brother, his wicked wife, by her remonstrances, and her reproaches, and, by reviling him with a want of spirit, sought to seduce him to a contrary disposition: But, when neither the intreaties of the virtuous wife,

wife, supported by the best advice, made any impression on her unjust husband ; nor the instigations of the wicked wife could invite a man of no evil disposition to impious actions, but each of them followed the impulse of his own nature, and thought his wife troublesome, because her sentiments differed from his own, nothing remained, than for the former to bewail her own condition, and submit to her ill fortune ; and for the all-daring woman, to express her resentment, and endeavour to get rid of her husband : At last, this wicked woman, grown desperate, and thinking the disposition of her sister's husband to be the most suitable to her own, she sends for him, pretending that she wanted to speak with him concerning some affair of importance.

XXIX. And, when he came, she ordered every one to withdraw, that she might confer with him in private. “ May I, says she, Tarquinius, declare, with freedom, and “ without danger, all my thoughts concerning our common “ interests ? And will you not divulge what you shall hear ? “ Or would it not be more prudent in me to be silent, and “ not communicate counsels, that require secrecy ? ” Tarquinius, upon this, desired her to say what she thought fit ; and, having given her assurances of his secrecy by such oaths, as she herself had proposed, Tullia, laying aside all shame from that moment, said to him ; “ How long, Tarquinius, do you design to suffer yourself to be deprived “ of the kingdom ? Is it, because you are descended from “ mean, and obscure ancestors, that you refuse to entertain “ high thoughts of yourself ? But every one knows that, “ formerly,

“ formerly, your ⁴⁴ ancestors, who were Greeks, and de-
 “ scended from Hercules, exercised the sovereign power in
 “ the flourishing city of Corinth, as I am informed, for
 “ many generations; and that your grandfather, Tarquinius,
 “ having left Tyrrhenia to settle at Rome, was, by his virtue,
 “ raised to be king of this city; whose kingdom, as well
 “ as fortunes, you, who are the eldest of his grandsons,
 “ ought to inherit: Or can it be said that you are rendered
 “ incapable of performing the functions of a king through
 “ the weakness, and deformity of your person? But you
 “ are indued both with strength, equal to those, whom na-
 “ ture has the most favoured, and with beauty, worthy your
 “ royal birth: Or is it neither of these, but your youth, as
 “ yet weak, and far from being capable of proper reflexions,
 “ that discourages you from entering into the administration
 “ of affairs, when you want not many years of being fifty?
 “ However, this is the age, in which the judgement is in
 “ its greatest perfection. But say, Is it the high birth of
 “ the person, who governs, and his popularity among the
 “ most considerable citizens, by which he is guarded against
 “ all attempts, that forces you to submit? But neither
 “ of these circumstances, are in his favor; of which you
 “ yourself are not ignorant: And your behaviour shews
 “ you to be a bold man, and fond of danger; qualities,
 “ most necessary to those, who desire to reign. You have

⁴⁴ Πρεσβυοις ὑμῶν — ἀρχαί Κορίνθου. the third book, and the forty seventh
 See the forty second annotation on chapter of the same.

“ riches

“ riches sufficient, numerous friends, and many other great
“ opportunities, to encourage you to this attempt : Why,
“ therefore, do you defer it, and wait till a proper season,
“ spontaneously, presents itself, and offers you the kingdom
“ without your own sollicitation ? This, you say, will happen
“ after the death of Tullius : As if fortune will wait our
“ delays, or nature dispense death according to every man’s
“ age ; and that the events of all human affairs were not
“ obscure, and difficult to be foreseen. But I will declare,
“ freely, even, though you should call me bold for it, the
“ reason why you are without ambition, or a thirst of glory ;
“ you have a wife, whose disposition is, in all respects,
“ unlike your own ; and who, by her allurements, and
“ enchantments, has softened you ; and you will, insensibly,
“ be transformed by her, from a man of spirit, to a wretch
“ of no value : Just so, have I a pusillanimous husband,
“ who has nothing of a man in him ; who depresses my
“ spirit, which is worthy of great things ; and wastes the
“ charms of my person : But, if fortune had directed that
“ I should have been your wife, and you my husband, we
“ had not lived so long in a private station. Why, there-
“ fore, do not we ourselves correct this error of fortune, by
“ exchanging our nuptial engagements ? Do you get rid of
“ your wife, and I will do the same by my husband :
“ And, when, by their deaths, we are united, we may,
“ then, with security, consider of what remains to be done ;
“ after we have removed those objects, that are, now, uneasy
“ to

“ to us : For, though ⁴⁵ other acts of injustice may make us
 “ tremble ; yet, when a kingdom is in view, none are blamed
 “ for daring to commit every crime.”

XXX. While Tullia was saying this, Tarquinius, readily, accepts the conditions ; gives her, that moment, assurances for his performance of them ; receives the same from her ; and, having tasted the first-fruits of his execrable nuptials, he departed. Not long after this, the eldest daughter of Tullius, and the younger Tarquinius both died by the same means. Here again, I find myself obliged to make mention of Fabius, and to shew him guilty of negligence in his inquiries into chronology : For, when he comes to the death of Aruns, he commits, not only, one error (as I said before) in saying that he was the son of Tarquinius ; but, also, another, in affirming that, after his death, he was buried by his mother Tanaquil, who could not, possibly, have been alive at that time : For, it has been shewn at first, that, when Tarquinius died, Tanaquil was seventy five years of age ; to which seventy five years, if forty more are added (for we find, in the annals of those times, that Aruns died in the fortieth year of the reign of Tullius) Tanaquil must have been one hundred and fifteen years old : So few marks of a laborious inquiry after truth do we find in that author's

⁴⁵ *Και γὰρ εὐντ' ἀλλὰ*, etc. There is a note in Sylburgius, upon this occasion, in which, he shews that this wicked maxim is taken from the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. If the reader pleases to turn to the 130th annotation on the first book, he will find

some observations upon this passage of Euripides. The two French translators have rendered this note of Sylburgius in their language, though, without the least acknowledgement to the person, from whom they translated it.

history. After this action, Tarquinius, presently, married Tullia, and, when both her father refused to allow of the marriage, and her mother to approve of it, he contented himself with her own consent. As soon as these impious, and sanguinary minds were joined, they formed a design to dethrone Tullius, if he did not, willingly, resign his power; to which end, they assembled those of their faction; inviting to it such of the patricians, as were enemies to the king, and to his popular institutions; and, corrupting those among the people, who had no regard for justice: In the prosecution of all which designs, they acted openly. Tullius, being apprised of their intrigues, was full of resentment, and afraid lest he should feel the effects of them, before he was prepared to resist; neither was it the least of his afflictions to find himself obliged to take arms against his own daughter, and his son-in-law; and to punish them as enemies: To prevent which, he, often, invited Tarquinius to confer with him, in the presence of his friends; and, sometimes, accusing, sometimes, remonstrating, and, at others, persuading him to undertake nothing to his prejudice; when he saw he gave no attention to what he said, but insisted on pleading his cause before the senate, he called the senators together, and said to them; “Fathers, I have discovered that Tarquinius has
“formed a faction against me, and is endeavouring to de-
“throne me: I desire, therefore, that he will let me know,
“in the presence of you all, what detriment he has received
“from me; or what injury I have done to the common-
“wealth to deserve that he should form these designs against
“me.

“ me. Answer me, then, Tarquinius, without concealing
 “ any thing, and say what you have to accuse me of, since
 “ you have chosen the senate to judge between us.”

XXXI. Upon which, Tarquinius replied ; “ My answer,
 “ Tullius, will be short, and founded on justice ; and, for
 “ that reason, I chose to lay it before the senate. Tarqui-
 “ nius, my grandfather, obtained the sovereignty of the
 “ Romans by fighting many considerable battles in their
 “ defence : He being dead, I am his successor, according to
 “ the laws received by all the Greeks, and Barbarians ; and
 “ I ought, in justice, to inherit, not only, his fortunes, but
 “ his kingdom, in the same manner, as all other successors
 “ inherit the estates of their grandfathers. You have, indeed,
 “ delivered up to me the fortunes he left ; but you deprive
 “ me of the kingdom, and have kept the possession of it for
 “ so long a time, after you had obtained it in an unjustifi-
 “ able manner : For, neither did the interreges appoint you
 “ king, nor the senate pass a vote in your favor ; neither
 “ did you obtain this power by a legal election of the people,
 “ as my grandfather, and all the kings before him, obtained
 “ it. But you gained the sovereignty by hiring, and corrupt-
 “ ing by every method you could devise, a number of
 “ vagabonds, and beggars, men rendered infamous by being
 “ condemned, or burdened with debts, who had no regard
 “ for the public ; and, by declaring, even then, that you
 “ did not seek the power for yourself ; and pretending that
 “ you reserved it for us, who were, then, orphans, and in-
 “ fants ; and you engaged before all the world that, when

“ we arrived to manhood, you would furrender the power
 “ to me, as to the elder brother : You ought, therefore, if
 “ you desired to do justice, when you delivered up to me
 “ the palace of my grandfather, to have restored his king-
 “ dom together with his fortunes, after the example of
 “ those honest, and good guardians, who, having taken
 “ upon themselves the care of royal orphans, have, truly,
 “ and, justly, restored to them the kingdoms of their fathers,
 “ and ancestors, when they came to be men. But, if you
 “ thought I had not yet attained a proper degree of pru-
 “ dence, and that, by reason of my youth, I was unequal
 “ to the government of so considerable a city, yet, when I
 “ arrived to the age of thirty years, and my body, and mind
 “ were in the greatest vigor, you ought to have put the go-
 “ vernment of the city into my hands, at the same time
 “ you gave me your daughter in marriage : For, at that
 “ age, you, also, first took upon yourself the administration
 “ both of our family, and of the kingdom.

XXXII. “ And, if you had done this, you would, in the
 “ first place, have gained the character of a pious, and just
 “ man ; and, after that, you would have been my counsellor,
 “ and have had a share in all honors ; you would have been
 “ called my benefactor, my father, and my preserver ; and
 “ have received every other distinguishing appellation, which
 “ mankind give to the authors of worthy actions ; instead
 “ of depriving me of my right for four and forty years to-
 “ gether, without being able to charge me with any defect
 “ either in my person, or understanding. After this usage,
 “ you

“ you have the assurance to ask me what ill treatment pro-
 “ vokes me to look upon you as my enemy, and, for what
 “ reason, I accuse you? But answer me yourself, Tullius,
 “ and say, for what reason, you think me unworthy to in-
 “ herit the honors of my grandfather; and what specious
 “ pretence you have to alledge for depriving me of them.
 “ Is it that you look upon me as supposititious, and illegi-
 “ timate, and not his lawful son? If so, why did you act as
 “ guardian to one, who was a stranger to his blood, and
 “ why did you restore his palace to him, as soon as he came
 “ to be a man? Or is it, that you still look upon me as an
 “ orphan child, and incapable of administering the affairs of
 “ the public, when I am near fifty years of age? Lay aside,
 “ then, ⁴⁶ the affectation of your shameless questions, and
 “ cease, at last, to be an ill man. However, if you have

⁴⁶. Εἰρωνείαν. I do not look upon
interrogations ironiques, in M. ***, to
 express the sense of εἰρωνεία. This
 word, in Greek, conveys two ideas :
 The first, when a person gives to an-
 other a merit he has not ; and the se-
 cond, when he conceals a merit he
 himself is possessed of. Socrates is
 represented as using both with success :
 Of which Atticus, or, rather^c Cicero,
 gives this account: *Ego, inquit, ironiam*
illam, quam dicunt in Socrate fuisse, quā
ille in Platonis, et Xenophontis, et Ale-
schinis libris utitur, facetam et elegantem
puto. Est enim et minime inepti hominis,
et ejusdem etiam faceti, cum de sapientiā
disceptetur, hanc sibi ipsum detrabere, eis
tribuere illudentem, qui eam sibi arrogant.

Ut, apud Platonem, Socrates in coelum
effert laudibus Protagoram, Hippiam,
Prodicum, Gorgiam, caeteros ; se autem
omnium rerum inscium fingit et rudem,
deceat hoc nescio quomodo illum. Now,
 I do not think that *irony*, either in
 French, or English, is used in the last
 of the two significations, which Cicero
 has given to it. In the passage before
 us, εἰρωνεία is, indeed, taken in a dif-
 ferent sense from either of those two
 mentioned here by Cicero : For, in
 this place, it signifies a concealment of
 the obvious answers, which Tullius
 himself is supposed to have known that
 Tarquinius might make to the ques-
 tions he had, just before, put to him.

^c In Bruto, c. 85.

“ any

“ any reasons to alledge against what I have said, I am ready
“ to leave the determination of our contest to these, who
“ are present, than whom you can find none in the city
“ better qualified to decide it. But if, from this tribunal,
“ you fly (as it is customary with you) to the rabble you
“ have deluded, I will not suffer it: For I am prepared,
“ not only, to defend my cause by my words; but, if these
“ fail to convince you, to support it by my actions.”

XXXIII. When he had done speaking, Tullius replied in the following manner; “ Fathers, says he, it seems that, as
“ a man, I ought to expect every thing, however extraordi-
“ nary; and to look upon nothing as strange, since Tar-
“ quinius desires to dethrone even me, who received him,
“ when he was an infant; and, when his enemies were
“ forming designs against his life, preserved him, and brought
“ him up; and, when he came to be a man, honoured him
“ so far as to make him my son-in-law; and designed to
“ make him heir to all my fortunes at my death: But, since
“ every thing has happened to me contrary to my expecta-
“ tion, and that I myself am accused of having wronged
“ him, I shall, afterwards, lament my own misfortune, and,
“ at present, plead my cause against him. I took upon
“ myself, Tarquinius, the guardianship of your brother, and
“ of yourself, when you were left infants, not voluntarily,
“ but compelled to it by the situation of affairs; since those,
“ who claimed the kingdom, had, openly, assassinated your
“ grandfather; and were said to form secret designs both
“ against you, and the rest of his relations; and all your friends
“ ac-

“ acknowledged that, if once they got the power into
 “ their hands, they would not have left, even, one branch
 “ of the Tarquinian family alive : Neither was there any
 “ other person to take care of, and guard, you against their
 “ enterprizes, but a woman, the mother of your father ;
 “ and she, by reason of her great age, stood herself in need of
 “ other guardians : So that, I was the only person left to take
 “ care of you in your destitute condition, though you, now,
 “ call me a stranger, and, in no degree, related to your
 “ family : However, by taking upon myself the conduct of
 “ your affairs, though in this situation, I, not only, brought
 “ the assassins of your grandfather to punishment, and bred
 “ you up till you were men ; but, as I had no heir male,
 “ designed to leave you all my fortunes. You have, now,
 “ Tarquinius, the account of my guardianship, and you will
 “ not pretend to say that any part of it is misrepresented.

XXXIV. “ Concerning the royal dignity, since this is the
 “ point you accuse me of, learn by what means I obtained
 “ it ; and, for what reasons, I shall resign it neither to you,
 “ nor to any other person. When I took upon myself the
 “ government of the city, finding there were some designs
 “ forming against me, I desired to surrender it to the people ;
 “ and, having assembled them all together, I offered to resign
 “ the government to them ; preferring a quiet life, free
 “ from danger, to this envied sovereignty, the source of
 “ greater pains, than pleasures. But the Romans would not
 “ suffer me to execute my design ; neither did they think
 “ fit to place the government in any other hands, but con-
 “ tinued

“tinued it in mine ; and, by their votes, conferred the royal
“dignity on me ; a dignity, which belonged to them, Tar-
“quinius, not to you ; in the same manner as they con-
“ferred the same dignity upon your grandfather, who was
“a foreigner, and, in no degree, related to the king, his
“predecessor ; though Ancus Marcius, the former king,
“left sons, then, in the vigor of their age ; not grand-
“children, and infants, as you, and your brother were left
“by Tarquinius. But, if it were a general law that the
“heirs to the possessions, and fortunes of deceased kings,
“should, also, be heirs to their dignities, Tarquinius, your
“grandfather, would not have succeeded to the sovereignty
“upon the death of Ancus, but the elder of his sons. How-
“ever, the people of Rome did not call the heir of the father,
“but the person, who was worthy of the command, to reign
“over them : For they looked upon the private fortunes
“to belong to those, who had acquired them ; but the royal
“dignity to those, who had conferred it ; and that the
“former, upon the death of the persons in possession, ought
“to descend to such, as are intitled to them, either by their
“relation to, or the will of, the deceased ; but that the
“latter, when the persons, who received it, die, returns to
“those, who gave it. Unless you have any thing of this
“kind to alledge, that your grandfather received the sove-
“reignty upon certain conditions ; as, that he should not
“be deprived of the possession of it himself ; and have
“power to leave it to you, who are his grandsons ; and that
“the people, should not have the right to take it from you,
“and

“ and confer it upon me : If you have any such thing to
 “ alledge, why do you not produce the contract? How-
 “ ever, this you cannot say. But, if I did not obtain the
 “ power in the most justifiable manner, as you say, having
 “ neither been elected by the interreges, nor received the
 “ administration from the senate, and that other things,
 “ required by the law, were not observed ; if this is so,
 “ I wrong these, not you ; and deserve to be dethroned by
 “ them, not by you : But the truth is, I wrong neither
 “ these, nor any one else. The length of my reign, which
 “ has, now, lasted ⁴⁷ forty four years, witnesses that the
 “ power was both, then, justly given to me, and is, now,
 “ justly, vested in me ; during which time, none of the
 “ Romans, ever, thought I reigned unjustly, neither did
 “ the people, nor the senate, ever endeavour to dethrone
 “ me.

XXXV. “ But, to omit these things, and give an answer
 “ to what you alledge: If I had deprived you of the power,
 “ that was deposited in my hands by your grandfather in
 “ trust for you ; and, contrary to all the established rules of
 “ justice, had withheld your kingdom from you, you ought
 “ to have applied yourself to those, who conferred the power
 “ on me, and to have vented your indignation, and reproaches

⁴⁷ Τετράρακοντᾶτα. This is, cer-
 tainly, a mistake in the transcriber ;
 because Tarquinius had, just before,
 reproached Tullius with having kept
 him out of his right, during *four and*
forty years. Τετράλω, therefore, is, cer-
 tainly, left out. Portus supposes that
 Tullius lessened the number of the

years he had reigned with a view to
 diminish the envy of his usurpation :
 But this is just the contrary : For, as
 he appeals to the length of his un-
 disturbed reign in support of his right,
 he ought rather to have encreased, than
 diminished the number of years he had
 reigned.

“ both against me, for continuing in the possession of it, when
“ it did not belong to me; and against them, for having con-
“ ferred on me a power, that belonged to others: For you
“ would, easily, have prevailed on them to do you justice, if
“ you could have shewn you had a right. However, if you
“ could not confide in such an allegation, but were of opinion
“ that I governed unjustly, and that you were a fitter person
“ to be intrusted with the care of the commonwealth, you
“ ought to have done this; to have inquired into the errors
“ of my government; to have displayed the number of your
“ own actions; and to have summoned me to a decision of
“ our contest: None of which you did. But, after so great
“ a length of time, as if recovered from a long fit of drunk-
“ enness, you come, now, to accuse me; and, even now,
“ you accuse me in an improper place: For here you ought
“ not to alledge these things (I desire, Fathers, you will not
“ be offended at what I have said; for it was only with a
“ view of exposing his calumny, not of infringing your
“ jurisdiction) but you ought to have desired me to call an
“ assembly of the people, and there to have accused me:
“ However, since you have declined this, I will do it for
“ you; and, having called the people together, I will ap-
“ point them judges of the crimes you accuse me of; and,
“ again, leave it to them to determine which of us two is
“ the fittest person to govern; and, whatever they shall,
“ unanimously, order me to do, I shall submit to. This is
“ a sufficient answer to his allegations; since the effect of
“ many, or few reasons, when urged against unreasonable
“ adver-

“adversaries, is the same: For words cannot persuade them
“to be just.

XXXVI. “But, I am surprised, Fathers, to find any of
“your number desirous to dethrone me, and conspiring
“with this man against me: I would, willingly, inquire
“of them what injury provokes them to attack me; and
“what actions of mine they are offended at. Is it because
“they know that great numbers, during my reign, have
“been put to death without a trial; banished their country;
“deprived of their fortunes; or involved in any other un-
“deserved calamity? Or, having none of these tyrannical
“crimes to accuse me of, are they acquainted with any
“abuses I have been guilty of to married women, or insults
“on their maiden daughters, or any other flagitious at-
“tempt upon the person of a free man? If I have been
“guilty of any of these crimes, I deserve to be deprived, at
“the same time, both of my dignity, and of my life. But
“I am proud above measure; and, by being grievous to
“my subjects, am become odious to them; so that, none
“of them can bear the arrogance of my administration.
“Which of my predecessors ever used his power with the
“same moderation I have used mine, who have treated all
“my subjects with the same benevolence an indulgent father
“shews to his own children? Who have, even, lessened the
“power you gave me, which was the same your ancestors,
“successively, conferred on former kings; and have appoint-
“ed laws, which you all confirmed, relating to matters of
“the greatest consequence, by which I granted to you the
E e 2 “privilege

“ privilege of doing justice to, and of receiving it from, one
“ another ; and, to these rules, which I prescribed to others,
“ you saw me, like a private person, first yield obedience :
“ Neither have I made myself the judge of all sorts of
“ crimes, but Those of a private nature I submitted to your
“ jurisdiction ; which was, never, done by any of the former
“ kings. By this it appears that no crime has drawn upon
“ me the ill will of some people, but that the benefits I have
“ conferred on the plebeians excite your unjust resentment,
“ concerning which I have, often, given you my reasons ;
“ so that, there is no necessity for me, now, to repeat them.
“ If you are of opinion that this man, when invested with
“ the power, will administer it better than myself, I shall
“ not envy the commonwealth a better governor : And,
“ after I have surrendered the sovereignty to the people,
“ from whom I received it, and am become a private person,
“ I shall endeavour to make it appear to all the world, that
“ I know both how to command with prudence, and how
“ to obey with modesty.”

XXXVII. After this speech, which covered the conspirators with shame, Tullius dismissed the assembly : Upon which, he ordered the heralds to go through every street, and call the people together : And, all the citizens flocking to the forum, he ascended the tribunal, and made a long and pathetic harangue, in which he enumerated all the military actions he had performed, as well during the life of Tarquinius, as after his death ; and entered into the detail of all his institutions, from which the commonwealth appeared

peared to have reaped many considerable advantages. And every thing he said being received with great applause, and all the people, earnestly, desiring to know for what reason he mentioned these things, at last, he said, that Tarquinius accused him of continuing in the unjust possession of the royal dignity, which he alledged to belong to him; that his grandfather, at his death, had left him the sovereignty together with his fortunes; and that the people had it not in their power to confer on any person the property of another. This raising a general clamor, and indignation among the people, he ordered them to be silent, and desired they would entertain no displeasure, nor resentment at what he had said; but, if Tarquinius had any thing to alledge in support of his pretensions, that they would send for him; and, after they had heard him, if they found him wronged, or worthier to command, invest him with the government of the commonwealth: As for himself, he said, he, now, resigned it, and restored it to those, to whom it belonged, and, from whom, he had received it. After he had said this, and offered to descend from the tribunal, there was a general outcry; and they all begged of him, with tears, not to surrender the sovereignty to any one: And some of them called out to stone Tarquinius; who, fearing the violence, with which he was threatened, left the forum, and fled with those of his faction; while the people, in a body, conducted Tullius to his palace with joy, applause, and acclamations.

XXXVIII. When Tarquinius found himself disappointed in this attempt also ; and that the senate, upon whom he had, chiefly, depended, gave him no assistance, he grew inconsolable ; and, remaining at home for some time, conversed, only, with his dependents. Afterwards, his wife advising him, no longer, to relax, or be softened ; but, instead of words, to proceed to actions ; and, first, to obtain a reconciliation with Tullius by the intercession of friends, to the end that, looking upon him as, firmly, attached to him, he might be, the less, upon his guard against his intrigues ; he approved of her advice ; and, pretending to repent of his past behaviour, by the means of his friends, earnestly, besought Tullius to forgive him. He, easily, succeeded with a man, both inclined, by his nature, to a reconciliation with his enemies, and averse to an implacable contest with his daughter, and his son-in-law ; and, as soon as he saw a favourable opportunity, when the people were dispersed about the country in getting in their harvest, he appeared in public, attended by his friends with swords under their garments ; and, giving the axes to some of his domestics, he himself assumed the royal robes, and all the other ensigns of royalty : Then, going to the forum, he stood before the senate house, and ordered the herald to assemble the senators. Many of the patricians, who were acquainted with his design, and had incited him to it, were, by his appointment, ready in the forum ; these, therefore, joined him. In the mean time, a person went to the palace, and informed Tullius that Tarquinius appeared in public
with

with the royal robes, and had ordered the senators to assemble : Upon which, being astonished at his rashness, he came out of his palace with more haste, than prudence, attended with a small retinue ; and, going into the senate, and seeing Tarquinius seated on the throne, with all the ensigns of royalty ; “ Who, says he, most wicked man, “ gave you authority to assume these robes ? ” To which the other replied ; “ Your boldness, and impudence, Tullius ; “ who, though you are not so much as a free man, but a “ slave, and the son of a slave, whom my grandfather chose “ out of the rest of the captives, have dared to make your- “ self king of the Romans.” When Tullius heard this, he was so much exasperated with the reproach, that he lost all regard to himself, and ran at him, with a design of forcing him to quit the throne. Tarquinius was pleased to see this ; and, leaping from his seat, seized the old man, who cried out, and called upon his servants to assist him : Tarquinius, then, carried him out of the senate ; and, being a man of great vigor, and strength, he lifted him up, and threw him down the stairs, that lead from the senate to the place, where the assemblies of the people are held. The old man raised himself from the ground with great difficulty ; and, seeing the place crowded with the friends of Tarquinius, and none of his own near him, he lamented his misfortune, and went away, covered with blood, and disordered in every part with the fall, while a few of the people supported, and conducted him.

XXXIX. The following actions, that are recorded of his impious daughter, are, not only, dreadful to hear, but, at the same time, astonishing and incredible : For, being informed that her father was gone to the senate, and anxious to know the event of this affair, she went in her chariot to the forum; where, hearing what had passed, and seeing Tarquinius standing upon the stairs before the senate, she was the first person, who saluted him king ; which she did with a loud voice, and prayed to the gods that, for the advantage of Rome, he might long possess the kingdom : And, after all the rest, who had assisted him in his enterprise, had, also, saluted him king, she took him aside, and said to him ; “ The first step you have taken, Tarquinius, “ has been well conducted : But it is impossible for you, “ securely, to enjoy the kingdom, while Tullius lives : For, “ by his harangues, he will, again, inflame the people against “ you, if he lives but the least part of this day : You know “ how attached the whole body of the people are to him. “ Send, therefore, proper persons to destroy him, before he “ reaches his palace, and take him out of the way.” Having said this, she, again, went into her chariot, and departed. Tarquinius, upon this occasion also, approved of the advice, given him by his most impious wife, and sent some of his domestics after him, armed with swords ; who, making great haste, overtook Tullius near his palace, and slew him. While his body lay bleeding with fresh wounds, and palpitating, his daughter appeared ; and, the street, through which her chariot was to pass, being very narrow, the mules
were

were frightened at the sight of the body, and the coachman, moved with the miserable spectacle, stopped short, and looked at his mistress; and, upon her asking why he did not drive on, “Do you not see, says he, Tullia, your father lie dead, and that there is no other passage, but over his body?” This provoked her to that degree, that she snatched up her footstool, and threw it at the coachman, saying, “Wretch, drive, then, over the body.” Upon which, the coachman, more grieved at the horrid scene, than at the stroke he had received, forced the mules over his body. This street, which was, before, called the ⁴⁸ *Orbian street*, is, from this horrid, and detestable fact, called by the Romans, in their own language, *Vicus sceleratus*, *The impious street*.

XL. Thus Tullius died, after he had reigned ⁴⁹ four and forty years. The Romans say this person was the first, who altered the customs, and laws of their country, by receiving

⁴⁸ Οὐβίος. Sylburgius contends that we ought to read οὐβίος; which reading he supports from the authority of Varro, who says that the Sabines, who inhabited this street, gave it the name of the *Cyprian street*, because Cyprus, in their language, signified *fortunate*, of which οὐβίος is a translation. This note both the French translators have copied, and, according to their custom, taken no notice of Sylburgius. I have no great objection to this reading: But, as the Vatican manuscript has οὐβίος, I have chosen to follow it; particularly, since Festus says that Tarquinius, and his execrable wife passed over the *orbis clivus* to

take possession of the palace of Tullius, after he was slain; Orbis Clivus *videtur appellatus esse ab orbibus, per cuius flexuosos orbes Tullia, filia Servii Tullii regis, et L. Tarquinius Superbus, gener, interfecto rege, properaverunt terdentes unâ in regiae domus possessionem.* ^ε Livy calls this street, *Virbius clivus*; but I suspect that to be an error in the transcribers, and that it ought to be *orbis*.

⁴⁹ Ετη τετλορα και τετρακαιοντα. Thus we must, certainly, read this sentence with Lapis, and Gelenius, which is confirmed by ^h Livy, who says, *Servius Tullius regnavit annos quatuor et quadraginta.*

[†] De Ling. Lat. B. iv.

^ε B. i. c. 48.

^h B. i. c. 48.

the sovereignty, not from the senate, and people jointly, like all the former kings, but, from the people alone; the poorer sort of whom he had gained by bribery, and corruption, and many other kinds of flattery. This is true: For, before his time, upon the demise of a king, the custom was for the people to grant the senate a power of settling such a form of government, as they should think fit; and the senate created interreges, who chose a person, the best qualified for that dignity, whether he was an inhabitant of the country belonging to the Romans, a Roman citizen, or a foreigner: And, if the senate approved of the person so chosen, and the people, by their votes, confirmed the election; and, if the auguries, also, gave their sanction to it, the person, so elected, took possession of the royal dignity: But, if any one of these were wanting, they nominated another, and, then, a third, in case the second had not the incontestable concurrence both of the gods, and men. Whereas Tullius, at first, assumed the title of guardian to the royal family, as I said before: After which, he gained the affections of the people by some instances of benevolence, and was, by them alone, appointed king. But, as he was a man of great mildness, and moderation, by his subsequent actions he wiped off the imputation of not having observed the laws in all respects; and gave room for many to believe that, ⁵⁰if he

⁵⁰ Εἰ μὴ θάπλον ἀνέρεθῃ, etc. ⁱ Livy gives the same testimony to this generous design of Tullius, with this addition, that he calls it a design of delivering his country: *Idipsum tam mite, ac moderatum imperium, tamen quia unius esset, deponere cum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intes-*

ⁱB. i. c. 48.

had not been prevented by death, he would have changed the government to a democracy: And it is said that, for this reason chiefly, some of the patricians entered into the conspiracy, that was formed against him; and that, being unable, by any other means, to subvert his power, they blended their cause with That of Tarquinius, and supported his design of seizing the sovereignty; with a view both of lessening the power of the people, which had received no small addition from the institutions of Tullius, and of recovering the authority they had, before, enjoyed. The death of Tullius having occasioned a great tumult, and a general lamentation in the city, Tarquinius was afraid lest, if the body was carried through the forum (according to the custom of the Romans) adorned with the royal robes, and the other marks of dignity used in funerals, some violence might be offered him by the people, before he had secured his authority; for which reason, he would not suffer any of the usual ceremonies to be performed in honor of him: So that, the wife of Tullius, who was daughter of the first Tarquinius, with a few of her friends, carried the body out of the city in the night, as if it had been That of an ordinary person; and, greatly, lamenting the fate both of herself, and of her husband; and pouring out a thousand imprecations against her son-in-law, and her daughter, she buried it: Then,

tinum liberandae patriae consilia agitantibus intervenisset. Let it never be forgotten that this historian himself lived under the government of a single person, and, even, of an usurper; who are, al-

ways, forer upon these occasions, than lawful sovereigns, whose original right depends upon the choice of the people, and its continuance upon their approbation.

returning home from the sepulchre, she lived but one day after the funeral, dying the following night. The manner of her death is not, generally, known: Some say that, disregarding life from an excess of grief, she died by her own hand: Others, that the compassion, and love she expressed for her husband provoked her son-in-law, and daughter to put her to death. For the reasons, therefore, I have mentioned, the body of Tullius was deprived of a royal funeral, and of a stately monument; but his actions have eternized his memory to all succeeding generations. There happened another prodigy, besides That before spoken of, which shews that this person was acceptable to the gods; and, by which also, a general belief of that fabulous, and incredible opinion concerning his birth was established: For, in the ⁵¹ temple of Fortune, which he himself had built, there stood a statue of Tullius, made of wood, and gilt; which, when every thing else was destroyed by fire, remained unhurt: And, even to this day, the temple itself, and every thing in it, which were restored to their former condition after the fire, plainly, appear to be the work of modern artists; and the statue, as before, is of ancient workmanship: For this still remains, and great veneration is paid to it by the Romans. And these are all the things we find recorded of Tullius.

XLI. He was succeeded in the kingdom by Lucius Tarquinius, who gained the possession of it, not by the laws, but by arms, in the fourth year of the sixty first Olympiad,

⁵¹ Εν γὰρ τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τυχῆς, etc. related by Ovid in the forty third annotation upon this book.

in which Agatharchus of Corcyra won the prize of the stadium ; Thericles being then archon at Athens. This man, despising both the people, and the patricians, by whom he had been raised to the sovereignty ; and confounding, and destroying the customs, the laws, and the whole frame of the Roman constitution, by which the former kings had ruled the commonwealth, transformed the government into an avowed tyranny. And, first, he placed a guard about his person, consisting of the most daring men, both natives, and foreigners : These were armed with swords, and spears ; and, being posted round the palace in the night ; and, in the day time, attending him whithersoever he went, effectually secured him from the attempts of conspirators. Secondly, he did not, often, appear in public ; but, never, at stated times ; and, then only, when he was least expected. He, generally, held his councils, relating to the public affairs, at his own palace ; at which none but his most intimate friends assisted ; and seldom in the forum : And none were suffered to have access to him, unless he himself sent for them : Neither did he receive those, who approached him, with benevolence, or mildness ; but, as a tyrant, with severity, and passion ; and, in his looks, fate terror, instead of affability. He, also, determined all controversies, not according to justice, and law, but according to his own humour. For these reasons, the Romans gave him the surname of *Superbus*, which, in our language, signifies *Υπερηφανος*, *Proud* ; and his grandfather they called *Priscus*, as we should say *Προσφύεστος*, *The elder* : For both his names were the same with Those of the younger.

XLII. When he thought he had, now, secured his power, he suborned the most profligate of his faction to accuse many considerable men of capital crimes, for which he caused them to be tried. He began with such, as were his enemies, and did not approve of the deprivation of Tullius; and, then, accused all he thought uneasy under the change; and those, who had great riches. When the accusers brought these men to their trial, they charged them, one after another, with fictitious crimes; but, chiefly, with a conspiracy against the king; while he himself sat as judge, and condemned some of them to death, and others to banishment; and, seizing the fortunes of both, divided a small portion of these confiscations among the accusers, but reserved the greatest part to himself. Upon this, many men of great power, before they were condemned of the crimes they stood accused of, knowing the motives of their persecution, resolved, voluntarily, to leave the city to the tyrant; and the number of these was much greater than of the others: Some, who were men of note, were seized in their houses, and in the country, and, even, privately, murdered by him, whose bodies could not be found. After he had taken off the most valuable part of the senate by death, and banishment, he constituted another himself, by filling up the vacant seats with his own friends: But, even, these men were not allowed by him to do, or say any thing, but what he himself commanded: So that, the senators, who were left of Those, who had been elected into the senate in the reign of Tullius, having, till then, been in an opposition to the
interest

interest of the plebeians, and expected the alteration in the form of government would have turned to their advantage (for Tarquinius had, privately, made them such promises with a view of deluding, and amusing them) when they found they had, no longer, any share in the government, and that they themselves were deprived of their liberty, as well as the plebeians, they lamented their condition, the pressures of which they suspected would still be aggravated; but, having no power to oppose the measures, that were, then, pursued, they were forced to submit.

XLIII. The plebeians, seeing this, looked upon them, as, justly, punished, and were so weak, as to rejoice in their sufferings from an imagination that the senators alone would feel the weight of the tyranny, while they should be free from the danger of it: But, not long after, they themselves were, still more severely, treated: For the laws of Tullius, by which justice was, equally, administered to all the citizens, and, by which, they were secured from being injured by the patricians, as before, in their private transactions with them, were all taken away by Tarquinius, who did not leave, even, the tables, on which they were written; but ordered these also, to be taken out of the forum, and destroyed. After this, he abolished the method of taxing every man in proportion to his possessions; and revived the ancient custom of taxation: And, when he wanted to raise money, the poorest citizen contributed as much to it, as the rich. This alteration ruined a great number of plebeians; every man being, presently, obliged to pay
ten.

⁵² ten drachmae for his particular share of the first tax. He, then, forbid the holding of any of the assemblies, to which, before, the inhabitants of the villages, the members of the curiae, or the neighbours both in the city, and in the country, used to resort, in order to perform religious ceremonies, and sacrifices; lest a number of people, when met together, might form secret conspiracies to dethrone him. He had, in many places, spies, and inquirers into every thing, that was said, and done, who were undiscovered by the generality of the people; and, by insinuating themselves into the company of their neighbours, and, sometimes, by reviling the tyrant themselves, founded every man's sentiments: After which, they informed the tyrant of all, who were dissatisfied with the present situation of affairs; and those, who were convicted of this crime, were punished in a severe, and unrelenting manner.

XLIV. Neither was he satisfied with these illegal vexations of the people; but, selecting from among them such, as were of approved fidelity to himself, and fit for war, he compelled the rest to work at the buildings in the city; looking upon monarchies to be exposed to the greatest danger, when the worst, and the poorest sort of the citizens live in idleness: He was, also, induced to this by his desire of perfecting, during his own reign, the works his grandfather had left half finished; and, not only, to carry on the common shores to the river, which the other had begun,

⁵² Δραχμας δέκα. By Arbuthnot's tables, a drachma makes seven pence three farthings of our money; conse-

quently, ten drachmae will amount to six shillings, five pence, and one half-penny.

but,

but, also, to surround the circus, which had been carried up no higher than the plinth, with covered porticos. In these undertakings, all the poor were set to work; and, during that time, he supplied them with provisions in a sparing manner: Some of them were employed in cutting down timber; others in driving the waggons, that were loaded with it; and some in carrying the burdens themselves upon their shoulders; others in digging subterraneous drains, and conduits, and turning arches in them; in raising porticos, and serving the several workmen, who were employed in these things; and founders, carpenters, and masons were taken from all the private buildings, and forced to continue in the service of the public. Thus, the people, being worn out in these works, had no rest: So that, the patricians, seeing their hardships, and servitude, rejoiced in their turn, and forgot their own miseries; but neither of them endeavoured to put a stop to these proceedings.

XLV. Tarquinius, considering that princes, who, instead of deriving their power from the law, have obtained it by arms, ought to strengthen themselves, not only, with a national, but, also, with a foreign, support, earnestly endeavoured to gain the friendship of Octavius Mamilius, the most illustrious, and most powerful man of the Latin nation, by giving his daughter to him in marriage: This person was descended from Telegonus, the son of Ulysses, and Circe, and lived in the city of Tusculum; he was looked upon as a man of singular prudence in civil affairs, and a good commander. Having gained the friendship of this

person, and, by his means, That of the most considerable magistrates in every city, he, now, resolved to try his strength in foreign wars, and to march with his army against the Sabines, who refused to obey his orders, and looked upon themselves as disengaged from their treaties by the death of Tullius, with whom they had entered into those treaties. After he had taken this resolution, he sent messengers to invite to the council at ⁵³ Ferentinum, all those, who had been accustomed to be present there on the behalf of the Latin nation; and appointed a day, pretending his design was to consult with them concerning some affairs of great importance to the public: These, therefore, appeared; but Tarquinius, who had summoned them, did not come at the time appointed. After the deputies had been, long, assembled, and the greatest part of them looked upon this behaviour as an insult, a certain person, who lived in the city of ⁵⁴ Corilla, a powerful man, both by his riches, and his friends, and indued with military bravery, as well as civil eloquence, whose name was Turnus Herdonius, being a rival to Mamilius for power, and, through Mamilius, an enemy to Tarquinius, because he had chosen him for his son-in-law preferably to himself, greatly inveighed against

53. Εν Φερεντίνῳ. See the twenty ninth annotation on the third book.

54. Εν πόλει Κοριλλῆ. I do not look upon this city to have been the same with *Corioli*, though I find some learned men are of that opinion; because the abridger of Stephanus distinguishes these cities; Κοριλλᾶ, πόλις Λατίνων.

Διονυσίος· τέλειψεν Ρωμαϊκῆς Αρχαιολογίας, which, I dare say, is the passage, now, before us; το ἐθνικόν, Κοριλλᾶνοι. Κοριλλᾶ, πόλις τῆς Ἰταλίας. Διονυσίος. το ἐθνικόν Κοριλλᾶνος. * Livy makes Herdonius to have been of *Aricia*. *Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia forociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus.*

* B. i. c. 50.

Tarquinius ; and, having enumerated all the other actions of the man, on which any marks of pride, and arrogance could be fixed, he laid a particular stress upon his not appearing at an assembly, which he himself had summoned, when all the rest were present. But Mamilius excused Tarquinius ; and, attributing his delay to some necessary occasion, desired the assembly might be adjourned to the next day ; which the deputies of the Latines were prevailed on to consent to.

XLVI. The next day, Tarquinius appeared, and the assembly being held, he excused his delay in few words, and, presently, entered upon the argument of the sovereignty, which he insisted he had a right to, since Tarquinius, his grandfather, had acquired it by the right of war, and enjoyed it ; and, then, produced the treaties, entered into between Tarquinius, and the cities relating thereto. And, having said a great deal in favor of his right, and concerning the treaties, and promised great advantages to the cities, in case they adhered to the terms of those treaties, he, at last, endeavoured to prevail upon them to join him with their forces in his expedition against the Sabines. When he had done speaking, Turnus rose up ; and, after he had censured his not appearing at the assembly the day before, he dissuaded the deputies from yielding to him the sovereignty, which, he said, he was not intitled to in justice, neither was it consistent with the interest of the Latines to yield it to him ; and dwelt, long, upon both these points : He said that the treaties they had made with his grandfather, when

they granted to him the sovereignty, were dissolved by his death, it not having been added to those treaties that the same grant should descend to his posterity; and shewed that the man, who pretended to inherit the grants, made to his grandfather, was, of all men, the most unjust, and most abandoned: And, having laid open all the enormous actions he had been guilty of in order to possess himself of the sovereignty of Rome, he, at last, shewed them, that he did not, even, hold That according to the laws, and with the consent of the people, like the former kings, but, with arms, and violence; and that, having established a tyranny, he had put some of the citizens to death, banished others, deprived others of their fortunes, and taken from them all the liberty both of speaking, and acting; and he said that it would be an instance of great folly, and madness to expect any thing good, and beneficent from a wicked, and impious mind; and to imagine that a man, who had not spared such, as were nearest to him both in blood, and friendship, would spare those, who were strangers to him in both; and he advised them, before they received the yoke of slavery, to learn, from the misfortunes of others, what they themselves were to expect, and, vigorously, to oppose the receiving it.

XLVII. After Turnus had, thus, inveighed against Tarquinius, many being, greatly, affected with his discourse, the latter desired the following day might be appointed for his defence; and, having obtained his request, and the council being dismissed, he assembled his most intimate friends, and consulted with them what was to be done in
the

the present juncture. While these were suggesting to him the points he should insist upon in his defence, and considering the measures he was to take to gain the affections of the people, Tarquinius himself said that nothing of this kind was of any use upon this occasion; and declared an opinion peculiar to himself, which was, not to clear himself of the accusation, but to destroy the accuser. This resolution being applauded by all, and the means of carrying it into execution debated, he formed a design for that purpose, the ⁵⁵ least likely of all others to be foreseen by any man, and guarded against: For, having found out the most

55. Ηκιστα δυναμειω πεισεν εις προνοιαν ανθρωπινην και φυλακην. Thus translated by le Jay; *Tarquin sur le champ leur decouvrit son projet, qui ne seroit jamais venu dans la pens e   d'autres qu'  lui.* The other French translator has rendered the passage almost in the same words; *il employa des moyens, qui ne seroient jamais venus dans la pens e de tout autre que lui.* It must be owned that both these are very faithful versions of the Latin translation of Portus, *ex composito rem est aggressus, quae nunquam in mentem aliis venire potuisset*; but, if the reader pleases to compare them with the Greek text, he will find nothing there to justify this translation. Before I close this note, I must give my reasons for differing from the translators, both French and Latin, in rendering this passage, a few lines before, *ιδιαν δε γνωμην απεδεινυ*: They have given this sense to it, *Tarquinius delivered his own opinion*; as if our author had said *την   αυτης γνωμην*. I know

very well that *ιδιος* will bear the sense they have ascribed to it: But, if it had been used in that sense upon this occasion, the particle *την*, must, necessarily, have been prefixed to it, as it is in this expression *την   αυτης γνωμην*. I have therefore taken *ιδιος* in another signification, in which, every man, who is acquainted with the Greek language, knows it is, frequently, used; and, in my opinion, can be only taken here without the particle; that is, I have rendered it *peculiar*, as the opinion delivered by Tarquinius was suited to the fierce, and sanguinary character of the man. This sense of the word is, also, favoured by a reflexion of Livy upon this wicked contrivance of Tarquinius: ¹ He says that his design in it was to strike the same terror into the Latines, as he had infused into the Romans; *confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem, quo civium animos domi oppresserat, Latinis injiceret.*

¹B. i. c. 51.

profligate

profligate among those servants of Turnus, who conducted his sumpter horses with the baggage, he corrupted them with money, and, by that means, prevailed upon them to carry a number of swords, which he gave them, into the house, where their master lodged, and to hide them among his baggage. The next day, the assembly being fitting, Tarquinius rose up, and said that a short defence was sufficient to answer every thing, which had been alledged against him, and consented that his accuser himself should be the judge of all the accusations he had been charged with.

“ For Turnus, says he, gentlemen, who compose this assembly, did, as a judge, acquit me himself of every thing
“ he now charges me with, when he desired my daughter
“ in marriage ; but, being rejected as he deserved (for who
“ in his senses would have refused Mamilius, a person of the
“ highest birth, and greatest merit among the Latines, to
“ take this man for his son-in-law, who cannot count above
“ five generations in his family ?) in resentment for this, he,
“ now, comes to accuse me : Whereas, if he knew me to be
“ such a man he now describes me, he ought not to have
“ desired me for a father-in-law ; and, if he thought me a
“ man of worth, when he desired me to give him my
“ daughter in marriage, he ought not, now, to traduce me,
“ as a wicked man. So much concerning myself. But
“ you, gentlemen, who are exposed to the greatest of all
“ dangers, are not, now, to consider whether I am a good,
“ or a bad man, (for this you may inquire into afterwards)
“ but to provide both for your own safety, and the liberty
“ of

“ of your respective countries : For, designs are formed
 “ against the principal persons of every city, and against
 “ their magistrates by this fine demagogue ; and he is pre-
 “ pared, after he has put the most considerable of you to
 “ death, to make himself king of the Latines ; and is
 “ come hither with this view. I do not speak this from
 “ conjecture, but from my certain knowledge, having, last
 “ night, received information of it from one of the accom-
 “ plices in his conspiracy : And I will give you an incon-
 “ testible proof of what I say, if you will go to his lodging,
 “ by shewing you the arms, that are concealed there.”

XLVIII. After he had said this, they were all in fear for
 their own safety, and cried out to him to prove the fact, and
 not to impose upon them. And Turnus, unapprized of the
 treachery, cheerfully submitted to the examination, and invited
 the deputies to search his lodging, saying, that one of these
 two things ought to insue from it, either that he himself be
 put to death, if he were found to have provided more arms
 than were necessary for his journey, or that the person, who
 had accused him falsely, be punished. This was approved
 of ; and those, who went to his lodging, found the swords,
 which had been hid among his baggage by the servants.
 After which, they would not suffer Turnus to say any thing
 more in his defence, but cast him into a pit ; and, burying
 him alive, soon dispatched him. The whole assembly ap-
 plauded Tarquinius, as a common benefactor to their cities,
 for having saved the lives of the most considerable men ;
 and appointed him sovereign of the nation upon the same
 terms.

terms they had, first, granted that dignity to his grandfather; and, after him, to Tullius; and, having ingraved the treaty on pillars, and confirmed it by their oaths, they dissolved the assembly.

XLIX. After Tarquinius had obtained the sovereignty over the Latines, he sent embassadors to the cities of the Hernici, and to Those of the Volsci, to invite them, also, to enter into a treaty of friendship, and alliance with him. The former, unanimously, voted in favor of the alliance: But, of the latter, the ⁵⁶ Echetrani, and ⁵⁷ Antiates, only, accepted the invitation. And, to the end that the treaty, made by him with those cities, might continue for ever, Tarquinius resolved to appoint a temple in common to the Romans, the Latines, the Hernici, and to such of the Volsci, as had entered into the alliance, with this view, that, resorting together to the appointed place, they might celebrate a general festival, and share in the feast, and common sacrifices. This proposal being, chearfully, accepted by all of them, he chose for their assembly a place, nearly, in the middle of the nation, being a high hill, which commands the city of the

⁵⁶ Εχέτρανοι. Their city is, always, called *Ectra* by Livy, and belonged to the Volsci. It stood upon the mountains almost to the east of *Anagnia*.

⁵⁷ Αντιάται. *Antium* was the capital of the Volsci. The promontory, on which this city, formerly, stood, is, still, called ^m *Capo d'Anzo*. *Antium* was famous for its temple of Fortune;

O Diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
says ⁿ Horace, when Augustus was designing to do us the honor of a visit. This temple was adorned with most magnificent presents: I have not heard that the church of S. Biagio, which is built on the same spot, and for the same purpose, has had the same success.

^m Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 7.

ⁿ B. i. Od. 35.

Albans :

Albans: Upon this hill, he enacted that an annual festival should be celebrated; during which, they were to abstain from all acts of hostility against all men, and to perform common sacrifices to Jupiter, called *Latiaris*, and feast together; and he appointed the share each city was to contribute towards these sacrifices, and the portion each of them was to receive. The cities, that partook of this festival, and sacrifice, were forty seven. And these festivals, and sacrifices the Romans perform to this day, and call them, ⁵⁸ *Ferias Latinas, The Latin Festivals*. And some of the cities, that partake of them, carry thither lambs; some, cheeses; others, a certain measure of milk; and others, something of this nature, as a kind of cake: And there being one bull, sacrificed in common by all of them, each city receives its appointed share: The sacrifices they offer are for the good of all; and the Romans have the superintendence over them.

L. After he had strengthened his government with these alliances also, he resolved to lead an army against the Sabines; and, having made choice of such of the Romans, as he, least, suspected of any design to use the arms they were to be trusted with for asserting their liberty, and added to them

⁵⁸ Λατίναις. These holy days were called *Feriae Latinae*, and, also, simply, *Latinae*. The consuls, and praetors, were obliged to celebrate these on the Alban hill before they went to their provinces. The same passage in ° Livy that confirms the first of these assertions, will, also, confirm the other:

Romae consules, praetoresque usque ante diem v. cal. Mai. Latinae tenuerunt. eodie perpetrato sacro in monte, in suas quisque provincias profiscuntur. I have said *Jupiter Latiaris*, because he is called so by the same ^p author: Jovique *Latiari solenne sacrum in monte faceret.*

• B. xxv. c. 12.

† B. xxi. c. 63.

the auxiliary forces of his allies, which, many times, exceeded the number of his own troops, he laid waste the enemy's country ; and, having defeated those, who opposed him, in an engagement, he marched against the Pometini, who inhabited the city of ⁵⁹ Sueffa, the most flourishing people of all their neighbours ; and, through the excess of their prosperity, looked upon as troublesome, and grievous to them all. The reasons of his making war upon this people, was, that, having complained of some robberies, and spoils they had committed, and demanded satisfaction, they had returned a haughty answer : And now, as they expected the war, they were ready, and in arms to receive him. Tarquinius, engaged their army upon the frontiers of their country, and killed many of them ; and, having put the rest to flight, and shut them up within the walls of their town, and they not stirring out, after that, to hazard another engagement, he incamped near the city ; and, surrounding it with a ditch, fortified with palisades, he assaulted the walls without intermission. The inhabitants sustained the assaults, and bore the fatigues of a siege for a considerable time ; but, their provisions failing, their strength being spent, and they without succours, or rest, the same men being both night, and day upon duty, they were taken by storm. Being, now, master of the town, he put to death all he found in arms, and abandoned to his soldiers their wives, and children, and such, as suffered themselves to be

⁵⁹ Σχεσσαί. This was a city of the Volsci, and called *Sueffa Pometia*, to distinguish it from *Sueffa Arunca*, that lay on the east of the Liris.

made prisoners, together with a multitude of servants, not easy to be numbered; and he, also, gave them leave to carry away all the plunder both of the town, and country. As to the silver, and gold, that was found there, he ordered it all to be brought to one place; and, having reserved a tenth part of it to ⁶⁰ build a temple, he distributed the rest among his soldiers. The quantity of silver, and gold, taken upon this occasion, was so considerable, that every one of the soldiers received, for his share, ⁶¹ five minae of silver; and the tenth part, reserved for the gods, amounted to no less than ⁶² four hundred talents.

LI. While he was at Sueffa, he received the news that the choice of the Sabine youth had made an irruption into the territories of the Romans in two bodies, and were laying waste their country; one of them being incamped near Eretum; and the other, near Fidenae; and that, unless some forces were sent against them, every thing there would

⁶⁰. Εἰς καίεσκευὴν ἱερὸν. This was the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, the figure of which our author will describe in this book.

⁶¹. Πεντε μινᾶς ἀργυρίῳ. According to Arbuthnot's tables, the mina amounted to 3*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* of our money; consequently, each soldier received 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.*

⁶². Τετρακκοσίων ὀμίων γενεῖσσι ταλάντων. According to the foregoing tables, a talent was worth 193*l.* 15*s.* of our money; consequently, 400 talents will amount to 77,500 pounds sterling. This account, I imagine, our author

took from Fabius; because ⁹ Livy quotes him for saying that the sum amounted to 400 talents: *eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim, quadringenta ea sola talenta fuisse.* Livy, indeed, makes the whole of the booty, taken at Sueffa, to have amounted to no more: Whereas, our author makes this sum to be only the tenth part of the gold, and silver, taken there: If so, the whole must have amounted to 775,000 pounds; which is much more likely; since Dionysius represents Sueffa *Pometia* to have been the most flourishing city in those parts.

⁹ B. i. c. 55.

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be destroyed. When Tarquinius heard this, he left a small part of his army at Sueffa, to guard both the spoils, and the baggage; and led the rest of the forces, prepared for expedition, against that body of the Sabines, which was posted near Eretum; and incamped upon an eminence, within a small distance of the enemy: And the generals of the Sabines resolving to send for the forces, that lay near Fidenae, and to come to an engagement the next morning, by break of day, Tarquinius had notice of their design (for the messenger, who was carrying the letter from these generals to the others, had been taken) and availed himself of this fortunate incident, by the following stratagem: He divided his army into two bodies, and sent one of them, privately in the night, to possess themselves of the road, that leads from Fidenae to Eretum; and, drawing up the other by sun rise, he marched out of his camp with a design to engage. The Sabines, seeing the small number of the enemy, and not doubting but their other army from Fidenae would, presently, come up, boldly marched out against them. These armies, therefore, engaged, and the battle was for a long time doubtful: When the forces, which had been detached by Tarquinius the night before, turned back, and prepared to attack the Sabines in the rear. These, seeing them advance, and knowing them by their arms, and their ensigns, were confounded; and, throwing down their arms, endeavoured to save themselves by flight: But this was impracticable; the greatest part of them being surrounded by the enemy; and the Roman horse, pressing upon them on all sides, stopped their
their

their passage : So that, only a few saved themselves by flying from the danger : But the greatest part were either killed by the enemy, or surrendered. Neither was there any resistance made, even, by those, who were left in the camp, which was taken at the first onset ; where, together with the effects of the Sabines, all Those belonging to the Romans, besides many prisoners, were taken undamaged, and restored to the owners.

LII. After Tarquinius had succeeded in his first design, he marched against the rest of the Sabines, who were incamped near Fidenæ, and who had not yet received intelligence of the defeat of their companions. It happened that these, also, had quitted their camp, before the enemy approached, and were, already, upon their march ; when, coming near to the Roman army, they saw the heads of their commanders fixed upon pikes (for the others exposed them to their sight in order to strike them with terror,) and, finding their other army was destroyed, they, no longer, shewed any signs of bravery ; but, having recourse to supplications, and intreaties, they surrendered. The Sabines, having lost both their armies in so shameful, and weak a manner, were reduced to great straits ; and, fearing lest their cities should be taken by a sudden attempt, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace, offering to submit to Tarquinius, and pay tribute for the future : Who, having made peace with them, and received the submission of their cities, upon the same terms they had desired, returned to Suessa. From thence, he marched, with the forces he had left there,

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the spoils he had taken, and the rest of his baggage, to Rome ; bringing back his army loaded with riches. After that, he made many incursions, also, into the country of the Volsci ; sometimes, with his whole army, and, sometimes, with part of it ; and made himself master of a considerable booty. But, while most of his undertakings succeeded to his wish, a war broke out from his neighbours, which proved, not only, of long continuance (for it lasted seven years without intermission) but, also, considerable by the afflicting, and unexpected circumstances, with which it was attended. From what causes it sprung, and by what event it was concluded, since it was brought to a period by a deceitful artifice, and an unexpected stratagem, shall be related in the fewest words possible.

LIII. There was a city of the Latines, which had been founded by the Albans, and was distant from Rome one hundred stadia, standing upon the road, that leads to ⁶³ Praeneste : The name of this city was Gabii : All the parts of it are not, now, inhabited, but, only, Those, that lie next the road, and are designed for the reception of strangers : But it was then very populous, and inferior to none in extent. One may judge both of its extent, and magnificence, by observing the ruins of the buildings in many places, and the circumference of the walls, the greatest

⁶³ Πραηνεστον, Γαβίαις. *Praeneste*, now called, ^r *Palestrina*, lies twenty Roman miles to the north east of Rome ; and, about half way between them, stood the city of *Gabii*, of which nothing

but a few ruins are to be seen ; near which ruins, there is, now, an inn, standing on the road, called by the Italians, *L'Osteria del Finocchio*.

^r Cluver, *Ital. Antiq.* B. iii p. 950, and 956.

part of which is, still, standing. In this city, some of the Pometini, who had escaped from Sueffâ, when Tarquinius took their town, and many of the banished Romans had taken refuge. These, by earnestly intreating the Gabini to revenge the injuries they had received; and, by promising great rewards, if they were restored to their country; and, also, by shewing the destruction of the tyrant, not only, possible, but easy to be effected by the concurrence of those at Rome, prevailed upon them, with the assistance of the Volsci (for these, also, had sent ambassadors to them, and desired their alliance) to enter into a war against Tarquinius. After this, both the Gabini, and the Romans made incursions into, and laid waste, one another's territories with great armies; and, as it, generally, happens, sometimes, encountered in small parties, and, at others, with all their forces; in which actions, the Gabini, often, put the Romans to flight; and, after they had pursued them to the gates of Rome, and killed many, they ravaged their country with impunity. On the other side, the Romans, often, defeated the Gabini; and, having shut them up within their walls, carried off their slaves, together with a great booty.

LIV. These things happening perpetually, both of them were obliged to fortify the fastnesses of their respective territories, and to place a guard there for the security of the husbandmen: From whence, they sallied out in a body; and, falling upon the parties, that went out to plunder, and the small detachments from the grand army, which, from a contempt of the enemy, observed no order, as is usual in forages,

forages, they cut them in pieces: And both of them were, also, obliged, from an apprehension of the sudden assaults of the other, to fortify those parts of their towns, that were weak, and easy to be scaled, with walls, and ditches. Tarquinius was, particularly, active in taking these precautions, and employed a great number of workmen in strengthening those ⁶⁴ parts of the city walls, that lay next to the town of Gabii, by widening the ditch, raising the walls, and encreasing the number of the towers: For, in this part, the city seemed to be the weakest, the rest of the circuit being, tolerably, secure, and difficult of access. However, a misfortune, common to all cities in long wars, when the country is laid waste by the continual incursions of the enemy, and the fruits of the earth destroyed, threatened both, which was, a scarcity of all provisions, and dreadful apprehensions of future calamities: But the want of necessaries was, more sensibly, felt by the Romans, than by the Gabini; and the poorer sort among the former, who suffered most by it, thought a treaty ought to be entered into with them, and an end put to the war upon their own terms.

LV. While Tarquinius was labouring under these misfortunes, and neither willing to make peace upon dishonourable terms, nor able to support himself, any longer,

⁶⁴ Καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς τὰς Γαβίους
 φερὸν τὰ περιβολὰς. I find, Sylburgius
 has quoted a passage out of ^s Pliny
 upon this occasion, which relates to
 this rampart, raised by Tarquinius for
 the defence of the city against the Ga-
 bini: *Clauditur ab oriente (urbs Romae)*

*aggere Tarquinii Superbi inter prima
 opere mirabili. namque cum muris aqua-
 vit, quâ maxime patebat aditu plano.*
 This rampart was erected between the
 gates Esquilina, and Collina, that part
 of Rome lying next to Gabii.

^s Nat. Hist. B. iii. c. 5.

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but was contriving all sorts of schemes, and framing guiles of every kind, ⁶⁵ Sextus, the eldest of his sons, communi-

⁶⁵ Ο πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν υἱῶν—Σεξτος ἐνέμα. Our author, and Livy differ, in many things, relating to Sextus Tarquinius. The former makes him, as we see, the eldest son of Tarquinius; and the latter, the youngest; ^t *Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus erat.* Livy says that Sextus was slain at Gabii, presently after his father's expulsion; ^u *Sextus Tarquinius Gabios, tanquam in regnum suum profectus, ab ultoribus veterum simultatum, quas sibi ipse caedibus rapinisque conciverat, interfectus est.* On the other side, ^w our author introduces Sextus fourteen years after, at the battle, fought near the lake *Regillus*, in which he commanded the left wing of the Latines, and was there slain. And, here, I cannot help taking notice of a passage in our author relating to this battle, which will confirm what ^x I, before, asserted, viz. that his history appeared before That of Livy. In describing this battle, Dionysius, very justly, censures Licinius, and Gellius for saying that Tarquinius, the father, then, near ninety years of age, was present at this battle, fought on horseback, and was wounded there. This ^y Livy, who, very probably, followed those authors, also, asserts; *Tarquinius Superbus, quanquam jam ætate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit; idusque ab latere, concursu suorum, receptus in tutum est.* Now, if the history of Livy had, then,

been published, as he laid himself open to the same censure, he would, no doubt, have had his share in it. When Dionysius, and Livy disagree, I know no other historian of authority enough to decide the difference. But, as the former is, justly, looked upon to be more diligent and exact, I believe his opinion will, generally, have the preference. This stratagem of Sextus Tarquinius, and the silent method, by which his father advised him to take off the principal men at Gabii, verify ^z an observation of Thucydides, that the same, or the like incidents happen, frequently, in the course of human affairs. This gave occasion to our author, in his remarks upon that passage of ^a Thucydides, to say that *history is philosophy derived from examples*, ἱστορία φιλοσοφία ἐστὶν ἐκ παραδεισμάτων. This imposition of Sextus bears so great an analogy with That, made use of by Zopyrus, in all its circumstances, as well as in the event, that I am inclined to think a short account of it from ^b Herodotus will not be displeasing to the reader. The city of Babylon had revolted from Darius, the son of Hystaspes; and, expecting to be besieged by him, had furnished their magazines with so great a quantity of provisions, that Darius lay before it a year and seven months without any hopes of reducing it. This disappointment gave him great anxiety; when

^t B. i. c. 53.

^u Id. ib. c. 60.

^w B. vi. c. 12.

^x See the eighth annot. on the first book.

^y B. ii. c. 19.

^z B. i. c. 22.

^a Εὐ τεχν. c. 11.

^b In Thalia, c. 152, and the following chapter.

cated to him, in private, a design he had formed; and his father, who thought the enterprize bold, and full of danger, but not impossible to be accomplished, having given him leave to act as he thought fit, he pretended a difference with his father about putting an end to the war; and, having been whipped with rods, by his order, in the forum, and received other indignities to render the thing notorious, he, first, sent some of his most intimate friends, as deserters, to inform the Gabini, in confidence, that he had resolved to repair to them, and make war against his father, provided he had assurances given him that they would protect him, as well as the rest of the Roman fugitives, and not deliver him up to his father, with a view of putting an end to their private quarrels with the greater advantage. The Gabini receiving this proposal with joy, and engaging themselves not to offer any ill treatment to him, contrary to the laws of hospitality, he went over to them, attended with many of his friends, and clients, as deserters: And, in order to encrease

Zopyrus, a man of great distinction among the Persians, and the son of Megabyzus, one of the seven Persian noblemen, who destroyed the Magi, and put an end to that usurpation, resolved to take the city, and to have the sole merit of taking it. To this purpose, he cut off his own nose, and ears, disfigured his hair (which was, and, still, is a mark of the greatest ignominy among the eastern nations) and tore his body with whips. In this condition, he presented himself before Darius, and asked him leave to desert to the Babylonians, not doubting but the

ignominious treatment, he should tell them, he had received from his prince, would so far recommend him to their confidence, that, in a short time, he should be intrusted with the command of their forces, and, by that means, be enabled to deliver up the city to Darius. All his expectations were answered; and, by this stratagem, his prince became master of Babylon; and, as a punishment for her revolt, pulled down the gates, and rased those famous walls, that are so much celebrated in ancient history.

their

their confidence in the reality of his revolt from his father, he carried a great deal of silver, and gold with him. Many, afterwards, flocked to him from Rome, pretending to fly from the tyranny of Tarquinius; and, by this time, he had a strong body of men about him. The Gabini looked upon the numbers, who came over to them, as a great accession of strength, and made no doubt of reducing Rome in a short time: Their delusion was, still, encreased by the actions of this rebel to his father, who, continually, made excursions into the country, and, always, returned with a great booty. For his father, knowing beforehand, to what parts he would direct his march, took care there should be a great deal of plunder in those places, and that the country should be unguarded; and, always, sent thither those citizens he suspected, as to certain destruction. All this induced the Gabini to consider the man, as, firmly, attached to their interest, and as a great commander; and many, also, being corrupted by him, they created him general with unlimited authority.

LVI. After Sextus had obtained so great power by treachery, and imposition, he sent one of his domestics to his father, without the knowledge of the Gabini, both to inform him of the dignity he was invested with, and to receive his directions concerning his future conduct. Tarquinius, who was unwilling that, even, the servant should be acquainted with the directions he sent to his son, carried the former into a garden, that lay before the palace: It happened that, in this garden, there were poppies growing, then full of heads, and fit to be gathered; and, walking among these,

he was observed, always, to strike off the heads of the tallest poppies with his stick. After he had done this, he sent away the messenger without giving him any answer, though, often, required ; in which, he seems to me to have imitated the thought of ⁶⁶Thraſybulus, the Mileſian : For he returned no answer to Periander, then tyrant of Corinth, by the messenger he sent to him to know, what measures would be the firmest support of his power ; but, ordering the man to follow him into a field of wheat, and breaking off the ears, that stood above the rest, he threw them upon the ground ; thereby, intimating that Periander ought to cut off, and destroy the most considerable of the citizens. Tarquinius, therefore, having done something like this, Sextus understood his meaning, and that he advised him to put to death the most eminent of the Gabini : Upon which, he assembled the people ; and, after he had said a great deal concerning himself, he told them, that he, and his friends, having fled to them upon the assurances they had given him, he was in danger of being seized by some people, and delivered up to his father ; that he was ready to resign his power ; and de-

^{66.} Την Θρασυβυλῆς τῆς Μιλήσιος διανοίαν. This story is told by ^cHerodotus in the same manner as our author relates it. Diogenes Laertius, also, attributes this advice to Thraſybulus, and gives the letter, which, ^dhe says, Thraſybulus writ to Periander, upon this occasion, to whom he explains his intention in breaking off the highest ears of corn. All this makes it the more extraordinary to find ^eAristotle attributing

the same advice to Periander, whom he supposes Thraſybulus to have consulted. The reflexion Aristotle makes is very singular, though, possibly, not ill grounded : He says that the counsel, given by Periander, is advantageous, not only, to tyrannies, and oligarchies, but, also, to democracies, in which the ostracism had the same effect of depressing, and banishing the most eminent citizens.

^c In Clio, c. 80.

^d Life of Periander.

^e Περὶ πολίτ. B. iii. c. 9.

fired to quit their city, before any mischief befel him; and, in faying this, he wept, and lamented his fate, like a man, whom the fear of death throws into a real agony.

LVII. The people, being inflamed by his discourse, earnestly desired he would name those, who had a design to betray him : Upon which, he named Antistius Petron, a man of the greatest distinction among the Gabini, who, by the many wise institutions he had been the author of in time of peace; and, by, often, commanding their armies, was become the most illustrious of all the citizens : And, when this person endeavoured to clear himself, and, from the consciousness of his innocence, submitted to any examination, the other said, he would send some of his friends to search his house; and that he himself would stay with him in the assembly, till the persons, sent for that purpose, should return. It seems, he had bribed some of the domestics of Petron to hide, in their master's house, some letters prepared for his destruction, and sealed with the seal of Tarquinius. The persons, sent to search his house (for Petron refused nothing, but suffered his house to be searched) having discovered the letters in the place, where they had been hidden, appeared in the assembly with many letters sealed up; and, among them, one addressed to Antistius; when Sextus said he knew his father's seal, and, breaking open the letter, gave it to the secretary, and ordered him to read it. The purport of the letter was, that Antistius should use his utmost endeavours to deliver up his son to him alive; but, if that were impossible, that he should send his head : And,
if

if he performed either of these services, Tarquinius assured him that he would grant both to him, and to those, who had assisted him in the action, besides the rewards he had, already, promised, the rights of Roman citizens, admit them all into the number of the patricians, and bestow on them houses, lands, and many other considerable presents. The Gabini, upon hearing these things, were so incensed against Antistius, who, struck with the unexpected misfortune, and a sense of his misery, was unable to say the least thing in his defence, that they stoned him to death; and appointed Sextus to inquire into, and punish, the crimes of his accomplices. In consequence of which, he committed the guard of the gates to his own creatures, lest any of the accused should make their escape; and, sending persons to the houses of the most considerable Gabini, put many worthy men to death.

LVIII. While these things were in agitation, there being a tumult in the city, the consequence of so great an evil, Tarquinius was informed, by letters, of all that passed; and, marching thither with his army, approached the city about the middle of the night; when the gates being opened by those, who were prepared to receive him, he entered with his forces, and made himself master of the city without any trouble. When this calamity came to be known, all the citizens lamented their condition from the consideration of the cruelty, and slavery they were exposed to, and expected all the severity, that tyrants, usually, inflict upon their prisoners; and, as the best, that could happen to them, they, already,

already, condemned themselves to slavery, to the loss of their fortunes, and to such like calamities: However, Tarquinius, though a wicked man, and inexorable in punishing his enemies, did not act, in any degree, in the manner they had expected, and feared: For he neither put to death, nor banished any of the Gabini, nor punished any of them with ignominy, or the loss of their fortunes: But, calling the people together, and acting the part of a king, rather than of a tyrant, he told them that he restored their city to them, and allowed them to enjoy the fortunes they were possessed of; and, besides, that, he granted to all of them the rights of Roman citizens: All which flowed from a view of strengthening himself in the possession of the government of Rome, not from a desire of gratifying the Gabini: For he looked upon the fidelity of those, who, contrary to their expectation, had been preserved, and had recovered their fortunes, as the greatest support both of himself, and his family. And, to the end that no fear might remain with them for the future, nor any doubt of the stability of his concessions, he ordered the terms of their mutual friendship to be set down in writing; and, having ratified the treaty immediately, in the assembly of the people, he took an oath upon the victims to observe it. There is, now, to be seen at Rome, in the temple of Jupiter Fidius (whom the Romans call * Sancus) a monument of this treaty, which is a wooden shield, covered with the hide of the ox, that was sacrificed, when they confirmed that treaty by their oaths; upon which

* See the eighty eighth annotation on the second book.

shield,

shield, are inscribed, in ancient characters, the terms of the convention, then, entered into. After Tarquinius had performed these things, he created his son Sextus king of the Gabini, and withdrew his army. And this was the event of the war with the Gabini.

LIX. After this transaction, Tarquinius gave the people a respite from military expeditions, and wars; and, being desirous to perform the vows, made by his grandfather, employed himself in building temples: For the latter, whilst he was engaged in an action, during his last war with the Sabines, made a vow to build temples to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, if he gained the victory; and had levelled the rock, on which he proposed to erect the temples to these deities, both with piles, and high mounds, as I mentioned in the former book: But he was prevented by death from building the temples. Tarquinius, therefore, proposing to erect this structure with the tenth part of the spoils, taken at Sueffa, appointed all the artificers to this work. Upon which occasion, it is said there happened a wonderful prodigy in the ground, where they were sinking the foundations; which was, that, after the work had been carried down to a great depth, there was found the head of a man, newly, killed, with the face like That of a living man, and the blood, which flowed from the abscission, warm and fresh. Tarquinius, seeing this prodigy, ordered the workmen to leave off digging; and, assembling the Roman soothsayers, inquired of them the signification of this prodigy: But they, being unable to return any answer, declared that the Tyr-
rhenians

rhenians were the only masters of this science; and, upon inquiry, he learned of them who was the ablest soothfayer among the Tyrrhenians, and sent the most considerable of the citizens to him in quality of ambassadors.

LX. When these came to the house of the soothfayer, they were met by a youth; and, after acquainting him that they were ambassadors, sent from Rome, who wanted to speak with the soothfayer, they desired he would introduce them to him: The youth replied, “The person you want
“to speak with is my father; he is busy at present; but, in
“a little time, you may be admitted to him: And, while
“you wait for him, acquaint me with the reason of your
“coming: For, if, through inexperience, you are in danger
“of committing a mistake in stating the question, when you
“have been informed by me, you will have the advantage
“of avoiding it; a proper question being not the least part
“of the ⁶⁷ prophetic doctrine.” The ambassadors resolved

⁶⁷ Τῶν ἐν μαντικῇ θεωρημάτων. ^f Cicero has translated θεωρημάτων *percepta*: For so we must read the word, in the following passage; not *praecepta*, as it stands in most editions; *percepta appello, quae dicuntur Graecè θεωρημάτων*. I have said *doctrine*; not only because this word comprehends all the theorems of every art, but also, because I can think of no other English word to convey this idea. The French translators have rendered this passage in a very extraordinary manner; they have, without any authority from the Greek text, cautioned the Roman ambassadors against committing any mistake in their

answers, as well as their questions; *rien n'est plus important pour vous, que d'être justes dans vos réponses, says le Jay*: And his countryman, *c'est le principal que de bien faire les demandes et les réponses*. Now, there is no such word here as ἀποκρίσις, nor any thing like it in this part of the Greek text to justify them in mentioning *answers*. By the way, it appears, very plainly, that this young fellow was sent by the Tuscan impostor to sift the Roman deputies, before they were admitted to him; a practice, very common with modern conjurers.

^f De fato, c. 6.

to follow his directions, and related the prodigy to him :
 Which when the youth heard, after a short pause, he said ;
 “ Hear me, Romans ; my father will interpret this prodigy
 “ to you, and will tell you no falsity : For that is a thing
 “ a soothfayer must not do ; and, to the end that you may
 “ be guilty of no error, nor insincerity, either in what you
 “ are to say to him, or in the answers you are to make
 “ to his questions (for it is of consequence to you to be ac-
 “ quainted with these things beforehand) receive these in-
 “ structions from me : After you have related the prodigy
 “ to him, he will tell you that he does not, thoroughly,
 “ understand what you say, and will circumscribe, with his
 “ stick, a certain spot of ground, and, then, tell you, this is the
 “ Tarpeian hill, and this part of it looks to the east ; this to
 “ the west ; this is the northern, and this the contrary part :
 “ These he will point out to you with his stick ; and, then,
 “ ask you in which of these parts the head was found.
 “ What answer, therefore, do I advise you to make ? Do
 “ not allow that the prodigy was found in any of the places
 “ he shall inquire after, when he points them out with his
 “ stick ; but say that it appeared among you at Rome on
 “ the Tarpeian hill. If you adhere to these answers, and
 “ do not suffer yourselves to be misled by him, he, well-
 “ knowing that fate cannot be changed, will tell you what
 “ the prodigy portends, and hide nothing from you.”

LXI. The embassadors, having received these instructions,
 as soon as the old man was at leisure, and they were called
 in, related the prodigy to the soothfayer ; who, endeavouring
 to

to mislead them, drew circular lines upon the ground; and, then, other straight lines; and, pointing to every single place, asked them where the head was found. The ambassadors, who were not, at all, disturbed at this, adhered to the answer, suggested to them by the soothsayer's son, naming, always, Rome, and the Tarpeian hill; and desired the interpreter of the prodigy not to appropriate the omen to his own country, but to answer in the most sincere, and just manner. The soothsayer, finding it impossible for him either to impose upon the ambassadors, or to appropriate the omen, said to them; "Romans, tell your fellow-citizens it is ordained by fate that the place, in which you found the head, shall be the head of all Italy." Since that time, the place is called the *Capitoline hill*, from the head, that was found there: For the Romans call κεφαλαια, *Capita*, *Heads*. Tarquinius, being informed of these things by the ambassadors, set the artificers to work; and built the greatest part of the temple; but was expelled before he could finish it: However, in the third consulship, the Romans completed the structure. It stood upon a high rock, and was ⁶⁸ eight hundred feet in circuit, each side containing near

⁶⁸. Οχλαπληθους την περιοδον. If the description of Rome, which, no doubt, our author gave his readers, according to his promise, had not been, unfortunately, lost in one of the nine books, which we have not, both my trouble in adding to, and explaining, this short description of the capitol would have been spared, and That of the reader in perusing it; with this difference, how-

ever, to his advantage, that, if I think myself obliged to make some observations on this temple, he is not obliged to read them. We find, here, that the capitol was, nearly, a square building containing 200 feet in length, and 185 some inches in breadth; though le Jay has thought fit to make it eight acres, (arpents) in circumference, which he has explained, in a note, to

two hundred: Since, upon comparing the length with the

make 1840 feet. ^ε I have, already, taken notice of this error in translating *πλεθρον*, *un arpent*; and shewn the Greek word to signify a measure of length, containing 100 feet. Another observation I am to make relates to a word, which I apprehend to be wanting in the text. Our author says that the first temple differed from the last in nothing but *τη τε πολυτελεια*; which conjunction shews, plainly, that something preceded it: This hiatus must be filled up, and I have supplied it by *μεγαλοπρεπεια*: My reason for supplying it with this word, besides the propriety of it, which seems to be explained by the vast number of columns with which this temple (as we are, presently after, told) was surrounded, is, that our author, in speaking of the *cloacae*, made by Tarquinius Priscus, joins these two expressions, *μεγαλοπρεπεια και σκευασματα*, and *των αναλωματων πολυτελειαν*. Another thing I shall speak to, is the word *αιλος*, which, I am sorry to say, none of the translators have understood: Portus has said, *sub iisdem pinnaculis*; Sylburgius, *sub eodem laqueari*; M.***, *sous un même faîte*; and le Jay, *sous la même couverture*. *Αἶλος*, and *Αἶωμα* were terms of architecture among the Greeks, signifying what we call, a *pediment*, from its resemblance to an eagle with her wings half extended. In this sense, the word is used by ^h Aristophanes;

Τας γὰρ ὑμῶν οἰκίας εἰσεφόμεν πρὸς Αἶετον.

Which is, thus, explained by ⁱ Julius Pollux in speaking of architecture, *σελασσομεν φασι πρὸς Αἶετῶμα*. *Αἶλος* is

called, by ^k Vitruvius, *fastigium*; and so the Latin translators ought to have rendered it in this place. I had the curiosity to see how Perrault had translated this term in his version of Vitruvius, and find he has rendered it, very properly, by *fronton*: If the French translators of Dionysius had consulted that version, I am apt to think they would have rendered it in the same manner. The burning of the capitol, said by our author to have happened in the generation before him, fell out in the year 671 of Rome, in the consulship of L. Scipio, and Cn. Norbanus. After that, it was rebuilt by Sylla upon the same foundations, and consecrated by Lutatius Catulus. It was, a second time, consumed by fire in the time of Vitellius, when Sabinus, brother to Vespasian, was, by the soldiers of Vitellius, besieged, and taken there.

^l *Iisdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam interjecto ccccxxv annorum spatio, L. Scipione, Cn. Norbano consulibus, flagravat. Curam victor Sulla suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati ejus negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen, inter tot Caesarum opera, usque ad Vitellium mansit, ea tunc aedes crenebatur.* The capitol was, again, rebuilt by Vespasian, and, again, destroyed by fire, immediately, after his death. ^m Domitian, his son, rebuilt, and consecrated it. *Ουεσπασιανος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀχρεὶ τέλῃς ἀναβάντων ἐπειδὴ γενομένου — ἅμα γὰρ τῷ τελευτῆσαι Ουεσπασιανόν ἐνεπρῆσθη τὸ Καπιτώλιον. ὁ δὲ τέλειος ἔτος ὑπὸ Δομιτιανῶς καὶ συνέβη λείπειν καὶ καθιερωθῆναι.*

^ε See the seventieth annotation on the third book.

^k Ciceron. *de*. 1110.

ⁱ B. vii. c. 27.

^k B. iii. c. 2.

^l Tacit. Hist. B. iii. c. 72.

^m Plutarch. Life of Poplicola.

width

width of it, the former does not exceed the latter by quite fifteen feet. For the temple, that was built, in the time of our fathers, upon the same foundations with the first, which was consumed by fire, is found to differ from the ancient temple in nothing, but in magnificence, and the richness of the materials, having three rows of columns in the south front, and two on each side: The body is divided into three temples, parallel to one another, the partition walls forming their common sides: The middle temple is dedicated to Jupiter; and, on one side, stands That of Juno; and, on the other, That of Minerva: And all three have but one pediment, and one roof.

LXII. It is said that, during the reign of Tarquinius, another very wonderful felicity, also, happened to the Romans, conferred upon them by the favor either of some god, or genius; the advantage of which was not of short duration; but, in all subsequent ages, they were, often, rescued by it from great calamities. A certain woman, not of that country, came to the tyrant in order to sell him nine books of the ⁶⁹ Sibylline oracles: But Tarquinius, not being willing to purchase the books at the price, that was asked for them, she went away, and burned three of them: And, not long after, bringing the remaining books, she demanded the same price for them. Upon this, she was thought to be out of her senses; and, being laughed at for asking the same price for fewer books, which she could not get for a greater number, she, again, went away, and burned half of those,

⁶⁹ Σιβυλλείων χειρισμῶν. See the 155th annotation on the first book.

that

that were left; and, bringing the remaining three books, asked the same price for these. Tarquinius, wondering at the design of the woman, sent for the augurs; and, acquainting them with the matter, asked them what he should do in it. These, knowing, by certain signs, that he had rejected a favor, sent him by the gods; and, declaring it to be a great misfortune that he had not purchased all the books, directed him to pay the woman all the money she asked, and to get the remainder of the oracles into his possession. The woman, having delivered the books, and desired him to take great care of them, disappeared. Tarquinius committed these books to the custody of two persons of distinction, whom he chose among the citizens, and added to them two public officers; one of whom, by name, Marcus Aetilius, being thought to want fidelity, and, also, accused, by one of the public officers, of having murdered his father, he ordered him to be sewed up in a ⁷⁰ neats leather bag, and thrown into the sea. But, after the expulsion of the kings, the commonwealth, taking upon herself the superintendence of these oracles, committed the care of them to persons of the greatest distinction, who are intrusted with it during life; and excused from bearing arms, and from all civil employments;

⁷⁰ Εἰς ἀστρον ἐρράψας βοείον. This bag, made of neats leather, was called *culleus*, by the Romans, and was the punishment ordained by their law for the dreadful crime of parricide: Into this bag the criminal was put, together with a monkey, a cock, and a serpent, and,

then, thrown into the sea. ⁿ Juvenal says that Nero deserved to be, doubly, punished in this manner;

*Cujus supplicio non debuit una parari
Simia, nec serpens unus, nec culleus unus.*

ⁿ Sat. viii. §. 113.

and

and appointed public officers to assist them in the execution of their trust; in whose absence she does not allow the others to inspect the oracles. Upon the whole, there is nothing religious, or sacred in the possession of the Romans, of which they are so careful as of the Sibylline oracles. These they consult by order of the senate, when the commonwealth is rent by sedition, or some great misfortune has happened to them in their wars, or some prodigies, and signal appearances have been seen, which cannot, easily, be explained, as it has, often, happened. These oracles remained in the custody of ten men, preserved in a stone chest, and hidden under ground in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter until the time of the war, called the Marfic war. But the temple being ⁷¹ burned, after the expiration of the hundred and seventy third Olympiad, either by design, as some think, or by accident, these oracles, together with all the offerings consecrated to that god, were consumed by the fire. Those, which are, now, extant, have been collected from many places; some, from the cities of Italy; others, from Erythrae in Asia, ambassadors having been sent thither, by order of the senate, to copy them; and others were brought from other cities, transcribed by private persons; of which some are found to be inserted among the Sibylline oracles: However, they are discoverable by what they call the ⁷² acrostics.

⁷¹ Εμπρησθεις τὸ ναὸν. This was the first fire, spoken of in the former note.

⁷² Ταῖς καλεσμέναις ἀκροστικαῖς. "This is a proof (if any proof at all is neces-

sary at this time) that the modern Sibylline oracles, spoken of before, are an imposture; since it is plain that none of them are written in *acrostics*.

* See the 155th annotation on the first book.

The observations I have made upon this subject are taken from the theological essay of Terentius Varro.

LXIII. After Tarquinius had performed these actions both in peace, and war, he founded two colonies; one of which he planted at a place, called ⁷³ Signia, not with design, but by accident; the soldiers, who were in winter quarters there, having formed their camp in such a manner, as not to differ, in any respect, from a city. But it was with design that he settled a colony at ⁷⁴ Circeii; because the place was, advantageously, situated in regard both to the plain of the Pometini, which is the largest of all the country of the Latines, and to the sea, that is contiguous to it. For it is a rock, in the nature of a peninsula, reasonably high, and runs into the Tyrrhene sea; which rock, it is said, was inhabited by Circe, the daughter of the sun: He assigned both these colonies to two of his sons, as their founders, giving Circeii to Aruns; and Signia to Titus. And, being, now, no longer, in any fear of losing his power, he was, by reason of an

as some of these Sibylline oracles, certainly, were; and of both it may be, truly, said, that one imposture was grafted upon another. ^p Cicero, as well as our author, says the Sibylline verses, I mean, Those collected after the first oracles were burned, were in *acrostics*; *tum vero ea, quae acrostichis dicuntur, cum deinceps ex primis versuum literis aliquid connectitur—utque in Sibyllinis ex primis versuum cujusque sententiae literis illius sententiae carmen omne pertexitur.*

⁷³ Σῆνια. Thus we must read the

name of this town with the Vatican manuscript; because we find, by ^a Livy, that Tarquinius planted a colony at *Signia*. *Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit.* ^r *Signia* stood to the east of *Suessa Pometia*, and is, now, called *Segni*.

⁷⁴ Κίρκυια. In Latin, *Circeii*, a town standing on a promontory, running into the Tuscan sea, called *Circaeum*. Some of the ruins of this town are, still, to be seen, and are called, by the inhabitants, ^s *La città vecchia*.

^p De Divinat. B. ii. c. 54. ^a B. i. c. 56. ^r Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. ^s Id. ib. c. 7. abuse,

abuse, committed by Sextus, his eldest son, upon the person of a woman, whom he ravished, expelled both from the sovereignty, and the city. Of this calamity, so fatal to his family, heaven had forewarned him by many omens ; particularly, by this last : Two eagles, coming in the spring to a place near the palace, made their airy upon the top of a high palm tree ; and, while the young eagles were, yet, unfledged, a flock of vulturs, flying to the airy, destroyed it, and killed the young ones : When the eagles returned from prey, the vulturs tore them with their beaks, and talons ; and, striking them with their wings, drove them from the palm tree. Tarquinius, seeing these omens, used all possible precautions to avert his destiny, but proved unable to conquer fate : For the patricians conspiring against him, and the people concurring with them, he was dethroned. Who the authors were of this insurrection against him, and, by what means, they got the government into their hands, I shall endeavour to relate in few words.

LXIV. Tarquinius was, then, besieging the city of the ⁷⁵ Ardeates ; his pretence for it was, that they had received the Roman fugitives, and were assisting them in their endeavours to return to Rome : However, the truth was, that he had formed an insidious design against this city, the most flourishing in all Italy, in order to possess himself of its riches. But, as the Ardeates, bravely, defended themselves, and the siege was of long continuance, both the Romans, who were in the camp, being fatigued with the length of it, and

⁷⁵ Ἀρδεαίων. See the seventh annotation on this book.

Those, at Rome, exhausted with taxes, were ready to revolt on the first opportunity. At this time, Sextus, the eldest son of Tarquinius, being sent by his father to a city, called ⁷⁶ Collatia, to execute some commission, relating to the present war, lodged at the house of Lucius Tarquinius, his relation, surnamed Collatinus: This man is said by Fabius to have been the son of Egerius, whom I have, before, shewn to have been the son of the brother of Tarquinius, the first king of that name, and that, being appointed governor of Collatia, he was, not only, called Collatinus himself from his living in that city, but, also, left the same surname to his posterity. But, for my part, I am persuaded that he, also, was the grandson of Egerius, if he was of the same age with the sons of Tarquinius, as Fabius, and the greatest part of the historians have asserted: For chronology confirms the opinion I have embraced. Now, it happened that Collatinus was, then, at the camp; but his wife, who was a Roman lady, and the daughter of Lucretius, a person of distinction, received him, as a relation of her husband, with great cheerfulness, and civility. This lady, who excelled all the Roman women in beauty, as well as virtue, Sextus undertook to deflower; a design he had, long before, entertained, when he used to visit his relation; and thought he had, now, a proper opportunity of carrying it into execution. Going, therefore, to bed after supper, he contained himself great part of the night; and, when he thought all the family was asleep, he got up; and, coming to the room,

⁷⁶. Κολλατεια. See the forty ninth annotation on the third book.

where

where he knew Lucretia lay, without being discovered by her domestics, who lay asleep at the door, he went into the room with a sword in his hand.

LXV. And, coming to her bed side, the noise waked her; and she asking who it was, he told her his name, and bid her be silent, and stay in the room; threatening, at the same time, to kill her, if she offered either to escape, or cry out: Having terrified her by these means, he proposed two things to her, and ordered her to chuse which of them she liked best; “Death with dishonor, or life with happiness: For, says he, “if you can resolve to gratify me, I will make you my wife; “and, with me, you shall reign, at present, over the city my “father has given me, and, after his death, over the Romans, “the Latines, the Tyrrhenians, and all the other nations he “commands: Since I am, well, assured of succeeding my father in his kingdom, as justice requires, being his eldest son: “And why should I mention the many advantages, which “attend royalty, all which you shall share with me, when “you are so well acquainted with them? But, if you endeavour to resist from a desire of preserving your virtue, I “will, first, kill you, and, then, stab one of your servants; “and, having laid both your bodies together, give out that I “caught you in the foul embraces of your servant, and punished you to revenge the dishonor of my relation: So that, “your death will be attended with shame, and reproach, and “your body will be deprived both of burial, and every other “customary rite.” And, thus, repeating his threats, and intreaties, and swearing to effect every part of what he said,

Lucretia, fearing the ignominy of the death he had threatened her with, was forced to yield, and to suffer him to accomplish his desire.

LXVI. When it was day, Sextus, having gratified his wicked, and destructive passion, returned to the camp. But Lucretia, grievously repenting what had happened, went into her chariot in all haste, dressed in black, with a dagger hidden under her robes ; and drove to Rome, without saying a word to any person, who saluted her upon the road ; or making answer to those, who inquired into the cause of her disorder ; but continued thoughtful, with her eyes cast down, and full of tears. When she came to her father's house, where there happened to be some of her relations, she threw herself at his feet, and, embracing his knees, wept for some time, without saying a word : And, when he raised her up, and asked her what had befallen her, “ I fly to you
“ for refuge, says she, under a dreadful, and irreparable
“ abuse ; revenge me, and neglect not your daughter, who
“ has suffered worse than death.” Her father, and all present were struck with wonder at hearing this, and desired her to let them know who had abused her, and in what manner : “ O father, says she, you will, soon, hear my mis-
“ fortunes ; but, first, grant me the favor I ask of you :
“ Send for as many of your friends, and relations, as you
“ can, to the end they may hear the dreadful injury from
“ me, who have suffered it, and not from others. And,
“ when you are informed of the shameful, and severe neces-
“ sity I was reduced to, you will consult with them in what
“ manner

“ manner you shall revenge both me, and yourself; but let
 “ the intermediate time be short.”

LXVII. These persons, who were all of the greatest distinction, being sent for by a quick, and haſty meſſage, came to the houſe, as ſhe deſired; to whom ſhe related the whole matter from the beginning; and, then, having embraced her father, and recommended herſelf to him, and to all preſent with many intreaties, and begged both of the gods, and genius's to grant her a ſpeedy departure out of life, ſhe drew the dagger ſhe had concealed under her robes; and, plunging it into her breaſt with one ſtroke, pierced her heart. Upon this, the women beat their breaſts, and filled the houſe with their ſhrieks, and lamentations; when her father, running to the body, embraced it; and, calling upon his daughter, fomented the wound in hopes of her recovery; while ſhe, palpitating, and agonizing in his arms, expired. This dreadful ſcene ſtruck the Romans, who were preſent, with ſo much horror, and compaſſion, that they cried out unanimoſly, they would rather die ten thouſand deaths in defence of their liberty, than ſuffer ſuch abuſes to be committed by the tyrants. There was among them a certain perſon, by name, Publius Valerius, a deſcendant of one of thoſe Sabines, who came to Rome with Tatius; and a man of activity, and prudence: This perſon was ſent by them to the camp both to acquaint the huſband of Lucretia with what had happened, and, jointly with him, to ingage the ſoldiers to revolt from the tyrants. He was, no ſooner, out of the gates, than he had the good fortune to meet Collatinus,
 who

who was coming to town from the camp, and knew nothing of the misfortunes of his family: And, with him, came Lucius Junius, surname *Brutus*, which, translated into the Greck language, signifies *Ἡλιθιος*, a *Fool*: Of whom it is necessary to premise a short account (since the Romans say that he was the principal instrument in the expulsion of the tyrants) and to shew who he was, and of whom descended; and, for what reason, this surname was given to him, which was, in no degree, suited to his character.

LXVIII. The father of this person was Marcus Junius, descended from one of the chiefs of the colony, planted in Italy by Aeneas, and a man, who, for his virtue, was ranked among the most illustrious of the Romans: His mother was ⁷⁷ Tarquinia, a daughter of Tarquinius, the first king of that name; and he himself was brought up, and educated in all

⁷⁷ Μητέρα δε Ταρκυνία, τῆ προτέρου βασιλέως Ταρκυνίου θυγάτηρ. Here again, our author differs from Livy, who makes the mother of Brutus to have been the *sister* of Tarquinius Superbus. ¹ *L. Junius Brutus, Tarquinia sorore regis natus, juvenis longe alius ingenio quam cujus simulationem induerat.* This question depends upon another, which our author has, already, discussed, and, in my opinion, incontestably, proved that Tarquinius Superbus was not the son, but the grandson, of Tarquinius Priscus. Livy, in order to support the other opinion, calls Brutus, a young man, even, in the same chapter, in which he mentions the preparations for the siege of Ardea, during which, all authors agree, that the revolution

happened at Rome. Now, the part Brutus acts in this revolution is very far from shewing that he was, then, a young man. Nay, ² Livy himself proves that he was not, when he says that, during the course of the same year, the sons of Brutus entered into the conspiracy for restoring Tarquinius, and lost their lives for it. This extraordinary scene, where the father sits in judgement upon his own sons, condemns them to lose their heads, and presides at the execution of this terrible sentence, is described in such pompous language by that historian, that want of accuracy is either extinguished by the glare of so much eloquence, or forgiven in consideration of its charms.

¹ B. i. c. 56.

² B. ii. c. 5.

the learning his country could afford, his mind being formed for the easy reception of every noble accomplishment. After Tarquinius had caused Tullius to be slain, he put this man's father to death privately, together with many other worthy men; not for any crime, but because he was in possession of the inheritance of an ancient family, enriched by his ancestors, the spoils of which he coveted; and, with him, his eldest son, in whom there appeared a generous spirit, unlikely to suffer the death of his father to go unrevenge'd: Upon this, Brutus, being yet a youth, and, intirely, destitute of all assistance from his family, took a resolution, of all others, the wisest; which was to counterfeit folly, and continued, from that time, in the affectation of it; from whence he acquired this surname, till he saw the proper time to throw it off. This preserved him from the severity of the tyrant, when many good men were destroyed.

LXIX. For Tarquinius, despising his seeming, not real, folly, took all his inheritance from him; and, allowing him a small maintenance for his daily support, kept him in his palace, as an orphan, who stood in need of guardians, and suffered him to live with his own sons, not in honor to him, as a relation, which was the pretence he made use of to his friends; but to the intent that, by saying many foolish things, and, by acting the part of a real fool, he might divert the youths: And, when he sent two of his sons, Titus, and Aruns to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the plague (for some uncommon distemper had happened in his reign, which affected the children of both sexes, of whom many died;

died; but it fell with the greatest severity upon breeding women, in whom it was difficult to be cured, as it destroyed the mothers in labor together with their infants) desiring, therefore, to learn from the god both the cause of, and the remedy for, this distemper, he sent Brutus, also, with the youths at their desire, to the end they might have somebody to ⁷⁸ laugh at, and abuse. When they were arrived at the oracle, and had received answers to the business they were sent upon, they made their offerings to the god, and laughed, mightily, at Brutus for offering a wooden staff to Apollo, (for he had hollowed the whole length of it like a tube, and, privately, inserting a golden rod, made an offering of it) after which, they inquired of the god, which of them was destined to succeed to the sovereignty of Rome; and the god answered, The person, who should, first, kiss his mother. The youths, therefore, unacquainted with the sense of the oracle, agreed together to kiss their mother at the same time, desiring, jointly, to possess the kingdom: While Brutus, understanding the meaning of the god, as soon as he landed in Italy, fell upon the earth, and kissed it, looking upon That as the common mother of all. These things, therefore, had happened to this person, before the time I am speaking of.

LXX. Then it was, that, hearing Valerius relate every thing, which had befallen Lucretia, together with her violent

⁷⁸ Ἰνα καὶ ἀσκαπτεῖν καὶ περιεργίζαν *Tarquinius ductus Delphos*, ludibrium
 ἐργαίεν. This is, most beautifully, ex-
 pressed in ^w Livy: *Is (Brutus) Tum a* verius quam comes.

^w B. i. c. 56.

death,

death, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and said ; “ O
 “ Jupiter, and all you gods, who inspect human actions, is
 “ the time, now, come, in expectation of which I have pre-
 “ served this disguise ? Has fate ordained that the Romans
 “ shall, by me, and, through me, be delivered from this
 “ accursed tyranny ? ” Having said this, he went, in all
 haste, to the house together with Collatinus, and Valerius.
 When they came in, Collatinus, seeing Lucretia lying upon
 the floor, and her father embracing her, fetched a deep sigh ;
 and, throwing his arms about the dead body, kissed it, and
 called upon her ; and, grown wild through excess of grief,
 talked to her, as if she had been alive. While he, and her
 father, in his turn, were pouring forth their lamentations,
 and the whole family was overwhelmed with wailing, and
 tears, Brutus, looking on them, said ; “ You will have many
 “ other opportunities, Lucretius, Collatinus, and all of you,
 “ who are related to this lady, to bewail her fate ; let us,
 “ now, consider how to revenge her : For This the present
 “ time requires.” His advice was approved of ; and, sitting
 down by themselves, and ordering their domestics to with-
 draw, they consulted together what they were to do. Brutus,
 first, spoke concerning himself ; and told them that his folly,
 which was, generally, believed to be real, was, only, assumed ;
 and, having informed them of the reasons, which had in-
 duced him to submit to this disguise, they looked upon him
 as the wisest of all men : After which, by many powerful
 arguments, he prevailed upon them all to join in the reso-
 lution of expelling both Tarquinius, and his sons. When

he found they all concurred in the same sentiments, he told them that neither words, nor promises, but actions only could accomplish what was requisite; and that he himself would be the first actor. Having said this, he took the dagger, with which Lucretia had stabbed herself; and, going to the body (for it, still, lay in view, a most miserable spectacle) he swore “ By Mars, and all the other gods, that
“ he would do every thing in his power to dethrone Tar-
“ quinius; and that he would neither be reconciled to the
“ tyrants himself, nor suffer any others to be reconciled to
“ them; but would look upon every man of different sen-
“ timents as an enemy, and, till death, pursue, with unre-
“ lenting hatred, both the tyranny, and its abettors; and,
“ if he transgressed this oath, he prayed that he, and his
“ children might die the same death with Lucretia.”

LXXI. Having said this, he called upon all the rest, also, to take the same oath; and they, no longer, hesitating, rose up; and, receiving the dagger from one another, swore. After they had taken the oath, they considered in what manner they should begin their enterprise: When Brutus suggested these things to them; “ First, let us place a guard
“ at the gates, that Tarquinius may have no intelligence of
“ what is saying, or doing in the city against the tyranny,
“ till every thing, on our side, is in readiness. After that,
“ let us carry the body of this lady, stained as it is with
“ blood, into the forum; and, exposing it to the public
“ view, call the people together: When they are assembled,
“ and we see the forum crowded, let Lucretius, and Colla-
“ tinus

“ tinus ascend the tribunal; and, having deplored their
 “ misfortunes, relate every thing, that has passed. In the
 “ next place, let all the rest of us, successively, stand up,
 “ inveigh against the tyranny, and invite the citizens to
 “ liberty. All the Romans will be transported to see us,
 “ who are patricians, the authors of liberty: For they have
 “ suffered many dreadful injuries from the tyrant, and want
 “ but a small incitement to revolt: And, when we find the
 “ people inflamed with the desire of extirpating monarchy,
 “ let us propose a vote to them, That Tarquinius shall, no
 “ longer, reign over the Romans; and let us send this decree
 “ to the camp with all expedition: For, when those,
 “ who have arms in their hands, hear that the whole city is
 “ alienated from the tyrant, they will become zealous for
 “ the liberty of their country, and be, no longer, retained
 “ by bribes, or able to bear the abuses of the sons, and flat-
 “ terers of Tarquinius,” After he had said this, Valerius
 replied; “ You seem to me, Junius, to reason well in gene-
 “ ral; but, concerning the assembly of the people, I desire
 “ to know who shall assemble them according to law, and
 “ propose the vote to the curiae. This is the business of a
 “ magistrate, and none of us are invested with any magi-
 “ stracy.” To this Brutus answered, “ I shall assemble the
 “ people, Valerius: For I am ⁷⁹ commander of the Celeres,

⁷⁹ Τῶν γὰρ Κελερίων ἀρχὴν εἰμι.
 Concerning the institution, and duty
 of the *celeres* see B. ii. c. 13. * Plutarch
 is not to be regarded, when he asserts
 that Numa disbanded these guards;

* Life of Numa.

because * Livy, as well as our author,
 says that Brutus was, at this time,
 commander of the *Celeres*; *praeco ad*
tribunum Celerum, in quo tum magistratu
forte Brutus erat, populum advocavit.

* B. i. c. 59.

“ and I have a power, by law, of calling an assembly of the
 “ people, when I please : Tarquinius gave this magistracy,
 “ which is of the greatest consequence, to me, as to a fool,
 “ and, from a presumption that I should either not be sen-
 “ sible of the power annexed to it, or, if I were, not know
 “ how to use it. And I myself will pronounce the first
 “ harangue against the tyrant.”

LXXII. As soon as they heard these resolutions, they all
 applauded him for commencing with a principle, that was
 both just in itself, and supported by law ; and desired him to
 acquaint them with the rest of his designs : Upon which, he
 said ; “ Since you have resolved to pursue these measures,
 “ let us further consider what kind of magistracy shall
 “ govern the commonwealth, after the expulsion of the
 “ kings, and by whom created ; and, first of all, what
 “ ⁸⁰ form of government we shall constitute, when we are
 “ freed from the tyrant : For it is better to weigh every

⁸⁰ Οἷς εἶναι πολιτείας λόγος, etc. I am
 surprised that none of the commenta-
 tors observed this scene to bear a near
 resemblance to That in ² Herodotus,
 where five of the seven Persian noble-
 men, who destroyed the magi, are in-
 troduced consulting upon the form of
 government they were to establish ;
 the other two having been wounded
 by one of the magi. In this consul-
 tation, Otanes, who had, first, formed
 the design of freeing his country from
 this usurpation, proposes a democracy ;
 Megabyzus, an oligarchy ; and Darius
 a monarchy ; and all three support

their several opinions by enumerating
 all the advantages, that flow from each
 of these constitutions, and displaying
 the evils of the other two. But not
 one of these Persians seems to have had
 the least thought of forming a govern-
 ment composed of all three, by which
 the advantages of the three constitu-
 tions might be preserved, and the
 evils, incident to each, avoided. How-
 ever, this did not escape our author,
 who, both in this speech of Brutus,
 and, on many other occasions, gives
 the preference to a mixed govern-
 ment.

² In Thalia, c. 80.

“ thing,

“ thing, before we attempt an action of this nature, and to
 “ leave nothing unexamined, or undetermined. Let every
 “ one of you declare his opinion concerning these things.”
 After this, many speeches were made by several of them :
 Some were of opinion they ought to reestablish monarchy ;
 and these recounted the great benefits the commonwealth
 had received from the former kings. Others, that they
 ought, no longer, to intrust the government to a single
 person ; and these enumerated the tyrannical excesses, which
 many kings, and Tarquinius, in the last place, had exercised
 against their own people ; and said, that the sovereign
 power ought to be vested in the senate, according to the
 practice of several Greek cities. Others liked neither of
 these forms of government ; but advised them to constitute
 a democracy, like That at Athens ; alledging the insolence,
 and avarice of the few, and the seditions, usually, raised by
 the inferior sort against their superiors ; and these said
 that an equality of laws was a constitution, of all others, the
 most secure, and most becoming a free people.

LXXIII. The choice appearing to all of them intricate,
 and hard to be determined, by reason of the evils, with
 which each of these constitutions is attended ; Brutus closed
 the conference by saying, “ I am of opinion, Lucretius,
 “ Collatinus, and all of you here present, who are, not only,
 “ good men yourselves, but descended from good men, that
 “ we ought not, at present, to constitute any new form of
 “ government : For the time, to which we are reduced by
 “ the present situation of affairs, is short ; in which, it is not
 “ easy

“ easy to change the form of our constitution ; and the very
 “ attempt to change it, though we should proceed in it
 “ upon the wisest motives, is doubtful, and not without
 “ danger. Afterwards, when you are delivered from the
 “ tyranny, you may, with greater freedom, and, at leisure,
 “ if you think fit, chuse That form of government, which
 “ shall appear to you more preferable than any other ; if,
 “ indeed, any is preferable to That, which Romulus, Pom-
 “ pilius, and all the succeeding kings instituted, and delivered
 “ down to us ; by the means of which, we have, to this
 “ time, continued to be a great, and flourishing people,
 “ obeyed by many subjects. But I advise you to lay hold
 “ on this opportunity to correct the evils, with which mo-
 “ narchies are, generally, attended, and, by which, they
 “ degenerate into a tyrannical cruelty, and are abhorred by
 “ all mankind ; and, at the same time, to take effectual care
 “ that they may, never, return upon you. What are these
 “ evils ? In the first place, since the people, in general,
 “ consider the names of things ; and, influenced by them,
 “ either admit some, that are hurtful, or reject others, that
 “ are useful ; of which monarchy happens to be one, I
 “ advise you to change the name of the government, and
 “ not to call those, who shall, for the future, be invested
 “ with the power over all the citizens, either kings, or
 “ monarchs ; but to give them a more modest, and humane
 “ appellation : In the next place, not to submit every thing
 “ to the determination of a single person ; but to commit
 “ the power, enjoyed by the kings, to two magistrates ;
 “ which

“ which I am informed has been practised by the Lacedae-
 “ monians for many generations, who, by this constitution,
 “ are the best governed, and, the most flourishing people
 “ among the Greeks : For they will be less arrogant, and
 “ vexatious, when the power is divided between two, and
 “ each of them has an equal share of it ; and this equality
 “ of power, and honor will be the most effectual means to
 “ create in both a respect for one another, to hinder them
 “ from leading a life of pleasure, and inspire each of them
 “ with an emulation of a virtuous character.

LXXIV. “ I am, also, of opinion that, if the sight of any
 “ ensigns of royalty, which are numerous, is uneasy to the
 “ people, and invidious, they ought to be retrenched, and
 “ others to be taken away ; I mean, those scepters, and
 “ golden crowns, the purple and embroidered robes ; unless
 “ upon festivals, and in triumphs, when they will wear them
 “ in honor of the gods : For, if they are seldom used, they
 “ will give no uneasiness : But I think you ought to retain
 “ the ivory chair, in which the magistrates will sit in judge-
 “ ment ; and, also, the white robe, surrounded with a border
 “ of purple, together with the twelve axes, to be carried before
 “ them, when they appear in public. There is one thing
 “ more I shall recommend to you, which, in my opinion,
 “ will be of greater advantage, than all I have mentioned,
 “ and the most effectual means to prevent those, who shall
 “ be invested with this power, from committing great ex-
 “ cesses, which is, that the same persons be not magistrates
 “ during life (for a magistracy, unlimited in time, and not
 “ obliged

“ obliged to give an account of its actions, is a public
“ grievance, and productive of tyranny) I propose, therefore,
“ that, after the example of the Athenians, the exercise of
“ this magistracy be reduced to the compass of a year : For
“ this institution, by obliging the same person both to com-
“ mand, and to obey alternately, and, by removing him from
“ the magistracy, before his mind is corrupted, restrains men of
“ haughty tempers, and does not suffer their minds to grow
“ intoxicated with power. If we establish these things, we
“ shall enjoy all the benefits, that flow from monarchy, and
“ be free from the evils, that attend it. And to the end that
“ the name of kingly power, to which this nation has been,
“ always, accustomed, and which was introduced among us
“ with favourable auguries, and the approbation of the
“ gods, may be preserved for the sake of religious worship,
“ let there be, always, a kind of king, who shall enjoy this
“ honor, during life; and, free from all military avocations,
“ have the superintendance of the sacrifices, like the king,
“ and no other employment.

LXXV. “ Now, hear from me the manner, in which
“ every one of these things shall be effected : I will call the
“ people together, as I said, since I have that power by
“ law ; and will propose a vote to banish Tarquinius, with
“ his wife, and children ; and that both they, and their
“ posterity be, for ever, debarred from entering either into
“ the city of Rome, or the territories thereunto belonging :
“ And, after the citizens have passed this vote, I will explain
“ to them the form of government we propose to establish;
“ and,

“ and, having created an interrex for the designation of the
 “ magistrates, who are to enter upon the administration of
 “ the public affairs, I myself will resign the command of the
 “ celeres : The interrex, appointed by me, will assemble the
 “ people in their centuries ; and, having nominated the per-
 “ sons to be invested with the annual magistracy, let him take
 “ the votes of the citizens concerning them : And, if the major
 “ part of the centuries are of opinion that the nomination of
 “ the persons, made by the interrex, be confirmed, and the
 “ auguries are favourable, let these assume the axes, and the
 “ other ensigns of royalty, and take care that our country
 “ may enjoy its liberty, and the Tarquini, from thenceforth,
 “ never return : For you are sensible they will employ
 “ persuasion, violence, and fraud, and every other means to
 “ recover their power, unless we are upon our guard. These
 “ are the things of the greatest moment, that I have to
 “ propose to you at present, and to advise you to pursue.
 “ As for particular emergencies, which are many, and not
 “ easy to be, now, discussed with accuracy (for we are re-
 “ duced to a point of time) I think we ought to leave them
 “ to the magistrates themselves, who are to govern : But I
 “ am clearly of opinion that these magistrates ought to con-
 “ sult the senate in every thing, as the kings, formerly, did,
 “ and do nothing without your advice ; and that they ought
 “ to lay before the people the decrees of the senate, accord-
 “ ing to the practice of your ancestors, without derogating,
 “ in the least, from that authority the former were, before,
 “ possessed of : For this will give the greatest security, and
 “ reputation to their magistracy.”

LXXVI. After Junius Brutus had delivered this opinion, they all applauded it ; and, presently, consulting about the persons, who were to enter upon the government, they determined to appoint Spurius Lucretius, the father of the lady, who had laid violent hands upon herself, to be the interrex ; and that Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus should be nominated by him to exercise the power, before, vested in the kings : And that these magistrates should be called, in their language, ⁸¹ *Consules* ; which name, being translated into the Greek language, signifies Συμβεβητες, or Προβητες, *Counsellors* : For the Romans call Συμβεβητας, *Consilia*, *Counsels* : In process of time, they came to be called, by the Greeks, Υπατοι, *Superiors*, from the greatness of their power, because they command all the citizens, and are the first in dignity. For the ancients called that, which was superior, and chief, ὑπατον. After these consultations, and resolutions, they prayed to the gods to assist them in the pursuit of their holy, and just designs, and went to the forum : They were followed by their domestics, who carried upon a bier, covered with black cloth, the body of Lucretia, disordered, and stained with blood ; and, directing them to expose it upon a high, and conspicuous place before the senate, they called the people together. And, not only, those, who happened, then, to be in the forum, but great

⁸¹ Κοινοβητας. The power, and duty of the consuls is, finely, described by ^a Cicero : *Regio imperio duo sunt : lique praecundo, judicando, consulendo, praetores, judices, consules appellantur. Militiae summum jus habento: nemini parento. Ollis salus populi suprema lex esto. eundem magistratum, ni interfuerint decem anni, ne quis capito. Aevitatem annali lege servant.*

^a De Legib. B. iii. c. 3.

numbers,

numbers, also, from all parts of the city, flocking to the place (for the heralds had gone through all the streets to summon them thither) Brutus ascended the tribunal, from whence it was the custom for those, who assembled the people, to acquaint them with the reasons of it; and, having placed the patri- cians near him, he spoke as follows;

LXXVII. “ Citizens, my intention being to speak to
 “ you concerning necessary, and glorious things, I shall, first,
 “ mention a few circumstances relating to myself: For to
 “ some, rather, indeed, to many of you, I am very well
 “ assured that I shall appear to be disordered in my under-
 “ standing, when I, a man of an unsound mind, and who,
 “ as such, stand in need of a guardian, attempt to speak to
 “ matters of the greatest importance. Know then, that the
 “ general opinion you all entertained of me, as of a fool,
 “ was false, and contrived by me, and by me alone: The
 “ fear of my life compelled me to live in a manner deroga-
 “ tory both to my nature, and condition; though agreeable
 “ to the desire of Tarquinius, and to my own security:
 “ For Tarquinius, having put my father to death at his
 “ accession to the government, that he might possess himself
 “ of his fortunes, which were very considerable; and,
 “ having, privately, murdered my elder brother, who would
 “ have revenged his father’s death, if he had not been taken
 “ off, made it plain that he did not design to spare even
 “ myself, now, left destitute of my nearest relations, if I had
 “ not counterfeited folly: This disguise, finding credit with
 “ the tyrant, saved me from the same treatment they had

“ experienced, and has preserved me to this day ; and
“ having worn it five and twenty years, the time I wished
“ for, and expected, being come, I, now, for the first time,
“ throw it off. So much concerning myself.

LXXVIII. “ As to the affairs of the public, in relation to
“ which I called you together, this is the situation of them.
“ Tarquinius, having possessed himself of the sovereignty,
“ contrary to the laws, and customs of this nation, which
“ sovereignty, howsoever acquired, he has not exercised either
“ with reputation, or in a manner suitable to the royal
“ dignity ; but has surpassed, in haughtiness, and excess, all
“ the tyrants the world ever saw ; we, the patricians, as-
“ sembled for that purpose, have resolved to deprive him of
“ his dignity : This ought to have been done long ago ;
“ but, having, now, a proper opportunity to effect it, we
“ have called you together, citizens, to the end that, after
“ we have declared our own resolution, we may desire your
“ assistance in giving liberty to our country, which we have
“ not, hitherto, been able to enjoy, since Tarquinius usurped
“ the sovereignty ; neither shall we, hereafter, enjoy it, if,
“ upon this occasion, we want resolution. Had I as much
“ time, as I could wish, or was to speak to those, who were
“ unacquainted with the many acts of injustice the tyrant
“ has been guilty of, I would enumerate them all, in order
“ to convince every one of you that he has deserved, not
“ only, one, but many deaths : But, since the time, afforded
“ me by the present situation of affairs, is short, in which,
“ few things are to be said, and many to be done, and that

“ I

“ I am speaking to those, who are acquainted with his
 “ actions, I shall put you in mind of Those only, that are
 “ the most considerable, and the most obvious, and admit
 “ not of the least excuse.

LXXIX. “ This is that Tarquinius, citizens, This is the
 “ man, who, before he was in possession of the sovereignty,
 “ destroyed his own brother Aruns by poison, because he
 “ would not consent to be wicked, in which crime he was
 “ assisted by his brother’s wife, the sister of his own, whom
 “ this enemy of the gods, had, long before, debauched :
 “ This is the man, who, at the same time, and, by the same
 “ poison, took off his wife, a woman of virtue, and a parent
 “ of their common children ; and did not, even, vouchsafe
 “ to disown the imputation of both these poisonings by a
 “ mourning habit, and a short affectation of grief ; but,
 “ presently after he had performed these wonderful achieve-
 “ ments, and before the fires, which had received their
 “ miserable bodies, were extinguished, he gave an enter-
 “ tainment to his friends, celebrated his nuptials, and, lead-
 “ ing the murderers of her husband, as a bride, to the bed of
 “ her sister, performed the abominable contract he had made
 “ with her ; and was the first, and the only man, who ever
 “ introduced into the city of Rome such impious, and exe-
 “ crable crimes, unknown to any nation in the world,
 “ either Greeks, or Barbarians. But, in how infamous, and
 “ dreadful a manner, did he treat both his father, and mo-
 “ ther, in-law, when, already, near their end ? He murdered
 “ Servius Tullius publicly, the mildest of all your kings, the
 “ greatest.

“ greatest benefactor to you ; and would not suffer his body
“ to be honoured with the customary rites either of a funeral,
“ or of burial ; and Tarquinia, the wife of Tullius, whom,
“ as she was the sister of his father, and had, always, shewn
“ great tenderness for him, he was obliged in duty to honour
“ as his mother, he caused to be strangled in a miserable
“ manner, without allowing her time to mourn her dead
“ husband, or perform the customary sacrifices for him,
“ when buried : Thus, he treated those, by whom he was
“ preserved, by whom he was educated ; and whom, after
“ their death, he was to have succeeded, if he had staid but
“ a short time, till nature had put an end to their lives.

LXXX. “ But, why do I censure these excesses, when I
“ have so many others to accuse him of (besides Those he
“ has been guilty of to his relations, and to his father, and
“ mother, in-law) which he has committed against his country,
“ and against us all ? If they ought to be called excesses, and
“ not the subversion, and extinction of all nations, and all
“ families. First, as to the sovereignty, that I may begin with
“ That ; How did he obtain it ? Did he, in this, follow the
“ example of the former kings ? Far from it. They were
“ all advanced to the sovereignty by us, according to the
“ laws, and customs of this nation ; first, by a decree of the
“ senate, where, by our constitution, all resolutions con-
“ cerning the public affairs must, first, be taken ; then, by
“ the creation of the interreges, to whom the senate grants
“ the power of distinguishing among those, who are worthy
“ of the sovereignty, the most worthy ; and, after both these,
“ by

“ by a vote of the people in their election of magistrates,
 “ from which vote the law requires that all affairs of the
 “ greatest moment should receive their sanction ; and, in the
 “ last place, by the approbation of the auguries, without which,
 “ human diligence, and foresight are of no avail : But say,
 “ which of you knows any one of these things to have been
 “ observed, when Tarquinius obtained the sovereignty ? What
 “ previous order of the senate ? What nomination of the
 “ interreges ? What vote of the people ? What favourable
 “ auguries ? I do not ask whether all these were observed
 “ (though it was necessary to a regular election that nothing,
 “ founded either in custom, or in law, should be omitted)
 “ but, if it can be shewn that any one of them was observed,
 “ I will be contented not to insist upon Those, that were
 “ omitted. How, then, did he acquire the sovereignty ?
 “ By arms, by violence, and the conspiracies of wicked men,
 “ according to the custom of tyrants ; and drew from you,
 “ instead of your consent, your indignation. But, after he
 “ had possessed himself of the sovereignty, howsoever ac-
 “ quired, did he use it in a manner becoming a king, in
 “ imitation of his predecessors, the whole tenor of whose
 “ words, and actions tended to aggrandize the city, and
 “ leave it more flourishing to posterity, than they them-
 “ selves had received it ? What man in his senses can say
 “ this, when he sees in how miserable, and cruel a manner
 “ we have all been treated ?

LXXXI. “ I shall say nothing of the calamities we, who
 “ are patricians, suffer, which, even, our enemies could not
 “ hear

“ hear without tears ; since, from a numerous body, we
“ are reduced to a few ; from splendor, to obscurity ; and,
“ from an affluent prosperity, to poverty, and extreme want.
“ Of all those illustrious men, those formidable warriors,
“ and great statesmen, by whose means our city, once, flour-
“ ished, some are put to death, and others banished. But
“ what is your condition, plebeians ? Has not Tarquinius
“ taken away your laws ? Has he not abolished your meet-
“ ings on account of religion, and sacrifices ? Has he not
“ put an end to your elections of magistrates ; to your right
“ of voting ; and to your assemblies for the affairs of the
“ public ? Does he not force you, like slaves, purchased
“ with money, to labour in a shameful manner, to cut stones,
“ saw timber, carry burdens, and waste your strength in
“ deep pits, and subterraneous caverns, without allowing
“ you the least respite from your miseries ? What then, will
“ be the end of our calamities ? How long shall we submit
“ to these things ? And when shall we recover our native
“ liberty ? When Tarquinius dies ? To be sure. Shall we
“ be in a better condition then ? Shall we not be in a worse ?
“ For, instead of one Tarquinius, we shall have three ; all
“ far more abominable, than their father. Since he, who,
“ from a private man, became a tyrant, and began late to
“ be wicked, is a perfect master in all tyrannical mischief ;
“ what kind of men may we expect these will prove, who
“ are sprung from him ; whose race is wicked, whose
“ education is wicked, and who, never, had an opportunity
“ of seeing, or hearing any action, that had the appearance
“ of

“ of liberty, or moderation? To the end, therefore, you
 “ may not guess at their accursed natures, but know with
 “ certainty what kind of whelps the tyranny of Tarquinius
 “ nurses up for your destruction, behold the action of one
 “ of them, the eldest of the three.

LXXXII. “ This lady is the daughter of Spurius
 “ Lucretius, whom the tyrant, when he went to the war,
 “ appointed governor of the city, and the wife of Tarqui-
 “ nius Collatinus, a relation of the tyrant’s, who has under-
 “ gone many hardships for their sake. This lady, who de-
 “ fired to preserve her virtue, and loved her husband, as
 “ becomes a good wife, Sextus being, last night, entertained
 “ at her house, as a relation, and Collatinus, then absent,
 “ and in the camp, could not escape the ungovernable in-
 “ solence of the tyranny ; but, like a captive, under the
 “ power of necessity, submitted to those things, that ought
 “ not to be offered to a woman of free condition. Re-
 “ senting this usage, and, looking upon the abuse as into-
 “ lerable, she acquainted her father, and the rest of her
 “ relations with the necessity she had been reduced to ; and,
 “ having intreated, and conjured them all, in the most
 “ earnest manner, to revenge the indignity she had suffered,
 “ she drew the dagger she had concealed in her bosom,
 “ and, in her father’s sight, citizens, plunged it in her bowels.
 “ O thou admirable woman ! great are the praises you de-
 “ serve for your generous resolution ; you are gone ; you
 “ are dead ; you were unable to bear the tyrannical insult,
 “ and despised all the pleasures of life to avoid being, any
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“ longer, exposed to the like abuse: After this, Lucretia,
 “ when you, who were formed a woman, have shewn the
 “ resolution of a brave man, shall we, who were born
 “ men, shew less courage, than women? To you, after
 “ you were deprived of your spotless chastity, through force,
 “ by the tyranny of one night, death appeared more amia-
 “ ble, and to promise greater happiness than life; and shall
 “ not we adopt the same sentiments, whom Tarquinius,
 “ not, by a tyranny of one day only, but of twenty five
 “ years, has deprived of all the pleasures of life, in depriving
 “ us of our liberty? We cannot live under these miseries,
 “ citizens; we, who are the descendants of those men, who
 “ thought themselves worthy to give laws to others; and
 “ exposed themselves to many dangers for the sake of power,
 “ and fame: So that, we have all no other choice, than of life
 “ with liberty, or of death with glory. For the opportunity
 “ we wished for, now presents itself; Tarquinius is absent
 “ from the city, the patricians are the authors of the enter-
 “ prise, and no want of any thing, if we enter upon the
 “ action with alacrity; not of men, money, arms, generals,
 “ nor of any other military preparation: For the city is
 “ full of all these. Consider, then, what a shame it would
 “ be for us, who aim at giving laws to the Volsci, the
 “ Sabines, and several other nations, to suffer ourselves to
 “ be the slaves of others; and to undertake many wars to
 “ gratify the ambition of Tarquinius, and not one to recover
 “ our own liberty.

LXXXIII. “ What support, therefore, what assistance
 “ can we promise ourselves in this enterprize? This remains
 “ to be explained. Our first support is derived from a
 “ dependence upon the gods, whose religion, temples, and
 “ altars Tarquinius pollutes with hands, stained with blood,
 “ and defiled with all the crimes he has committed against
 “ his subjects, every time he begins the sacrifices, and liba-
 “ tions. The next flows from our dependence upon our-
 “ selves, who are neither few in number, nor unskilled in
 “ war. Besides these advantages, we may expect the assis-
 “ tance of our allies; who, while they are not called upon
 “ by us, think it improper to enter into our affairs; but, if
 “ they see us acting the part of brave men, will, chearfully,
 “ assist us in the war: For tyranny is odious to all, who
 “ desire to be free. But, if any of you are afraid lest the
 “ citizens, who are in the camp with Tarquinius, should
 “ assist him, and make war upon us, they have no reason
 “ for that fear: For the tyranny is grievous to them also;
 “ and the desire of liberty is implanted by nature in the
 “ minds of all men, and every pretence for a change is
 “ sufficient for those, who are compelled to bear hardships;
 “ and, if you, by your votes, order them to assist their
 “ country, neither fear, nor favor, nor any other motives,
 “ that compel, or persuade men to commit injustice, will
 “ retain them with the tyrants. But, if the love of tyranny
 “ is rooted in any of them, through an evil disposition, or
 “ a corrupt education, as they, certainly, are not many, we
 “ will apply, even to these men, motives of so great force,

“ as to transform them from wicked, to good, citizens : For
“ we have here their children, wives, and parents, as hostages,
“ which are dearer to every man, than his own life : By
“ engaging to restore these to them, if they will desert the
“ tyrant ; and, by passing a vote for the impunity of the
“ crimes they have been guilty of, we shall, easily, prevail
“ upon them to join us. March therefore, citizens, with
“ confidence, and hopes of success, to this action, the most
“ glorious you were, ever, engaged in. To your assistance,
“ therefore, O gods of our ancestors, the propitious guardians
“ of this land ; to yours, O genii, to whom the care of our
“ fathers was allotted ; and, to yours, O Rome, the most
“ favoured by the gods of all other cities, in which we
“ received our birth, and education, we dedicate our coun-
“ sels, our words, our actions, and our lives ; ready to suffer
“ every thing, that heaven, and fate shall decree. But I
“ foresee that our glorious enterprise will be crowned with
“ success. May all, here present, imboldened with the same
“ confidence, and united in the same sentiments, both pre-
“ serve you, and be preserved by you ! ”

LXXXIV. While Brutus was speaking, every thing he said was received by the people with continual acclamations, signifying both their approbation, and concurrence : The greatest part, even, wept with pleasure, in hearing a speech, that was wonderful and unexpected ; and various passions, in no degree resembling one another, affected the mind of each : For they were mixed with pains, and pleasures ; the former, arising from the miseries they had suffered ; and the latter,

latter, from the happiness they expected : And anger was joined with fear ; That exciting them to despise their own safety in order to be revenged on the author of those hated actions ; while This, by representing to them the difficulties, that would occur in subverting the tyranny, inspired them with a backwardness to the enterprise. But, when he had done speaking, they all cried out, as with one voice, to let them have arms. Then, Brutus, charmed with their alacrity, said ;
 “ First, hear the resolution of our assembly, and confirm it :
 “ For we have determined that the Tarquini, and all their
 “ posterity shall be banished both from the city of Rome,
 “ and from all the territories belonging to the Romans ;
 “ that no person shall presume to say, or do any thing
 “ tending to their restoration ; and, if any one shall be found
 “ to have acted contrary to these determinations, that he
 “ be put to death. If you are of opinion that this resolution
 “ be confirmed, divide yourselves into your curiae, and give
 “ your votes : And let the enjoyment of this right be the
 “ beginning of your liberty.” These things were complied
 with ; and all the curiae having given their votes for the
⁸² banishment of the tyrants, Brutus, again, stood up, and

⁸² I shall close my annotations upon this book with making some observations on a passage, contained in a note of M. * * *, relating to the dethroning of Tarquinius. That gentleman says that this king was a tyrant, not only, in his administration, but, also, in his usurpation : And that the conduct of the Romans in dethroning him must not be alledged as an ex-

ample of the right of the people, exercised against a lawful sovereign, who abuses his power. *Il ne faut pas donner la conduite des Romains qui le détrônèrent, comme l'exemple d'un droit des peuples exercé contre un souverain légitime qui abuse de son pouvoir.* To this observation I shall give two answers ; the first, grounded on fact, and the other, on right. As to the first, it is certain that
 said ;

faid ; “ Since you have confirmed the first resolution, in
 “ such a manner as became you, hear, also, what we have
 “ further resolved concerning the form of our government.

the Romans did not dethrone Tarquinius for his usurpation, but for his tyranny. His predecessor was not less an usurper, than himself; notwithstanding which, the Romans were so much pleased with the mildness of his government, received so much benefit from the wise laws he had established, and gained so many advantages over their neighbours under his conduct, as a general, that, during a reign of no less than forty four years, we hear of no insurrection against him. And, even, Tarquinius himself, notwithstanding his usurpation, was suffered to reign twenty five years, till the brutal act of his son filled up the measure of the iniquities, committed by his tyrannical family, and brought on their expulsion; an action liable to this only censure, that it was, too long, delayed. As to the point of right, we must consider that the government of the Romans was, at that time, a limited monarchy, consisting of a king, a senate, and the people: Now, as the king assumed the whole power to himself, and excluded the other two orders from any share in it, it is plain that he altered the whole frame of the government, and transformed it, from a limited monarchy, to a tyranny: If, then, Tarquinius, instead of being an usurper, had been a lawful sovereign, and had abused the trust reposed in him by so many repeated acts of tyranny, can it in justice be supposed that the senate, and people ought to have been without a Remedy, and

that, chained hand and foot, they must have lain exposed to the avarice, the cruelty, and the caprice of an insulting tyrant? But, say the abettors of tyranny, if you give the senate, and people a right to expel their lawful sovereign, because he is a tyrant, you constitute them judges in their own cause, which is contrary to natural justice, and impower them, not only, to determine the crime, but, also, the punishment, due to that crime. This must be acknowledged; but it must, also, be acknowledged that it is, equally, unjust, and much more absurd to constitute a tyrant the judge of his own tyranny, and to expect that the oppressor should pronounce in favor of the oppressed. Since, therefore, in this case, one of these two things must, unavoidably, happen; either the people must be enslaved, or the tyrant expelled; it is easy to determine which is the most reasonable sacrifice; it being much more equitable that one man should be deprived of the power he has abused, than that millions should be deprived of the liberty they are intitled to. These were the sentiments of the Romans, and must be the sentiments of every people, who desire to preserve their liberties: Their government was a limited monarchy, and they, very well, knew that there is no difference between a limited, and an absolute, monarchy, unless the former gives a right to the people to enforce those limitations.

“ After

“ After we had confidered what magistracy fhould be invefted
 “ with the fovereign power, we came to a refolution to chufe
 “ no more kings; but to appoint two annual magiftrates,
 “ to be vefted with the kingly power, fuch as you yourfelves
 “ fhall chufe in the comitia centuriata, to be held for the
 “ election of magiftrates: If, therefore, it is your pleafure
 “ that this, alfo, do pafs, give your votes.” The people
 approved of this refolution likewise, which was not oppofed by
 a fingle vote. After that, Brutus ftood up, and created Spurius
 Lucretius the interrex to prefide at the election, according to
 the laws, in that cafe, eftablifhed. And he, having difmiffed
 the affembly, ordered all the people to go, immediately,
 in arms to the field, where they ufed to chufe their magi-
 ftrates. When they came thither, he nominated two perfons
 to perform the functions, which had belonged to the kings:
 Thefe were Brutus, and Collatinus; and the people, being
 called to give their votes in their centuries, confirmed their
 magistracy. Thefe were the tranfactions, that paffed in the
 city at that time.

LXXXV. As foon as Tarquinius heard by the firft mef-
 fengers, who had found means to get out of the city before
 the gates were fhut, that Brutus was keeping the people
 together by haranguing them, and by inviting them to
 liberty, which was all the information they could give him,
 he took his fons with him, and thofe of his friends, in whom
 he moft confided; and, without communicating his defign
 to any other perfons, rode with all fpeed, in hopes of pre-
 venting the revolt. But, finding the gates fhut, and the
 battle-

battlements full of armed men, he returned to the camp with the same speed he came, bewailing, and repenting his misfortune: But every thing there, also, was, now, in a bad condition: For the consuls, foreseeing that he would, quickly, present himself before the city, had sent letters to those in the camp by other roads, in which they exhorted them to revolt from the tyrant, and acquainted them with the votes, passed by those in the city. Titus Herminius, and Marcus Horatius, who had been appointed by the king to command in his absence, having received these letters, read them in an assembly of the soldiers; and, asking them, in their several centuries, what resolution they thought fit to take, after these had, unanimously, declared their opinion to look upon the votes, passed by those in the city, as valid, they refused to admit Tarquinius, when he returned. After the king found himself disappointed of this hope also, he fled, with a small retinue, to the city of the Gabini, of which, as I said before, he had appointed Sextus, the eldest of his sons, to be king: He was, now, grown grey with age, and had reigned twenty five years. In the mean time, Herminius, and Horatius, having made a truce with the Ardeates for fifteen years, returned home with the army. Thus, monarchy, after it had continued from the building of Rome two hundred and forty four years, having degenerated into tyranny under the last king, was, for these reasons, and by these persons, abrogated.

The end of the Fourth book.

A

D I S S E R T A T I O N

O N T H E

GREEK and ROMAN CHARACTERS.

I SAID, in the forty first note, that it might be proved, by the authority of the best ancient writers, and the concurrent testimony of the most authentic inscriptions, that the ancient Greek, and modern Roman characters were, originally, the same. I begin with the authority of the ancient writers. ^a Pliny, in speaking of the origin of letters, says ; “ *Veteres Græcas (litteras) fuisse easdem penè* “ *quæ nunc sunt Latinæ, indicio erit Delphica tabula antiqui æris, quæ* “ *est hodie in palatio, dono principum Minervæ dicata in bibliothecâ* “ *cum inscriptione tali ;*

ΝΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ. ΤΙΣΑΜΕΝΟ. ΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ. ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ

If the reader turns to this passage in Pliny, he will find a great absurdity in all the editions : That author proves, by this Greek inscription in Latin characters, that the old Greek and Latin letters were,

^a Nat. Hist. B. vii. c. 58.

nearly, the same ; but all the editions give this inscription in common Greek characters, which proves, directly, the contrary. The great ^b Scaliger gives the inscription thus ;

NAVSIKRATES. TISAMENO. ATHENAIOS.

If the reader pleases to compare the characters made use of by me, with the old Ionic inscriptions presently to be exhibited, he will see the reason why I have differed from that great man. The next authority I shall make use of is That of ^c Tacitus, who, in giving the reasons, that induced Claudius to add three letters to the Roman alphabet, says ; *Aborigines Arcade ab Evandro didicerunt. Et formæ literis Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.* This passage, not only, proves my assertion, but, also, confirms what ^d our author has, already, told us, viz. That Evander was the first person, who introduced the use of letters into Italy. ^e He had, before, fixed the arrival of Evander in that country to the sixtieth year before the Trojan war. These letters had been brought into Greece by Cadmus from Phœnicia, as we find by ^f Herodotus, who says that he himself saw several inscriptions in these Cadmean letters on tripods in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes in Bœotia. These inscriptions are three ; and, as they contain Greek verses of very great antiquity, the first being about five hundred years older than Homer, I shall give them in the old Ionic characters, in which they were, certainly, ingraved ; because Herodotus says the Cadmean letters, in which they were written, bore a very near resemblance to the Ionic characters, *τα πολλὰ ὅμοια εἶναι τοῖς Ἰωνικοῖσι.*

^b In his notes on Eusebius.
^c ib. c. 31.

^c Annal. B. xi. c. 14.

^d See B. i. c. 33.

^f In Terpsichore, c. 58, and 59.

1. *ΑΜΗΙΤΡΥΟΝ Μ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕΝ. ΕΟΝ. ΑΓΟ. ΤΕΛΕΒΘΑΟΝ.*

2. *ΣΚΑΙΟΣ. ΓΥΜΝΑΚΗΕΟΝ. ΜΕ. ΗΕΚΕΒΟΛΟΙ. ΑΓΟΛΛΟΝΙ.
ΝΙΚΕΣΑΣ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕ. ΤΕΙΝ. ΓΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣ. ΑΛΑΛΥΑ.*

3. *ΛΑΟΔΑΜΑΣ. ΤΡΙΓΟΔ. ΑΥΤΟΝ. ΕΥΣΚΟΓΟΙ. ΑΓΟΛΛΟΝΙ.
ΜΟΝΑΡΚΗΕΟΝ. ΑΝΕΤΗΚΕ. ΤΕΙΝ. ΓΕΡΙΚΑΛΛΕΣ. ΑΛΑΛΥΑ.*

I must, again, desire the reader to compare these letters with the old Ionic characters, in the following inscriptions ; after which, I believe he will be of opinion that the letters I have made use of resemble more those characters, and, consequently, the Roman letters, than Those, in which Scaliger has exhibited these verses. I have, also, differed from him in writing *ΜΟΝΑΡΚΗΕΟΝ*, with a single O, in the first syllable, instead of an Omicron Υpsilon, which he has made use of, because I find, by the Herodian inscription, that O supplies the place of ΟΥ, not only in the end of a word, but, also, in the beginning of it ; as οὔτι for ουδένι. The arrival of Cadmus in Greece, which was attended with the introduction of letters into that country, was too remarkable an æra to have escaped the notice of the ^s Parian marble, where it is set down in these words ; ΑΦ' ἧ Καδμος ὁ Ἀγηνόρος εἰς Θηῶας ἀφικέτο κατὰ χρησμόν, καὶ ἐκτίσε τὴν Καδμείαν ἐν ΧΗΗΓΠ βασιλευσῆος Ἀθηνῶν Ἀμφικλύου. By this, Cadmus arrived in Greece 310 years before the taking of Troy, ^b and 23 before Moses led the Israelites out of Ægypt. We have, now, seen by whom, and when, letters were introduced among a people who, certainly, made a better use of them than any other nation in the world. Let us, next, consider what these letters were, and, then, compare them with the Roman letters ; by which, it will appear that these are the same, or, nearly, the same in their power, their order, and their shape with Those, brought into

^s Epoch. 7.

^b Selden's canon chron.

Greece by Cadmus. The reader has, already, observed that Herodotus says the Cadmean characters he saw in the temple of Apollo at Thebes were very like the Ionic letters: The reason of this he had, just before, assigned, which was, that the Ionians, being neighbours to the Phœnicians, not in Asia Minor, as it is generally thought, but in Greece (^k for the Ionic migration happened 442 years after the arrival of Cadmus in that country) they learned the use of letters from them; and, since the Phœnicians had brought these letters into Greece, they did them the justice to call the letters they made use of, though with a small variation, Phœnician letters. It was necessary to premise this, in order to justify the use I shall make of the Ionic inscriptions: The first will be Those on two pillars, once belonging to Herodes Atticus, a man of learning in the time of Trajan, and now to be seen in the palace Farnese. I shall take these from a transcript of them exhibited in a ^l letter from a young English painter at Rome to his father at London, in which letter the author says these inscriptions were communicated to him by a learned friend of his father to be transmitted to the latter. The reason of my taking these inscriptions from this letter, is, because they are much more elegantly transcribed there, than in the delineations given of them either by Scaliger, Gruter, or Montfaucon; the last has censured Scaliger for asserting that these Ionic characters were in common use so late as the time of Herodes Atticus; and ^m says that no traces of them are to be found in any monuments, but in Those of great antiquity before the time of Alexander the Great: For which reason, he is of opinion that Herodes Atticus, who was a man of learning, and a lover of antiquity, had these inscriptions, which exhibit the old Ionic letters, placed on the pillars in his Triopian Villa, in order to perpetuate the memory of them. These inscriptions, therefore, I shall make use of.

^k See Herodotus lib. 2. c. 104.

^l See the letter in the Appendix, p. 277.

^k Parian Marb. epoch. 7, and 28. Seld. canon.

^m See the letter in the Appendix, p. 277.

^l See the letter in the Appendix, p. 277.

ODENI
 ΘΕΜΙ
 ΤΟΝ ΜΕ
 ΤΥΚΙΝΕ
 ΞΗΚΤΟ
 ΤΡΙΟΤΙΟ
 ΗΘΕΤΤΙΝ
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 ΤΥΔΑΙ
 ΜΟΝ
 ΕΝΗΟΔΙΑ

ΚΑΙ ΗΘΑΚΙΟ
 ΝΕΣΔΕΜΕΤΡΟΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΚΟΡΕΣ
 ΑΝΑΘΕΜΑ
 ΚΑΤΘΟΝΕ
 ΟΥΝΘΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ

Athenian Inscription.

ΕΡΕΧΘΕΙΔΟΣ

ΗΟΙΔΕ:ΕΝΤΟΙ:ΠΟΛΕΜΟΙ:ΑΓΕΘΑΝΟΝ:ΕΝΚΥΡΟΙ:ΕΝΑΙ
ΥΓΤΟΙ:ΕΝΦΟΙΝΙΚΕΙ:ΕΝΑΙΕΥΣΙΝ:ΕΝΑΙΛΙΝΕΙ:ΜΕΛΑΡΟ

ΕΝ:ΤΟ:ΑΥΤΟ:ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟ

ΣΤΡΑΤΕΛΟΝ: ΦΑΝΥΛΟΣ ΑΚΡΥΓΤΟΣ

I.

Numm. Aminta.



II.

Numm. Aesilla.



J. M.

The next is an Athenian inscription given by ⁿ Montfaucon : It is written, like the two first, in old Ionic characters (which shews they were in common use at the time of this inscription) and may be, thus, translated ; *The names of the Athenians belonging to the tribe Erechtheis, who lost their lives in the wars of Cyprus, Ægypt, Phœnicia, Halicæ, and Ægina* : The three words, that follow, are at the head of so many columns, on which are ingraved the names of the slain. In order to support the authenticity of this inscription, Montfaucon has transcribed the relations, given by Thucydides of these wars. From all which, that learned monk concludes that this monument was erected ° *in the time of the Peloponnesian war*. In this I cannot agree with him ; because every one of the battles, mentioned in the inscription, happened several years before that war, and are related by Thucydides among the military operations of the Greeks, and Barbarians, which, he himself says, *fell out during the 50 years, that intervened between the retreat of Xerxes, and the beginning of the Peloponnesian war*. After Thucydides has given an account of all the battles, mentioned in the inscription, he has these words ; ^p ταῦτα δὲ συμπαύλα ὅσα ἐπραξάν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Βαρβαρον, ἐγένετο ἐν ἑσσι πεντήκοντα μαλιστα, μέλας τῆς τε Ξερξὸς ἀναχωρήσεως, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς πολέμου. And we find, by him, that, after the Athenians had reduced Eubœa (the reduction of which was subsequent to all the battles referred to in the inscription) they made a ^q truce of 30 years with the Lacedæmonians ; and that, in the ^r 14th year of this truce, the latter resolved upon the Peloponnesian war, or, which is the same thing, that the 30 years truce was dissolved. The inscriptions on the two Macedonian coins, exhibited also by ^s Montfaucon, are the next, and last inscriptions I shall make use of : The first is supposed to be

ⁿ Id. ib. p. 135.

° Id. ib. p. 134.

^p B. i. c. 118.^q B. i. c. 115.^r ib. c. 87.^s Palæogr. Græc. p. 122.

the coin of the first Amintas, the eighth from Caranus, and the ninth king of Macedon. The second is, certainly, a Macedonian coin from the inscription on one side of it; and, by That on the reverse, it appears to be of the highest antiquity. If, in discussing this Subject, I differ from Scaliger, and Montfaucon in some particulars, I shall give my reasons for it, with all the deference that is due to men of their superior learning. As the view of them both was to shew the analogy between the Phœnician, and Ionic letters, and not between the last, and Those of the Romans, it is very natural that, our views being different, our methods of pursuing those views should also differ. I find neither of them have made use of the Sigeian inscription, which, though vastly older than That of Herodes Atticus, may, very possibly, be neither older, nor more authentic, than the inscriptions, from which he copied his Ionic letters: However, as there is very little difference between these, and the letters in the Sigeian inscription; and, as I have taken but one letter, viz. the S from that inscription (where it is inverted) which one of the Macedonian coins, and the Delian inscription would have furnished me with, I chose not to incumber this little Essay with that inscription.

Latin Letters.

Ionic Letters.

A.	Α. from the Herodian inscription.
B.	Β. from the first Macedonian coin.
C.	Γ. from the Herodian inscription.
D.	Δ. from the same.
E.	Ε. from the same.
F.	Ϝ. the Æolic digamma.
H.	Η. from the Herodian inscription.
I.	Θ. from the same.
K.	Κ. from the same.
L.	Λ. from the second Macedonian coin.
M.	Μ. from the Herodian inscription.
N.	Ν. from the same.
O.	Ο. from the same.
P.	Π. from the same.
R.	Ρ. from the same.
S.	Σ. from the second Macedonian coin.
T.	Τ. from the Herodian inscription.
U.	Υ. from the same.
Y.	Ϛ. from the Athenian inscription.

Most of these Ionic letters correspond, so exactly, with the Roman letters, that I shall only take notice of two, viz. the J , and P , which seem to differ from them: After which, I shall shew in what manner the Romans expressed the powers of the double letters, invented by Palamedes, and Simonides, by two letters, which had the same effect. This will further confirm the analogy contended for, between the Greek and Roman letters; since the ancient Greeks, before the invention of these characters, supplied the want of them by the same letters.

I shall not pretend to reduce the shape either of the ancient, or modern Gamma, to the Roman C, as some men of learning, and Scaliger in particular, have done with regard to the Phœnician, and Ionic letters: But I contend, and doubt not to prove, that the Roman C, however different from the J in its shape, supplied the power of it in the Roman language: For it is certain that the Romans had not, originally, the letter G, but, instead of it, made use of a C: Thus, *Caius* was pronounced *Gaius*; which is the reason that all Greek authors write the former $\Gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$: This is confirmed by an observation of ^tQuintilian, who says, *quædam aliter scribi, aliter nunciari; nam, Gaius C literâ notatur*. But the Duilian inscription, mentioned in a ^uformer note, puts this matter out of all doubt: There we find *rem cerens*, for *rem gerens*; *Cartacinienfcis*, for *Carthaginienfes*; and *macistratos*, for *magistratus*. As to the Ionic P , a little rounding of the angles, and bringing that semicircle to the perpendicular, would, without great violence, particularly to an antiquary, form a Roman P. However, the place of this letter in the Roman alphabet, and its power in the Roman language, perfectly, agree with the Ionic P . The reader will not be surpris'd to see the Roman P

^t Inst. Orat. B. i. c. 7.

^u See the 52d Annot. on the 2d book.

stand in the same place in the Roman alphabet with the Æolic digamma, when he considers what our author has, ^w already, told us, viz. that the Roman language was, chiefly, Æolic. This Digamma the Æolians, also, learned from the Phœnicians: For the ^x Ϝ, the Vau of the latter is, plainly, the digamma of the Æolians; allowance being made for their different way of writing; since every body knows that the Phœnicians, and the eastern nations, writ from the right to the left. Another instance of the conformity between the Ionic, and Roman letters, must not be omitted: In both the H stands for an aspirate only: And, to carry this conformity still farther, in both it is used for an aspirate, not only, in the beginning, but, also, in the middle of words; as E^vϞHODI^hA in the Herodian inscription, and *Inbio*, *Anbelo*, and many other words in Latin. I wonder how the Greeks, with their delicate ears, came to lose this beauty, which the Romans preserved. The last observation I shall make upon these inscriptions is, that, in the word AESILLAS, which most people would take for a Latin, rather than a Greek inscription, the diphthong AE, which the Latines adopted, is employed instead of the Greek diphthong AI; which, however, was in use so early as the time of the Sigean inscription.

I, now, come to the six double consonants, and two double vowels, said to have been invented by Palamedes during the siege of Troy, and by Simonides, about seven hundred years after that period: Z, Θ, Φ, X are the Palamedean letters, contrary to the opinion of Montfaucon, who ascribes Ϟ to Palamedes, and Z to Simonides; and Ξ, H, Ψ, Ω, are said to have been invented by Simonides; but this cannot be, because we find the letter H, in the Sigean inscription, which is, certainly, older than Simonides; in That, as well as in the

^w B. I. c. 90. ^x Montfaucon. Palæogr. p. 128. ^y Palæogr. Græc. p. 117.

Herodian inscription, it stands for an aspirate only : Simonides, therefore, could not have invented that letter ; all he can be supposed to have done is, to have altered the power of it, and to have transformed it, from an aspirate, to a double, or long E, as his Ω was to represent a double, or long O. Neither do I believe that Palamedes invented the Z , I mean, the sound of it, though he might invent the letter ; since the Phœnicians, Syrians, and Chaldeans had, originally, the sound of that letter, called, by the latter, זיט *Zita*, which is almost the same name, which the Greeks gave to it. Before the invention of the six double consonants, Z , Θ , Φ , X , Ξ , Ψ , the Ionians expressed their power by SD , TH , ΓH , KH , KS , ΓS . In this, also, the Romans imitated the Ionians with regard to four of them ; as for the other two, they used them in the same manner, as the more modern Greeks, in all the words they took from them. I shall give examples of both. Of the four, are these words, *Theatrum*, *Phaleræ*, *Chimæra*, *Psittacus* ; and of the others, *Xenium*, *Zephyrus*. I am forced to make use of Greek words, because I know of no Latin words, beginning with these double consonants, that are not either Greek, or derived from that language. Our author, in his justly admired ² treatise of the composition of words, makes but three double consonants, all which are included in the eight semivowels ; these three are, Z , Ξ , Ψ ; and he gives this reason for their being called double, because they are compounded, Z , of $\Sigma \Delta$; Ξ , of $K \Sigma$; and Ψ , of $\Pi \Sigma$. He confines their number to three ; because he calls X , Φ , and Θ , aspirate mutes, $\alpha\phi\omega\alpha\delta\alpha\sigma\epsilon\alpha$: The reason of which, I imagine to be this, though he does not say so, that each of them includes the aspirate H ; being compounded of KH , ΠH , and $T H$.

Thus I have gone through the task I proposed to myself, and am, intirely, convinced that the old Greek and Roman letters were, origi-

² Edit. of Hudson, p. 22, and 23.

nally, the same: This I mention, because nothing else could justify my endeavours to convince the reader of it. By what has been said, we may observe the slow progress of letters, from their first appearance in Europe, under Cadmus, to their being introduced into Italy by Evander, which comprehends no less than 250 years: And, what is more extraordinary, they had, but ²² lately, been known in Arcadia, when Evander went from thence to Italy. This can, only, be accounted for by the predatory genius of the Greeks, which prevailed during that interval, and led them rather to prey upon their neighbours, than to cultivate the liberal arts; but they no sooner applied themselves to these, than they advanced as swiftly to the empire of learning, as the Romans did, afterwards, to That of the World; with this difference, that captive Greece polished her conquerors, whose power is, long since, dissolved, whereas the literary sovereignty of the Greeks will be acknowledged, as long as their language shall be understood.

²² Dion. Rom. Ant. B. i. c. 33.

THE

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

MONARCHY, therefore, having continued two hundred and forty four years from the foundation of Rome, and, under the last king, degenerated into tyranny, was, for these reasons, and by these persons, abolished just before the sixty eighth Olympiad, in which Ischomachus of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Isagoras being annual archon at Athens. An aristocracy being, now, established, and Lucius Junius Brutus, and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, the first consuls, invested with the regal power, when there yet remained about ¹ four

ANNOTATIONS on the Fifth Book.

¹ Τετταράκων τινῶν μηνῶν εἰς τὸν εἰσῆλθόντα
ἐκεῖνον ὑπολειπομένων. If we could, cer-
tainly, know when the Roman year be-
gan, at this time, among the Romans,

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it would be very easy to ascertain the
month of the year, when the two first
consuls entered upon their magistracy ;
because we find, by this passage, that

Qq

months

months to complete that year (which magistrates the

four months were then wanting to complete the year. ^a Plutarch is of opinion that the first consuls were chosen on the kalends of January. And this opinion, I find, M. * * * has espoused. However, it is liable to many objections: For, if, as Plutarch says, in the same place, the Roman year began, according to the institution of Romulus, on the first of March, and, according to That of Numa, on the first of January; and, if, according to our author, four months were wanting to complete the year, when the first consuls entered upon their magistracy, it is plain they did not enter upon it on the first day of January. Besides, it is allowed by all authors that this day was not the fixed day for the consuls to begin their administration till the consulship of Q. Fulvius Nobilior, and T. Annius Luscus, in the year of Rome 601. Le Jay thinks the Roman year began the first of October, and, consequently, that the first consuls began their magistracy on the first day of June. This opinion he supports by a proof, which, he says, admits of no answer: This proof is taken from Livy, who says that, when it was proposed to restore to the Tarquins their effects, the Romans pulled up the ripe corn, that was growing in the field between Rome, and the Tiber, and threw it into the river. From whence he concludes that, as June is the time, when the harvest *begins* to be ripe, that must be the month, when the first consuls began their magistracy. But this argument,

which he thinks unanswerable, may be turned against him. This I shall shew, even, from Livy, from whom he derives his proof. This historian, therefore, says, that, after the Tarquins were expelled, and Brutus, and Collatinus chosen consuls, the first thing these magistrates did, was to make the people take an oath, that they would suffer no more kings at Rome ^b. After which, they supplied the vacancies in the senate, occasioned by the murders of Tarquinius. The next thing of moment was the resignation of Collatinus, and the election of Valerius in his room. Then, follows the embassy, sent by Tarquinius, to desire his effects might be restored to him. This embassy occasioned a debate of some days continuance in the senate: In the mean time, the ambassadors engaged many of the Roman youth in a conspiracy to restore the tyrant, and, among the rest, the consul's sons. After the senate had ordered the effects of Tarquinius to be restored, the ambassadors staid some time at Rome, pretending to be employed in preparing carriages to transport them. However, they made use of this delay to hold frequent meetings with the conspirators, and to procure letters from them to Tarquinius. This produced a discovery, and the discovery occasioned the abandoning these effects, and, among the rest, the corn, to the people. Now, it is submitted to the reader whether all these transactions did not, probably, take up more time than is requisite to bring corn to its maturity after it

^a Roman. Quæst. p. 268.

^b B. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Romans,

Romans, in their own language, call *Consules*, as I said)

*begin*s to be ripe, as le Jay says. In the common course of things, they must have taken up some weeks, and, possibly, two, or three months from the creation of the consuls. There is another argument, made use of by le Jay, which would, most certainly, prove, that the first consulship ended with the month of September (for he supposes that it lasted sixteen months) if the fact was as he states it. He asserts, from Plutarch, and Livy, that Horatius consecrated the capitol on the ides of September *in the last month* of his consulship, though Livy does not mention any month. But the misfortune is, that neither of these authors say that this happened *in the last month* of that consulship. I have those passages of ^c Plutarch, and ^d Livy, now, before me, and neither of them say one word of it. They take notice, indeed, of the account brought to Horatius of the death of his son, when he was going to consecrate the capitol; but, once more, I aver that neither of those authors say that Horatius performed this consecration in the *last* month of his consulship. I acknowledge that I find it easier to object to the opinions of Plutarch, and le Jay, than to advance one of my own, that shall be liable to no objections. However, the first thing, that seems necessary, is to fix the time, when the year began, at that period, among the Romans. I shall not take upon me to shew when the institution of Numa, by which the year began on the first of January, was altered: All I can

pretend to do, is to shew that there is great reason to believe the beginning of the year fell out, at the time we are speaking of, on the first of August. This is certain that 47 years after the expulsion of the kings, that is, in the year of Rome 291, the Romans began their year on that day. This we know from ^e Livy, who says, that L. Aebutius, and P. Servilius, the consuls of that year, entered upon their magistracy on the first of August, *which was, then, the beginning of the year: creati consules L. Aebutius, P. Servilius kalendis sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum incunt.* As therefore, neither Livy, nor any other author speaks of any alteration made in the beginning of the year from the expulsion of the kings to the year of Rome 291, we have reason to think that the Romans began their year on the same day in the former of these periods. If this is so, the first consuls must have entered on their magistracy on the first day of April, since our author says they began it four months before the end of that year. There is one objection against the day I have assigned for the beginning of the first consulship, which I think myself obliged not to conceal from the reader, which is, that the *regifugium*, the day on which the Tarquins were banished, was, in the old Roman calendar, on the sixth before the calends of March (the twenty fourth of February) so that, if there was no interval between the banishment of the Tarquins, and the creation of the first consuls, these

^c Life of Poplicola.

^d B. ii. c. 8.

^e B. iii. c. 6.

they, assisted by the ² other citizens, who, having made a truce with the Ardeates a few days after the expulsion of the tyrant, left the camp, and came to the city in great numbers, assembled the people; and, having insisted long upon the advantages of unanimity, they confirmed, by another vote, every thing, which those in the city had, before, decreed, condemning the Tarquini to perpetual banishment. After which, they purified the city, and entered into an engagement, confirmed by their oaths, and the performance of a sacrifice, and they themselves, standing upon the victims, first swore, and prevailed upon the rest of the citizens likewise to swear, that they would never restore Tarquinius, their late king, his sons, or their posterity; and that, from thenceforth, they would neither create any person king of the Romans, nor, suffer others to attempt it.

must have been created on the same day. As for the other festival, celebrated by the Romans on the ninth before the calends of June (the twenty fourth of May) and marked in their calendar by these letters Q. R. C. F. which le Jay mistakes for the *regisficium*, in order to adapt it to his own system, it relates, only, to the *rex sacrificus*, or *sacrorum*, who was appointed after the expulsion of the kings, *ne ubiubi regum desiderium esset*, as ¹ Livy says; and those letters signify, according to ³ Varro, *Quando Rex Comitatus est*.

² Ετερος παρ' αλλοις πολλας ελθοντων εις την πολιν των απο στρατοπεδου, μετ' ας σπονδας τας γενομεναις αυτοις προς Αρδεατας. This le Jay has, strangely, translated:

He supposes that the people, who came to Rome in great numbers from the camp, were not Romans, but a colony of the Ardeates, who, after the former had made a truce with them, came to reside at Rome: His words are these: *La trêve faite avec les Ardeates attira dans Rome un grand nombre de nouveaux habitants, qui firent alliance avec les Romains*. If the reader is at a loss to guess how he could mistake the words of the Greek text, which are very easy, I can explain it: He never considered the Greek text at all; but translated the Latin translation of Porcius, who has, thus, rendered the beginning of this passage, *assumptis in societatem aliis multis*.

¹ B. ii. c. 2. ³ De Ling. Lat. v. 4.

And

And this oath they took, not only for themselves, but, also, for their children, and posterity. However, since it appeared that the kings had been the authors of many considerable advantages to the commonwealth, they desired to preserve the name of that magistracy, as long as their city should subsist, and ordered the priests, and augurs to chuse among the elders the person they looked upon as the most proper for that office, who was to have the superintendence in affairs of religion, and in nothing else, and be discharged of all military, and civil functions, and that his title should be the ³ king of religious matters. The first person appointed to this office was Manius Papirius, a patrician, and a lover of quiet.

II. After the consuls had settled these things, they were afraid (as I imagine) lest the generality of the people should entertain an ill grounded opinion of their new form of government, and imagine that, as each of the consuls was attended with the twelve axes, like the kings, the city had two sovereigns instead of one; and, in order to quiet the fears of the citizens, and to lessen the envy of their power, they resolved that one of the consuls should be preceded by the twelve axes, and the other by twelve lictors with the fasces only; or, as some write, with clubs also: And that the use of the axes should be alternate, each of them being attended with them, successively, for the space of one month. By this, and several other institutions of the like nature, they engaged

³ ἱερῶν βασιλεὺς. In Latin, *rex sacrorum*, and *rex sacrificus*: Thus he is called by Livy, who gives the same

reason for his creation, as the reader has seen in the first note.

the plebeians, and the lower sort of people to desire a continuance of the present settlement: For they restored the laws, introduced by Tullius, concerning private contracts; which laws appeared humane, and popular, and had all been abrogated by Tarquinius: They, also, ordered the sacrifices, both in the city, and in the country, which the people, and the tribes, assembling together, used to offer up in common, to be renewed in the same manner, as they had been performed in the reign of Tullius: They restored to the people their right of holding assemblies upon affairs of the greatest consequence; of giving their votes; and of doing every thing they were intitled to do by former customs. These actions of the consuls pleased the generality of the people; who, from a long slavery, now saw themselves in a state of unexpected liberty. Notwithstanding this, there were some, and these no obscure persons, who, either through folly, or ambition, longed for a return of the ⁴ evils resulting from tyranny: These formed a conspiracy

⁴ Τῶν ἐν τυραννίδι κακῶν. These abettors of tyranny disregarded the evils resulting from it, because they looked upon them as general to all: But they set a value upon the advantages they expected from it, because they looked upon these as peculiar to themselves, without considering that, even, the gratifications, they promised themselves from the tyrant, were rendered insecure by the tyranny. Livy makes some reflexions on the motives, that gave birth to this conspiracy,

which I shall lay before the reader in ^h his own words: *Erant in Romanâ juventute adolescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adolescentium Tarquiniorum; assueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato jure omnium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur. Regem hominum esse, a quo impetres, ubi jus, ubi injuriâ opus sit: esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio; et irasci et ignoscere posse: inter amicum et inimicum discrimen*

^h B. ii. c. 3.

to

to betray the city, to restore Tarquinius, and to kill the consuls. Who the heads of this conspiracy were, and, by what unexpected accidents, they were discovered, while they imagined all mankind to be ignorant of their designs, I shall, now, relate, after I have resumed some few things, that were previous to this transaction.

III. Tarquinius, after his expulsion, staid a short time in the city of the Gabini, both to receive such, as came to him from Rome, to whom the tyranny was a more desirable thing than liberty, and to wait the event of the hopes he had formed of being restored to the sovereignty by the assistance of the Latines : But their cities not hearkening to his solicitations, nor being willing to make war with the Romans upon his account, he despaired of any assistance from them, and took refuge in a city of Tyrrhenia, from whence his family by his ⁵ grandmother's side, originally, came ; and, having corrupted the most considerable of the Tarquinienses, and been by them introduced to the assembly of the people, he renewed the memory of his connexion with their city ; recounted the favors his grandfather had conferred on all the Tyrrhenian cities, and reminded them of the treaties

nisse. Leges, rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti : nihil laxamenti, nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris ; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus soli innocentiam vivere. I have, contrary to my custom, transcribed this whole passage, because I look upon it to contain the finest contrast between tyranny, and liberty, that ever I met with.

⁵ Προς μητέρα. This must, certainly, be πρὸς πατέρα : Because Tanaquil, who was of Tarquinii, was grandmother, not mother, to Tarquinius Superbus, as our author has proved at large. The commentators might have taken notice of this : Indeed, le Jay supposes him to have been the adopted son of Tanaquil.

they

they had entered into with him. After all this, he lamented the misfortunes, which had happened to him ; that, in one day, he had fallen from the height of felicity ; and that he, and his three sons, being, now, wanderers, and in want of necessaries, were forced to fly for refuge to those, who had, once, been his subjects. Having related these things in a very pathetic manner, accompanied with tears, he prevailed upon the people, first, to send ambassadors to Rome, to propose terms of accommodation on his behalf, in hope that the men in power there would support his interest, and promote his restoration. The ambassadors being appointed by his direction, he instructed them in every thing they were to say ; and, giving them letters from the fugitive Romans, who were with him, containing intreaties to their relations, and friends, he gave them some gold also, and sent them to Rome.

IV. When these men arrived there, they said in the senate, that Tarquinius desired leave to come to Rome in safety with a small retinue, and to address himself, in the first place, to the senate, as it was reasonable ; and, after that, if the senate allowed it, to an assembly of the people also, and there give an account of all his actions, from the time of his accession to the sovereignty ; and, if any one accused him, to submit himself to the judgement of all the Romans : And, after he had cleared himself, and convinced them all, that he had done nothing worthy of banishment, if they thought proper to restore him to the sovereignty, he would exercise it upon such conditions, as they should think
fit

fit to prescribe: However, if they were resolved, no longer, to live under a monarchy as formerly, but to chuse some other form of government, he desired he might reside at Rome, which was his country, enjoy his own house, and live under an equality with the rest of the citizens, discharged however from banishment, and wandering. Having proposed these things, they begged of the senate, particularly, by the right, to which all men are intitled, to deprive no man of the opportunity of defending himself, and of being tried; and to give him leave to make his defence, of which they themselves would be the judges: But, if they did not think fit to grant him this favor, they desired the senate to act with moderation, from a regard to the city, that interceded in his behalf, in conferring upon her a favor, by which, as they themselves could not be injured, so they would be looked upon to do a great honor to the city, that received it: That, being men, they ought not to raise their thoughts above the condition of men, nor entertain immortal resentments in mortal minds; but to suffer themselves to do an act of clemency, even contrary to their inclination, for the sake of those, who intreated them; and to consider, that it is the part of wise men to give up their enmities to their friendships; and That of weak men, and Barbarians to confound their friends with their enemies.

V. After they had done speaking, Brutus rose up, and said; “ Concerning the return of the Tarquinius to this city, “ Tyrrhenians, say no more: For the vote is, already, passed, “ which condemns them to perpetual banishment; and we

“ have all of us sworn by the gods neither to restore the
“ tyrants ourselves, nor to suffer any others to restore them.
“ But, if you desire any thing else of us, that is reasonable,
“ which we can grant without violating either our oaths,
“ or the laws, let us know it.” After this, the ambassadors
advanced, and said; “ The event of our first essay has been
“ unexpected: For, addressing you as ambassadors on the
“ behalf of a suppliant, who desires to give you an account
“ of his actions, and asking, as a private favor, a right, that
“ is common to all men, even this we have not been able
“ to obtain. Since, then, you have taken your resolution,
“ we insist, no longer, upon his return: But we call upon
“ you to do a right of another kind, concerning which our
“ country has given us instructions; neither is there any law,
“ or oath, that can hinder you from doing it; that is, to
“ restore to the king the fortunes his grandfather possessed,
“ who never took any thing from you, either by force, or
“ fraud; but, having inherited them from his father, he
“ brought them to your city: For, all that he desires is to
“ have his fortunes restored to him, and to live, happily,
“ in some other place, without giving you any trouble.”
After the ambassadors had said this, they withdrew. Of the
two consuls, Brutus advised the retaining the fortunes of the
tyrants in order to punish them for the many great injuries
they had done to the commonwealth, and for the advantage,
that would result from it in depriving the former of a supply
for the war; and he shewed that the Tarquinii would not
be contented with the restitution of their fortunes, nor
submit

submit to lead a private life, but would bring a foreign war upon the Romans, and attempt, by force, to recover the sovereignty. But Collatinus advised the contrary, saying that the persons, not the fortunes of the tyrants had injured the commonwealth; and desired them to avoid both these things; the first, not to give room to the world to entertain this sinister opinion of them, as if they had expelled the Tarquinii for the sake of their riches; and the other, not to give the tyrants themselves a just cause of war by depriving them of their property: For he said it was uncertain whether, if they received their fortunes, they would, after that, attempt to make war upon them in order to their restoration; but certain that, if they were deprived of their fortunes, they would never be quiet.

VI. ⁶ Each of the consuls alledging these reasons, and many speaking in favor of both, the senate was at a loss what to resolve upon, and spent many days in this consideration; the opinion of Brutus seeming the most advantageous, and That of Collatinus the most just: At last, they determined that the people should be the judges both of the advantage, and the justice. Many things having been said upon that occasion by each of the consuls, when the curiae, that were thirty in number, were called to give their votes, they inclined to the one side with so small a bias,

⁶ Ταῦτα τῶν ὑπαίων, etc. The occasion of this debate in the senate is related by ¹ Livy in very few, but very significant words: *Per aliquot dies ea*

consultatio tenuit; ne non reddita, belli causa, reddita, belli materia, et adjumentum essent.

¹ B. ii. c. 3.

that those curiae, that were for restoring the effects, carried it but by ⁷ one vote against those, that were for retaining them. The Tyrrhenians, having received their answer from the consuls, and given great commendations to the citizens for having preferred justice to profit, gave notice to Tarquinius to send some persons to receive the effects, while they themselves staid in the city, pretending to be employed in collecting the furniture, and disposing of those things, that could not be removed; but in reality, with no other view, than to form parties there, and to carry on intrigues pursuant to the instructions of the tyrant: For they employed themselves in delivering letters from the fugitives to their friends in the city, and in receiving others from these to the fugitives: And, in discoursing with several of the citizens, and sounding their sentiments, if they found any, through weakness, poverty, or a desire of being restored to the advantages they had enjoyed under the tyranny, easy to be insnared, these they endeavoured to corrupt by suggesting hopes, and giving them money. And some there would be, as may well be imagined in a large, and populous city, who preferred a worse, to a better, constitution, not of the obscurer sort only, but even among the men of distinction: Of this number were the two Junii, Titus, and Tiberius, the sons of Brutus, the consul, then just arrived to manhood; and,

⁷ Μία ψήφος. I pay the greatest deference imaginable to the learning, judgement, and eloquence of our author: But, figures exclude all deference. Among the thirty curiae there could not have been a majority of only

one vote. The smallest majority there could be was of two votes, viz. sixteen against fourteen. However, I believe he meant that, when sixteen curiae concurred, they made *one vote* more than half their number.

with

with them, the two^s Vitellii, Marcus, and Manius, brothers to the wife of Brutus, men capable of administering the affairs of the public; and, also, the Aquillii, Lucius, and Marcus, sons to the sister of Collatinus, the other consul, of the same age with the sons of Brutus: At the house of the Aquillii, their father being dead, the conspirators, generally, met, and consulted together concerning the restoration of the tyrants.

VII. From many other circumstances, the affairs of the Romans seem to me to be raised by the hand of providence to the flourishing condition they are, now, arrived to; but, particularly, by what happened upon this occasion: For such folly, and providential madness possessed those unfortunate men, that they suffered themselves to send letters to the tyrant, written in their own hand, in which they set down, not only, the number of their accomplices, but, also, the time, when they proposed to make the attempt upon the consuls: To this they had been induced by the letters they had received from the tyrant, in which he desired to know beforehand the names of the Romans, whose zeal he ought to recompense, after he was restored to the sovereignty. These letters the consuls possessed themselves of by the following accident. The principal conspirators were assembled at the house of the Aquillii, the sons of the sister of Collatinus, having been invited thither under a pretence of performing some religious rites, and sacrifices. After the entertainment,

^{s.} ΟΥΙΤΕΛΛΙΟΙ. Sigonius has proved, read Vitellii instead of Gellii, and, also, in his notes upon Livy, that we must Aquillii with a double /.

they

they ordered the servants to go out of the room, and to withdraw from the door of the mens apartment ; because they were, then, debating about the means of restoring the tyrants ; and setting down, under their own hands, their resolutions, in the letters, which the Aquillii were to deliver to the Tyrrhenian embassadors, and these to Tarquinius. In the mean time, one of the servants, who was their cupbearer, and a captive taken at Caenina, by name, ⁹ Vindicius, suspecting, by their ordering the servants to withdraw, that they were consulting some mischief, staid alone without the door, and, not only, heard their discourse, but, looking through a crevice of the door, saw the letters they were all writing : And, going out of the house, about midnight, as if he had been sent by his masters upon some business, he was unwilling to go to the consuls, lest they, desiring to stifle the affair from a tenderness to their relations, might order the informer to be put to death ; but applied to Publius Valerius, one of the four, who had, first, subverted the tyranny : This person gave him his hand as a pledge of his faith ; and the other, having received this assurance of his security, confirmed by oaths, informed him of all he had both heard, and seen. Upon this information, Valerius lost no time, but went to the house of the Aquillii about break of day, attended with

⁹ Οὐίνδικος. Thus we must read this name with the Vatican manuscript, because he is so called, also, by ^k Livy ; *Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse*. The reader may have seen the statue, or, at least,

the print of Vindicius, in the attitude of listening to the discourse of the conspirators. The statue, from whence it is taken, is allowed to be one of the finest at Rome.

^k B. ii. c. 5.

a considerable number both of his clients, and friends; and, going into the house without difficulty, as if he came upon some other business, the youths being still there, he got possession of the letters; and, seizing their persons, carried them before the consuls.

VIII. I am afraid lest the great, and astonishing actions of Brutus, one of the consuls, which I am, now, to relate, and in which the Romans place their greatest pride, should appear cruel and incredible to the Greeks; since it is natural for all men to measure whatever is said of others, by their ¹⁰ own consciousness, and to render credible things incredible with regard to themselves: However, I shall relate them. As soon, therefore, as it was day, Brutus ascended the tribunal; and, casting his eyes upon the letters of the conspirators, when he found Those written by his sons, each of which he discovered by their seals, and, after he had opened them, by their writing, he, first, commanded both their letters to be read by the secretary, in the hearing

¹⁰ Απο των ιδιων παθων. This reading, for which we are obliged to the Vatican manuscript, is, in my opinion, preferable to απο των οικων in all the editions. But, in order to form a judgement of the merit of the Vatican reading, we must consider that this sentiment of our author is, visibly, an imitation of a passage in ¹ Thucydides, though expressed in other words; Pericles, in the celebrated ετήχθιος λόγος, says; μεχρη γαρ τινος ανεχτοι οι επαυτοι εστι περι ετερων λεγμενοι, ες εσον αν και αυτες

εκαστος οικηαι ικανος επιαιδρασται τιων ηκησε' τω δε υπερεβαλλοντι αυτων φθονητες, ηδη και ατιςινσιν. Upon comparing the two passages, it will be found that our author has expressed ες εσον αν και αυτες εκαστος οικηαι, by απο των ιδιων παθων. But, if our author has imitated Thucydides, ^m Sallust has translated him: *Ubi de magnâ virtute atque gloriâ bonorum memores, quæ sibi quisque factitia fuisse putat, æquo animo accipit: jactare, veluti fida pro falsis ducit.*

¹ B. ii. c. 35. ^m Bell. Catil. c. 3.

of all, who were present; and, then, ordered his sons to make their defence, if they had any thing to say. But, neither of them daring to have recourse to an impudent denial of the fact, they both stood self-condemned, and wept. Brutus, after a short pause, rose up; and, commanding silence, while every one was waiting for the event, said, He condemned his sons to death. Upon which, they all cried out, saying, they would not suffer such a man to be punished with the loss of his sons, and desired to save the lives of the youths in consideration of their father. But he, regardless of their cries, and lamentations, ordered the lictors to lead them to death; while the youths wept, and begged, and called upon him in the most tender terms. Even this seemed astonishing to all, that neither the intreaties of the citizens, nor the compassion to his children should make any impression upon this man. But his unrelenting deportment with regard to every article of their punishment, was still more astonishing: For he would not suffer his sons to be carried to any other place, and put to death privately; neither would he himself stir from the forum to avoid the dreadful spectacle, till they were executed, or allow them to undergo the sentence, pronounced against them, without ignominy; but caused every circumstance of their punishment, established by the laws, and customs against malefactors, to be observed: And, after they had been whipped in the forum, in the sight of all the citizens, he himself being present when all this was performed, he, then, allowed their heads to be cut off with the axes. But the most extraordinary,

nary, and the most astonishing part of this man's deportment, was, that he, never, turned his head aside, nor shed a tear; and, while all present at this spectacle wept, he was the only person, who was observed not to lament the death of his children, to bewail the destitute condition of his family, nor to betray any other signs of softness; but, without tears, without sighs, without emotion to the last, he bore his calamity with firmness. So great a strength of mind was he indued with, so constant in his resolutions, and so much superior to all those passions, that disorder human reason.

IX. After he had caused his sons to be put to death, he, presently, called the nephews of his colleague, the Aquillii, at whose house the meetings of the conspirators had been held: And, ordering the secretary to read their letters, that all present might hear them, he told them they might make their defence. When the youths were brought before the tribunal, whether by the suggestion of their friends, or having concerted it, they threw themselves at the feet of their uncle, in hopes of being saved by his means. Upon which, Brutus ordered the lictors to lead them to death, if they refused to make their defence: When Collatinus, ordering them to forbear awhile till he had talked with his colleague, took him aside, and, earnestly, intreated him to spare the youths; sometimes, excusing them, and alledging that, through the ignorance of their youth, and the evil conversation of their friends, they had been betrayed into this madness; and sometimes, begging of him

to gratify him in saving the lives of his relations, as it was the only favor he asked of him, and the only trouble he should, ever, give him; and, at others, shewing him the danger of creating a disturbance in the city, if they attempted to punish with death all those, who appeared to have given any assistance to the fugitives in promoting their restoration; these being very numerous, and some of no obscure families. But not being able to prevail, he desired him, at last, not to condemn them to die, but to inflict a moderate punishment on them, saying, it was absurd to punish the tyrants themselves with banishment only, and their friends with death. And, when the other would not consent, even, to moderate the punishment, or to put off the trials of the conspirators (for this was the last favor his colleague asked) but threatened, and swore he would put them all to death that very day, Collatinus, full of resentment that he was not able to obtain any thing he had asked, said, “ Since, therefore, you are inexorable and cruel, I, who am possessed of the same power with yourself, acquit the youths.” Brutus, exasperated at this, replied, “ Not while I am alive, Collatinus, shall you have power to acquit the traitors to their country : So far from it, that you yourself shall, soon, be brought to condign punishment.”

X. Having said this, and appointed a guard over the youths, he assembled the people; and the forum being crowded (for the catastrophe of his sons was, by this time, divulged through the whole city) he ascended the tribunal; and, placing the most dignified persons of the senate near him,

him, spoke as follows ; “ I could have wished, citizens,
 “ that Collatinus, my colleague, had the same sentiments
 “ with myself in every thing ; and that, not by his words
 “ only, but by his actions also, he had shewn his hatred,
 “ and enmity to the tyrants : But, since I have discovered
 “ in him sentiments contrary to my own, and that he is
 “ united to the Tarquini, as well by inclination, as birth ;
 “ and that he is endeavouring a reconciliation with them,
 “ and, instead of the public good, considers his private
 “ advantage, I have, not only, prepared myself to hinder
 “ him from carrying his mischievous designs into execution,
 “ but, also, desire you to assist me in it. I shall, first, inform
 “ you of the dangers the commonwealth has been exposed
 “ to, and, then, in what manner each of us has behaved
 “ himself in those dangers. Some of the citizens, assembling
 “ at the house of the Aquillii, who are sons to the
 “ sister of Collatinus, among whom were my two sons,
 “ and the brothers of my wife, and some others, no obscure
 “ men, they entered into an agreement, and conspiracy to
 “ kill me, and restore Tarquinius to the sovereignty ; and,
 “ having written letters, containing these things, under their
 “ own hands, and sealed them with their own seals, they
 “ were going to send them to the fugitives. Of all these
 “ circumstances, through the favor of some god, information
 “ was given us by this man : He is a slave belonging
 “ to the Aquillii, at whose house they met last
 “ night, and writ the letters ; and the letters themselves we
 “ have in our possession. I myself have punished Titus,

“ and Tiberius, my sons; and neither the law we have
“ made, nor the oath we have taken, has, in any degree,
“ been violated through my clemency. But Collatinus takes
“ the Aquillii out of my hands, and says he will not allow
“ those, who have entered into the same counsels with my
“ sons, to undergo the same punishment. And, if these are
“ not to suffer, it will be impossible for me to punish either
“ the brothers of my wife, or the rest of the traitors to their
“ country: For, what law can I alledge against these, if I
“ discharge the others? Of what, then, do you think these
“ things are the indications? Whether, of a love to the
“ commonwealth, or of a reconciliation with the tyrants?
“ Of a confirmation of the oaths, which, after us, you all
“ have taken, or of a violation of those oaths, and of per-
“ jury? And, though he had escaped our discovery, he
“ would have lain open to those imprecations, and been
“ chastised by those gods, whom, by his perjury, he had
“ offended. But, since he is discovered, we ourselves ought
“ to punish him; who, but a few days before, persuaded
“ you to restore the effects to the tyrants, to the end that we
“ might not make use of that supply in the war against our
“ enemies, but our enemies, against us; and, now, he thinks
“ that those, who have conspired to restore the tyrants, ought
“ to be exempt from punishment, with a view, no doubt, of
“ gratifying them, that, if they should return, either by trea-
“ chery, or by war, he may, upon the merit of these favors, as
“ their friend, obtain every thing from them he desires. After
“ this, shall I, who have not spared my own children, spare
“ you,

“ you, Collatinus, who are with us, indeed, in person, but
 “ with our enemies, in inclination ; and who desire to save
 “ those, who have betrayed their country ; and to destroy
 “ me, who am the defender of it ? Why ? Far from it :
 “ But, to prevent you from effecting any thing of this kind
 “ for the future, I deprive you of your magistracy, and
 “ command you to retire to some other city. These que-
 “ stions must be decided by you, citizens ; in order to which
 “ I shall assemble you, immediately, in your centuries, and
 “ take your votes : Be assured, however, that either Colla-
 “ tinus, or Brutus must be your consul.”

XI. While he was speaking, Collatinus cried out, and
 expressed his resentment ; and, interrupting him at every
 word, called him a designing man, and a betrayer of his
 friends ; and, by endeavouring, sometimes, to clear himself of
 the accusations ; and, at others, by interceding for his nephews,
 and, not suffering his affair to be put to the vote, he in-
 flamed the indignation of the people, and every thing he said
 raised dreadful tumults. The citizens, being, now, exasper-
 rated against him, refused either to hear his defence, or to
 admit his intreaties ; but called out to have their votes
 taken ; when Spurius Lucretius, his father-in-law, a man
 esteemed by the people, fearing the event, and that he should
 be, ignominiously, deprived, not only, of the magistracy, but
 of his country, desired both the consuls to give him leave
 to speak (he being the first person, who, ever, obtained this
 liberty, as the Roman historians say ; it not being, at that
 time, customary for a private person to speak in an assembly
 of

of the people) and, addressing his intreaties to the consuls jointly, advised Collatinus not to persist in his opposition, nor to retain the magistracy contrary to the desire of the citizens, which he had received by their consent; but, if those, who had given it, thought fit to resume the magistracy, to resign it voluntarily; and not to clear himself of the accusations brought against him, by his words, but by his actions; to remove, with all his effects, to some other part of the world, till the commonwealth was in a state of security, since the good of the people seemed to require it; and to consider that, when other crimes are committed, all men, indeed, shew their resentment; but, when treason is suspected, they look upon it as the more prudent part, though even their fears are vain, rather to guard against the treason, than, by despising it, to suffer themselves to be undone. He, then, exhorted Brutus not to expel his colleague from his country with shame, and ignominy, in concert with whom he had formed the best resolutions in favor of the commonwealth; but, if he himself were willing to resign the magistracy, and leave his country voluntarily, not only to give him leave to remove all his effects at his leisure, but to add some benefaction from the public, to the end that this favor, conferred upon him by the people, might be a comfort to him under his affliction.

XII. These exhortations being, thus, addressed to both the consuls, and supported by the approbation of the people, Collatinus, greatly lamenting his misfortune, in being obliged, through the compassion he had shewn to his relations,

tions, to leave his country, ¹¹ resigned the magistracy: And Brutus, applauding him for having taken the best, and the most advantageous resolution both to himself, and to the commonwealth, exhorted him not to entertain any resentment either against him, or against his citizens; and, when he removed to another place, to look upon the city he had left, as his country; and, never, to join with her enemies in any counsels, or actions that might be directed against her; and, upon the whole, to consider his removal, as a peregrination, not as an expulsion, or a banishment; and, though his person continued with those, who received him, to let his inclination remain with those, who dismissed him. After this exhortation, he prevailed upon the people to make him a present of ¹² twenty talents, and he himself added five more

¹¹ ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. Both the French translators have observed that the reasons, given by Livy for the deposition of Collatinus, are not, in any degree, so well founded as those, alleged by Dionysius. This must be allowed. And I shall add, that the opposition given by Collatinus to the punishment of his nephews, after Brutus had sacrificed his own sons to the liberty of his country, was, certainly, a better reason to depose him, than because his name happened to be Tarquinius Collatinus, which Livy tells us was *the only thing* that drew upon him this disgrace; *Consulis enim collatus, cum nihil aliud offenderit, remota est in incensum civitati fuit.* If this reason is extraordinary, there is another, urged against him by Brutus, in Livy, when he advises him to re-

sign, that looks as if that historian was so much employed in the beauties of his style, as not to attend to the consistency of his history. He had, before, acquainted his readers that the mother of Brutus was sister to Tarquinius Superbus, *Lucius Junius Brutus Tarquinii sorore regis natus*; and, yet, in this speech, he makes Brutus say to Collatinus that *the family*, of which he was descended, was obnoxious to liberty; *Regium genus, regium nomen, non solum in civitate, sed etiam in imperio est; id negligere, id constare libertati.*

¹² ἑξήκοντα ταλάντων. Twenty talents make 3875 pounds of our money; consequently, the present, made by Brutus himself to Collatinus of five talents, will amount to 968 l. 15 s.

¹ E. ii. c. 2.

² B. i. c. 56.

³ B. ii. c. 5.

out of his private fortune. Tarquinius Collatinus, after this disgrace, retired to Lavinium, the metropolis of the Latin nation, where he died in an advanced age. And Brutus, resolving not to continue alone in the magistracy, nor to give room to the citizens to suspect that the desire of monarchy had induced him to banish his colleague, immediately assembled the people in the field, where they, usually, chose their kings, and their other magistrates, and appointed for his colleague Publius Valerius, who was, as I said before, of Sabine extraction, a man worthy both of praise, and admiration, for the many great qualifications he possessed, but, particularly, for his frugality: For he was a kind of self-taught philosopher, as he shewed himself upon many occasions, of which I shall, soon, give an account.

XIII. After this, Brutus, and his colleague, acted, in every thing, with great unanimity, and, immediately, put to death all, who had conspired to restore the fugitives; and, also, honoured the slave, who had given information of the conspiracy, not only with ¹³ his liberty, but with the privileges of a Roman citizen, and a large sum of money. After which, they introduced three institutions, all of the greatest reputation, and advantage to the public, by which they created an universal harmony among the citizens, and weakened the

¹² Ελευθερίας τε και πολίτης μέλαδοςαι
ἐκμησαν. Livy says that Vindicius was
the first man, who was made free by
the method in use among the Romans,
called *Vindicta*, which was thought by
some to have been so called from him;

⁹ *ille primum dicitur vindictâ liberatus;
quidam quoque vindictæ nomen ab illo
tractum putant. Vindicta, or Festuca,*
properly signifies the rod, by the im-
position of which the slave was declared
by the praetor to be free.

⁹ B. ii. c. 5.

factions of their enemies. The institutions, introduced by these consuls, were as follows: In the first place, they made choice of the most distinguished among the plebeians; and, having made them patricians, they, with these,¹⁴ completed the senate to the number of three hundred. After that, they exposed the effects of the tyrants in public for the benefit of all the citizens, giving to every one as much of them as they could seize; and, dividing the lands, they had possessed, among those, who had none, reserved only one field, which lies between the city, and the river: This field their ancestors had, by a public decree, consecrated to Mars, as a meadow for horses, and the properest place for the youth to perform their exercises in arms; and, even before this, it had been consecrated to this god: But Tarquinius had appropriated it to his own use, and sown it; the greatest proof of which is, the resolution, then, taken by the consuls, in relation to that corn: For, having given leave to the people to carry away every thing, that belonged to the tyrants, they would not suffer them to take away the corn, which had grown in this field, and was yet lying upon the floors, whether in the straw, or threshed; but, looking upon it as impure, and improper to be carried into their houses, they determined it should be

¹⁴ Καὶ συνεπληρώσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν βουλὴν εἰς τριακοσίαις. I am at a loss to guess what authority Plutarch had for asserting that Valerius filled up the vacancies in the senate after the death of Brutus, and while he himself was sole consul: For Livy, as well as our

author, is against him; both of them asserting, in so many words, that the vacancies in the senate were supplied before the death of Brutus. Concerning this supply of the Roman senate see the sixty sixth annotation on the third book.

¹ In Poplicola.

² B. ii. c. 1.

thrown into the river : And there, still, remains a monument, which manifests that transaction, being a considerable island, consecrated to Aesculapius, and washed on all sides by the river ; which island, they say, was formed by the heap of rotten straw, consolidated by the mud, which the stream was, constantly, accumulating. The third thing they did was to grant leave to all the Romans, who had fled from the city with the tyrant, to return, upon the terms of impunity, and a general amnesty, limiting the time to twenty days : But, if they did not return within the term appointed, they condemned them to perpetual banishment, and the confiscation of their estates. These institutions engaged all, who enjoyed any part whatever of the possessions belonging to the tyrants, to undergo any danger rather than be dispossessed of those advantages ; and, by freeing from fear those, who, apprehending a necessary punishment, as due to the crimes they had been guilty of under the tyranny, had submitted to one, that was voluntary, made them embrace the interest of the commonwealth, preferably, to That of the tyrants.

XIV. After they had regulated these things, and made the necessary preparations for the war, they, for some time, kept their forces in the plains near the city, disposed under their respective ensigns, and leaders, where they performed their exercise. All which was occasioned by the advice they had received, that the fugitives were raising an army against them in all the cities of Tyrrhenia, and that two of these cities, the Tarquinienfes, and the Vcientes, had, openly, declared

declared in favor of their restoration, and both levied considerable armies to promote it; and, that, in the other cities, some volunteers were raised by their friends, and, also, mercenaries. When the Romans heard the enemy had, already, taken the field, they resolved to meet them; and, before the latter came up, they passed the river; and, marching forward, incamped near the Tyrrhenians in a meadow, called ¹⁵ Vinius, near a grove consecrated to the hero, Horatus. Both armies were, nearly, equal in number, and, equally, eager for the engagement. At first, therefore, there was a small skirmish between the horse, who charged as soon as they came in sight of one another, and before the foot were incamped: In which, having tried each other's strength, and neither conquering, nor conquered, they retired to their respective camps. After that, the foot, and horse of both armies being drawn up in the same manner, the foot in the center, and the horse on the wings, they came to a general engagement. Valerius, the last elected consul, commanded the right wing of the Romans, and stood opposite to the Veientes; and Brutus the left, having before him the forces of the Tarquinienſes, commanded by the sons of Tarquinius, the late king.

XV. When the armies were ready to engage, one of the sons of Tarquinius, by name, Aruns, the most remarkable of his brothers both for the strength of his body, and the

¹⁵ Εν λειμῶνι καλεμαίνῳ Οἰνίῳ. ¹ Plutarch calls this meadow, Αἰσχροῦ λειμῶνα, and the grove, Οὐρεσὸν ἁλῶος; and ² Livy,

¹ In Poplicola.

filia Arfia. These varieties are, probably, owing to the errors of the transcribers.

² B. ii. c. 7.

vigor of his mind, advanced before the ranks of the Tyrrhenians ; and, riding up so near to the Romans, that all of them might know his person, and hear his voice, threw out abusive words against Brutus, their commander, calling him a wild beast, and stained with the blood of his children ; and, reproaching him, at the same time, with cowardice, and pusillanimity, challenged him to decide the general quarrel by a single combat. Brutus, impatient of these reproaches, and deaf to the remonstrances of his friends, rushed upon the fate, that was prepared for him : For both, being, equally, hurried on by passion, and considering only what they desired to effect, not what they might suffer, pushed their horses with all their force against one another ; and each, with unerring spears, piercing the buckler, and corslet of his enemy, one hid the point in his side, and the other in his loins ; and their horses, joining their chests with the violence of the motion, rose upon their hind feet ; and, throwing back their heads, flung their riders, who, falling to the ground, lay agonizing, while streams of blood gushed from their wounds. When the two armies saw their leaders fall, they engaged with shouts, and the noise of arms, and a most violent battle ensued both of the foot, and horse ; the event of which was alike to both : For the Romans, who were on the right wing, which was commanded by Valerius, the other consul, defeated the Veientes ; and, pursuing them to their camp, covered the plain with dead bodies : While the Tyrrhenians, who were posted on the enemy's right wing, and commanded by Titus, and Sextus, the sons of Tarquinius,

Tarquinius, put the left of the Romans to flight; and, advancing to their camp, attempted to take it by storm: But, many of them being wounded, they were repulsed by those, who had been left to guard it: These guards were called the *Triarii*, being veteran troops, and experienced in many wars, and are, always, the last employed, when every other hope is desperate, in actions of the greatest consequence.

XVI. The sun being, now, near setting, both armies retired to their own camps, not so much elated with their victory, as dejected with the numbers they had lost; and, if it should be necessary to renew the battle, not thinking those, who were left, sufficient for that purpose, the greatest part of them being wounded. But there was a greater dejection, and despair among the Romans, occasioned by the death of their commander; and many of them were of opinion that the best thing they could do, was to quit their camp before the day appeared. While they were considering these things, and discoursing of them among themselves, nearly about ¹⁶ the first watch, a voice was heard from the grove, near which they were incamped, calling aloud to both armies in such a manner as to be heard by all of them, whether from the heroe, to whom the grove was consecrated, or from Faunus, as he is called: For the Romans attribute to this genius the panic, and other appearances, which shew themselves to men, at different times, in different shapes, inspiring terrors; and they say that all voices, which

¹⁶ Περὶ τὴν πρώτην φυλακὴν. See the sixtieth annotation on the third book.

disturb

disturb the minds of the hearers, are the work of this god. However, the voice of this genius exhorted the Romans to take courage, as having gained the victory; and declared that the loss of the enemy exceeded theirs by one man. It is said that Valerius, encouraged by this voice, marched to the enemy's camp, while it was, yet, dark night, and having killed many of them, and driven the rest out of the camp, made himself master of it.

XVII. This was the event of that battle: The next day, the Romans, having stripped the enemy's dead men, and buried their own, returned home. The most considerable knights carried the body of Brutus to Rome with many praises, and tears, and adorned it with crowns in token of his superior bravery. They were met by the senate, who had, before, decreed a triumph in honor of their general, and, also, by all the people, who received the army with bowls of wine, and tables spread with victuals. When they came into the city, the consul ¹⁷ triumphed, according to the custom used by the kings, when they performed the processions attended with trophies, and sacrifices; and, having consecrated the spoils to the gods, he passed that day, as a festival, and gave an entertainment to the most considerable

¹⁷ Πομπινεας ὁ ὑπάτος. This was the first consular triumph; and in these words it stands recorded: "*P. Valer. Volufi F. Poplicola Cef. primus de Veientibus et Tarquiniensibus. an. CCXLIV. kal. Mart.*" Valerius triumphed the day after the battle, as our author tells us: And * Plutarch says the battle was

fought on the day before the calends of March; ταύτην τὴν μάχην λείπει γενεσθαι πρὸ μίας καλανδῶν Μαρτίου: Where he has translated *pridie* by πρὸ μίας. By this means, the inscription, and the relations, given by our author, and Plutarch, are all connected.

* Sigon. in Fast. et Triumph.

* In Poplicola.

of the citizens. The day after, he appeared in a mourning habit; and, placing in the forum the body of Brutus, properly adorned, upon a magnificent bier, he called the people together; and, ascending the tribunal, made his funeral oration. I cannot, certainly, affirm whether Valerius was the first, who introduced this custom among the Romans, or whether he found it, already, established by the kings. But I am informed by general history, as delivered down by the most ancient poets, and the most celebrated historians, that it was an ancient invention of the Romans to celebrate the virtues of illustrious men at their funerals; and that the Greeks were not the authors of it: For these, indeed, give an account of funeral games, both gymnic, and equestrian, performed in honor to famous men by their friends; as, to Patroclus, by Achilles; and, before that, by Hercules to Pelops: But none of them make any mention of funeral orations, spoken in praise of the deceased; except the Athenian tragedy-writers, who, in flattery to their city upon the occasion of those, who were ¹⁸ buried by Theseus, invented

¹⁸. Τῶν ὑπὸ Θησέως θαπτόμενων. Casaubon has a note upon this passage, which M. * * * has appropriated without any acknowledgement. In this note, the former thinks our author has expressed himself obscurely; and asks this question; Who are those, whom Theseus buried? This question is, easily, answered, when we consider that Dionysius speaks of some tragic poets, who flattered the Athenians upon the occasion of those, whom Theseus buried. By this, it is plain he

alludes to the *Izēides* of Euripides, in which Adrastus makes the panegyric of the five generals, who fell before Thebes, in the presence of Theseus, when he was going to perform their funeral rites. As to the flattery, which, our author says, the tragic poets bestowed upon the Athenians upon this account, the acknowledgement, made by Adrastus to Theseus for this instance of his humanity, will, sufficiently, explain it;

this

this fable also: ¹⁹ For it was late before the Athenians added to the law the funeral panegyric, which, they, first, instituted either in honor of those, who died in defence of their country at Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataeae, or on account of the actions performed at Marathon: Now, the affair of Marathon, if the orations in praise of the deceased, really, began from thence, was later than the funeral of Brutus by sixteen years. But if any one, without inquiring into the authors of these funeral panegyrics, desires to consider the law itself, and to be informed in which of the two nations it is arrived to the greatest excellence, he will find this institution to be founded on greater wisdom among the Romans, than among

^γ Θησευ, ξυνισμεν πανθ' ος' Αργειων χθονα
Δεδρακας εοθλα, δεομενην ευεργειων,
Χαριν τ' αλγρω γ' εξομεν, γενναια γαρ
Παχοντες, υμας ανιδραν οφειλομεν.

I shall add the answer of Theseus in order to introduce the reply of Adrastus, by which, I believe, it will, plainly, appear that this is the passage alluded to by our author;

Θησ. Τι δη ποθ' υμιν αλλ' υπεργησαι με χρη;
Αδρ. Χαρι'. αξιος γαρ και συ, και πολισ σεθεν.

¹⁹ Οψε γαρ ποτε Αθηναιοι προσεθεσαν τον επιλαφιον επαιον τω νομω. I shall, first, observe that our author uses here the same expression with ² Thucydides in the επιλαφιος λοφος, pronounced, as he says, by Pericles; whose words are, επαινεσι τον προοθεντα τω νομω τον λογον τοδε: And, then, consider who introduced this custom among the Athenians. The Greek scholiast says it was Solon; τει νομοθετην, δηλονοτι τον Σολωνα.

But this is contradicted by our author, who, we find, says it was, first, practised in honor of those, who lost their lives at Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataeae, or at Marathon. All these battles, every body knows, were fought several years after the time of Solon. In this, Dionysius is supported by ^a Diodorus Siculus, who says this law was, first, enacted by the Athenians, after the total overthrow of the Persians at Plataeae. This Casaubon observed before me; but, as he has contented himself with giving the sense of this passage of Diodorus Siculus in Latin, I shall lay his own words before the reader for his greater satisfaction: Ομοιως δε και ο των Αθηναιων δημοσ εκοσμησε τις ταφης των εν τω Περσικω πολεμω τελευτησαντων, και τον αλωνα του επιλαφιον τριε ΠΡΩΤΟΝ εποιησε. και νομον εθηκε, λεγειν εκωμιον τοις δημοσια ταπόμενοις τις προαιρεθειας των ρήτορων.

^γ γ. 1176. ² B. ii. c. 35. ^a B. ii. c. 33.

the Athenians, for this reason; because the latter seem to have ordained these orations to be pronounced at the funerals of those, who died in war; imagining that they ought to be deemed good men from the single virtue, that appeared at their death, though, in other respects, they had no sort of merit: Whereas, the Romans have appointed this honor to be paid to all illustrious men, whether, in commanding armies, or, presiding in the civil administration, they had given wise counsels, and performed great actions; and not to the former only, when they died in the operations of war, but to the latter, also, in what manner soever they died: For they were of opinion that good men deserved praise for every virtue they had shewn during their lives, and, not for the single glory of their deaths.

XVIII. Thus died Junius Brutus, who subverted monarchy, and was the first consul: Though it was late before he appeared with distinction, and flourished but a short time, yet he was looked upon as the most illustrious of all the Romans. ²⁰ He left no children, either male, or female,

²⁰ Γενεαν ὅτε ἀρρενα κατὰ λειπὼν ὅτε θηλειαν. Sylburgius observes that, when Cicero makes the first Brutus the author of the Junian family, he says this only in favor of M. Brutus, whom he honoured to a degree of superstition. This observation I find both the French translators have adopted. But, in order to enable the reader to form a judgement of what other authors have said for, or against the opinion of Dionysius, I shall lay be-

fore him their authorities in their own words. Those of Cicero are as follows; *Quis enim putet aut celeritatem ingenii L. Bruto illi, nobilitatis vestrae principi, defuisse?* This is, indeed, so cursory an observation, and seems so like a compliment to his friend Brutus, that no great stress can be laid upon it. The next authority is That of Plutarch, who begins the Life of Marcus Brutus in these words. Μακκν δὲ Βρυτῶς πρόγονος ἦν Ἰσνίος Βρυτῶς, ὃν ἀνέστησαν ἐν

¹ Brutus, c. 14.

as those authors write, who have inquired into the history of the Romans with the greatest success, of which they bring many arguments; but, above all, This, which is not, easily, refuted, that he was of a patrician family; whereas, those, who said they were descended from that family, as the Junii, and Bruti, were all plebeians, and bore those magistracies, to which the plebeians might, by law, be admitted; such as the offices of edile, and tribune of the people; but none of them were invested with the consular dignity, of which the patricians, only, were capable: And it was late before they obtained this magistracy, that is, when the plebeians were allowed to enjoy it. But I leave these things

Καπιτωλίῳ χαλκῶν οἱ παλαιὶ Ρωμαῖοι μέσον των βασιλέων, ἐσπασμένον ξίφος, ὡς βεβηχιδάλα καὶ χλυσχνία Τερκυνίης. Some lines after, Plutarch quotes the authority of Posidonius, the philosopher, in support of his opinion. On the other side, Dion Cassius confirms what our author says, and asserts, that the conspirators abused this similitude of names, in order to engage M. Brutus in their design of putting Caesar to death: Ἐξαρχαία τε γὰρ, τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ αὐτῷ τῇ πρὸ τοῦ πάνυ βέλτου τοῦ τῆς Τερκυνίης καὶ αλυσχνίας ΚΑΤΑΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ, πολλὰ ἐξείθισαν, φημιζούτες αὐτὸν ΨΕΥΔΩΣ ἀπογόνον εἶναι· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς τῆς μόνῃς οἱ γενόμενοι μετὰ κίαν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπελόντες, καὶ οὐδε ἕξονον ὑπελιπείον. And, then, he says the conspirators writ under the statue of the first Brutus, Ἰδέσθε, *Would you were alive!* I find M. *** thinks that the argument, urged by our author, viz. that the

first Bruti were patricians, and the latter plebeians, is not unanswerable; because, he says, it appears from Suetonius that some patrician families were become plebeians. This is certain; but that must have happened by adoption: In which case, the name of the adopter is, always, in some shape, or other, borne, jointly, with That of the adopted. If, therefore, any of the family of the first Brutus, had been adopted by plebeians, the names of these would have been borne, by the adopted, jointly, with their own. We find an instance of this, even, in the family of the Bruti; of whom the famous M. Brutus, being adopted by Q. Servilius Caepio, was called, Q. Caepio Brutus; and D. Brutus, another of those brave Romans, being adopted by A. Postumius Albinus, was called, A. Postumius Albinus Brutus.

* B. lib. p. 278.

* Cicero, Philippic x. c. 11

to the consideration of those persons, whose business, and interest it is to discover the certainty of them.

XIX. After the death of Brutus, his colleague became suspected by the people of a design to make himself king: The first ground of their suspicion was his continuing alone in the magistracy, when he ought, immediately, to have chosen a colleague, as Brutus had done, after he had expelled Collatinus: And the other, that he had built a house in an invidious place; having chosen, for that purpose, a hill, considerably high and steep, called, by the Romans, ²¹ Velia, which commands the forum. But the consul, being informed by his friends that these things displeased the people, appointed a day for the election, and chose for his colleague Spurius Lucretius, who died within a few days after he had been in possession of that magistracy. In his place, he chose Marcus Horatius; and removed his house from the top to the bottom of the hill, to the end that the Romans, as he himself said in ²² one of his speeches to the people, might stone him from the hill, if they found him guilty of any crime: And, desiring to give the plebeians a certain as-

²¹· Ελίαν. See the twentieth chapter of the first book.

²²· Ως αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιαζῶν εἶπεν. This thought is not in the fine speech of Valerius to the people, in Livy, upon this occasion. Though he makes him say something, that seems to allude to it: *Inferam non in planum modo aedes, sed veli etiam subjiciam; ut vos supra spectum me civem habitetis.* There is

a passage in this speech, a few lines before, which I cannot help transcribing; *Adeone est fundata leviter fides, ut ubi sim, quam qui sim, magis referat?* These jealousies of a free people are excusable; and every wise magistrate will look upon them in the same light Valerius did, that is, rather as fears, than suspicions.

^c B. ii. c. 7.

furance of liberty, he took the axes from the rods, and instituted a custom, which has been followed by all the consuls after him, even to this day, that, when they are out of the city, they use the axes; and, in the city, the rods only. He, also, introduced most beneficent laws, which gave relief to the plebeians; by one of which he, expressly, forbid the exercise of any magistracy over the Romans, unless received from the people; making it capital for any one to transgress this law, with impunity to the person, who should kill the criminal. And, in the other, this was written: That, if a magistrate should condemn any Roman to be put to death, whipped, or fined, the private person might appeal, from such magistrate, to the people; and, in the mean time, be liable to no punishment, till the people had passed a vote concerning him. These institutions gained him the esteem of the plebeians, who gave him the surname of Poplicola, which, in the Greek language, signifies, *δημοκλῆς*, *One, who takes care of the people*. These were the things performed by the consuls this year.

XX. The year after, Valerius was appointed consul for the second time, and, with him, Lucretius; in whose consulship, nothing remarkable passed, besides the census, and the imposition of taxes for the support of the wars, according to the plan introduced by Tullius, which had been discontinued during all the reign of Tarquinius, and was, then, renewed, for the first time, by these consuls: By this census, it appeared that the number of Roman citizens, arrived to manhood, amounted to about one hundred and thirty thousand.

land. After which, an army of Romans was sent to a place, called ²³ Signia, in order to garrison that castle, which lies convenient to restrain the excursions from the cities both of the Latines, and Hernici, from whence they expected a war.

XXI. Publius Valerius, surnamed Poplicola, being invested with the same magistracy the third time, and, with him, Marcus Horatius for the second time, the king of the ²⁴ Clusini

²³ Σιγκησιον. By a note in Hudson, it appears that Gelenius reads this Σιγκησιον; Plutarch, in his life of Poplicola, Σιγκησιον; the Vatican manuscript, Τισιονουσιον; and Lapis, Signia; which, I find, ^f Claver thinks the better reading, since the other names were never heard of. Concerning Signia, see the seventy third annotation on the fourth book.

²⁴ Κλυσσιωνων. ^g Clusium, anciently, Camars, a city of great note in Tyrrhenia, is, now, called ^h *Chiusti*, or *Chinici*, as I have said. It stands on the south east end of a long lake, through which, the river *Clanis*, now, *la Chiana*, runs, before it falls into the Tiber. ⁱ Pliny, from Varro, gives a description of an extravagant labyrinth erected here by this Porfena for the place of his burial, some particulars of which I shall here take notice of, in order to shew that the ancient Tuscans, as well as the Chinese, were possessed with the impertinent folly of hanging bells on the outsides of their buildings. This monument was a square structure, each side containing three hundred feet, and fifty in height. Within this square building was the labyrinth;

and, upon the square, stood five pyramids, one at each corner, and the fifth in the middle; each of these was seventy five feet square at the bottom, and one hundred and fifty in height: On the top of these pyramids, there was a ball of brass, and over that, one umbrella (*petasus unus*) that covered them all: From this umbrella, hung small bells, fastened to it with chains. This minute taste will, I dare say, satisfy the reader's curiosity, and make him very indifferent concerning the remainder of the description. As to Porfena, who was buried there, he was called Lars. M. *** quotes Servius upon this verse of ^k Virgil,

*Nec non Tarquinium cecidit Porfenna
Accipere,* [jubebat

to shew that Lars was a title of honor, given by the Tyrrhenians to their kings. I have that note of Servius, now, before me, and can find nothing of that kind there. However, I am of the same opinion for another reason: ^l Livy, who calls Porfena, Lars, gives the same title to Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, a people, also, of Tyrrhenia.

^f Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 1020. ^g Livy, B. x. c. 25. ^h Claver, B. ii. p. 566. ⁱ Hist. Nat. B. xxxvi. c. 13. ^j Aeneid. B. viii. §. 646. ^k B. ii. c. 9. B. iv. c. 17.

in Tyrrhenia, by name, Lars, and surnamed Porfena, promised the Tarquini, who had fled to him, that he would either effect a reconciliation between them, and the Romans, upon the terms of their return, and restoration to the sovereignty, or, that he would recover, and restore to them the fortunes they had been deprived of; and, having sent ambassadors, the year before, to Rome with intreaties, mixed with threats, could obtain neither a reconciliation, nor leave for them to return, the senate alledging the imprecations, and oaths, by which they had bound themselves not to receive them; neither could he recover their fortunes, those, to whom they had been distributed, and allotted, refusing to restore them: Porfena, who was in his nature haughty, and whose mind was corrupted both with his riches, and the greatness of his power, pretended that he had been insulted by the Romans, and, injuriously, treated, because he had succeeded in neither of his demands; and, thinking he had, now, a favourable opportunity of subverting the power of the Romans, which he had, long before, designed, he declared war against them. In this war he was assisted, with all possible zeal, by Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, who marched out of Tusculum at the head of all the Camerini, and Antemnates, who were of the Latin nation, and had, already, openly revolted from the Romans: He, also, engaged, by his credit, many volunteers belonging to the other Latin cities, that were not willing to make open war upon an allied, and a powerful people, without great necessity.

XXII.

XXII. The Roman consuls, being informed of these things, ordered, in the first place, all the husbandmen to remove their effects, cattle, and slaves out of the country to the neighbouring mountains, in the fastnesses of which they built castles, sufficiently strong to protect those, who fled thither. After that, they strengthened, with more effectual fortifications, and guards, the hill, called Janiculum, which is a high mountain near Rome, lying on the other side of the river Tiber, and took care, above all things, that the enemy might not possess themselves of so convenient a post to annoy the city; and there they laid up their provisions for the war. They, also, regulated the affairs of the city upon a more popular plan, by introducing many beneficent institutions, in favor of the poorer sort, lest they, induced by private advantages to betray the cause of the public, might go over to the tyrants: For they discharged them of all the public impositions they had been subject to under the kings, and, also, of all contributions for military uses, and the expences of wars; looking upon it as a sufficient advantage to the public, to make use of their persons only in defending their country. And, with their army, long since, disciplined, and ready for action, they incamped in the field, that lies before the city. But Porfena, advancing with his forces, took the Janiculum by storm, having terrified the guards appointed to defend it, and placed there a garrison of Tyrrhenians. After which, he approached the city in expectation of taking That also, without any trouble: But, when he came near the bridge, and saw the Romans drawn

drawn up before the river, he prepared for battle, in expectation of overwhelming them with numbers, and led on his army with great contempt of the enemy. His left wing was commanded by the sons of Tarquinius, Titus and Sextus, who had with them the Roman fugitives, and the choicest troops of the Gabini, with a good body of foreigners, and mercenaries ; and the right, by Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, under whose conduct the Latines, who had revolted from the Romans, were drawn up. Porfena, the king, placed himself in the center. On the side of the Romans, the right wing, which stood opposite to the Tarquini, was commanded by Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius ; and the left, by Marcus Valerius, brother to Poplicola, one of the consuls, and Titus Lucretius, the consul of the former year, who were to engage Mamilius, and the Latines. The two consuls had the command of the center.

XXIII. When the two armies charged, they both fought bravely, and sustained the shock for a considerable time ; the Romans having the advantage of their enemies both in experience, and perseverance ; and the Tyrrhenians, and Latines being much superior in number. And, many being killed on both sides, fear seized the Romans ; first, Those on the left wing, when they saw their two commanders, Valerius, and Lucretius, carried out of the field wounded : After which, Those on the right wing, who had, already, the advantage over the forces commanded by the Tarquini, seeing the flight of their friends, were possessed with the same

same terror. And all of them, hastening to the city, and, endeavouring to force their way, in a body, over the same bridge, the enemy made a strong attack upon them; and the city, having no walls in that part next the river, was very near being taken by storm, which had, certainly, happened, if the pursuers had entered it at the same time with those, who fled: But three men put a stop to the pursuit of the enemy, and saved the whole army; two of these were Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius, among the elders, who had the command of the right wing; and, of the younger, Publius Horatius, who was called Cocles, from the loss of one of his eyes, which had been struck out in a battle, a person, of all men, the most remarkable for the fine proportion of his limbs, and for his bravery: This man was nephew to Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls, but derived his high birth from Marcus Horatius, one of the three brothers, who overcame the three Albans, when the two cities, contending for the sovereignty, agreed not to decide the contest with all their forces, but with three men on each side, as I have related in one of the former books. These three, without other assistance, placing their backs against the bridge, stopped the passage of the enemy for a considerable time, and stood their ground, while a shower of all sorts of weapons fell upon them, and numbers, also, pressed them sword in hand, till the whole army passed the river.

XXIV. When they judged their own men to be in safety, two of them, Herminius, and Lartius, their defensive arms being, now, rendered useless by continual strokes, retreated

leisurely ; while Horatius alone, though, not only, the consuls, but the rest of the people, solicitous, above all things, to preserve such a man for his country, and his parents, called to him from the city to retire, could not be prevailed on, but remained upon the same spot, where he first stood, and directed Herminius and Lartius to desire the consuls, as from him, to order that part of the bridge, which was next the city immediately to be cut off (for there was but one bridge at that time, which was built of wood, and mortised together with timber alone, without iron, which the Romans preserve even to this day in the same condition) and that, when the greatest part of the bridge was broken down, and little of it remained, they should give him notice of it by some signals, or by speaking louder than ordinary : As to the rest, he told them, he would take care of it. Having given these directions to these two persons, he stood upon the bridge itself ; and, when the enemy advanced upon him, he struck some of them with his sword ; and, beating down others with his shield, he repulsed all, who attempted to pass the bridge : For these, looking upon him as a mad man, and one, who had devoted himself to destruction, durst, no longer, approach him : At the same time, it was not easy for them to come near him, because the river defended him on the right, and left, and, before him, lay a heap of arms, and dead bodies. But, standing all at a distance, they threw spears, darts, and large stones at him ; and those, who were not supplied with these, threw the swords, and bucklers of the slain. But he fought still, making use of their own weapons against them ;
and,

and, throwing these among the crowd, he could not fail, as may well be supposed, to hit somebody. And now, overwhelmed with missive weapons, and, having a great number of wounds in many parts of his body, but one, particularly, occasioned by a spear, which, passing over the top of his thigh, pierced the forepart of one of his hips, and, putting him to great pain, impeded his motion. When, hearing those behind him call out that the greatest part of the bridge was broken down, he leaped, with his arms, into the river; and, swimming cross the stream with great difficulty (for the current, being divided by the piles, ran swift, and formed large eddies) he landed, without losing any of his arms.

XXV. This action gained him immortal glory: For the Romans, immediately, crowned him, and conducted him into the city with songs, as one of the heroes; and all the inhabitants ran out of their houses, desiring to have the last sight of him, before he died: For it was thought he could not, long, survive his wounds. And, when he was recovered, the people erected ²⁵ a brazen statue of him all-armed in the most conspicuous part of the forum; and gave him as much

²⁵ Εἰκὼν χαλκῆν. We find the same account in Livy, both of this great action, performed by Horatius Cocles, and of the honors, with which it was rewarded. After he has described the glorious stand he made upon the bridge, ²⁶ he closes his narration with these words; *Rem ausus plus famae habituram in posterum, quam fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit; statua in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die*

circumavit, datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia eminebant: nam in magnâ inopiâ pro domesticis ceptis unus quisque si aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu suo, contulit. This statue, still, remained in ²⁷ Pliny's time, as he himself tells us; *alia causa, alia auctoritas M. Horatii Coclitis statuae, quae durat hodieque, cum hostes a ponte sulicis solus arcuisset.*

²⁶ B. ii. c. 10.

²⁷ Nat. Hist. B. xxxiv. c. 5.

of the public land, as he himself could plow round, in one day, with a yoke of oxen: Besides these things, bestowed upon him by the public, every particular man, and woman in the city, at a time when they were all the most oppressed by a dreadful scarcity of necessary provisions, gave him as much as would maintain each of them one day, the number of people, in the whole, amounting to more than three hundred thousand. Thus, Horatius, who had shewn so great valor upon that occasion, was looked upon by the Romans with all possible admiration; but rendered useless, by his lameness, in the subsequent affairs of the commonwealth; and, by reason of this calamity, he obtained neither the consulship, nor any other military command. This man, therefore, by the wonderful action he performed for his country, in that engagement, deserves all the praise, that can be bestowed upon men famous for their courage. To him I shall add Caius Mucius, surnamed Cordus, a man born of illustrious parents; who, also, undertook a great action, concerning which I shall speak presently, after I have related the dreadful circumstances, to which the city was, at that time, reduced.

XXVI. For, after that action, the king of the Tyrrhenians, incamping on the neighbouring hill, from whence he had driven the guard of the Romans, made himself master of all the country on that side of the river Tiber. And the sons of Tarquinius, with Mamilius, his son-in-law, having transported the forces under their command, in rafts, and boats, to the other side of the river, that leads to Rome, incamped
in

in a strong post: And, making excursions from thence, they laid waste the territories of the Romans, demolished their country houses, and carried off their herds of cattle, when they came out of the fortresses for pasture. The whole country being in the power of the enemy, and no provisions at all brought to the city by land, and but small quantities by the river, a scarcity of all sorts of necessaries was, presently, felt by so many thousand people, living upon the stores, before, laid in, which were inconsiderable. After which, many slaves, leaving their masters, deserted daily, and the most profligate of the common people went over to the tyrants. The consuls, seeing these things, resolved to intreat those of the Latines, who yet respected the relation, that was between them, and the Romans, and seemed to persevere in their friendship, to send succours to them immediately: And they, also, resolved to send ambassadors both to Cumae in Campania, and to the cities situated in the Pometine plain, to desire leave to export corn from thence. The Latines refused to send succours, alledging that it was not lawful for them to make war either against the Tarquini, or the Romans, since they had entered into a common treaty of friendship, confirmed by their oaths, with both of them. But Lartius, and Herninius, the ambassadors, who had been sent to convey the corn, having filled a great many boats with all sorts of provisions, brought them from the sea up the river in a dark night, without the knowledge of the enemy. But these provisions, also, being, soon, consumed, and the people oppressed with the same scarcity,

scarcity, Porfena, informed by the deserters that the citizens suffered by the famine, sent a herald to them, commanding them to receive Tarquinius, if they desired to be freed from war, and famine.

XXVII. But the Romans disdain these commands, and chusing to bear every dreadful calamity rather than submit to them, Mucius foresaw that one of these two evils would befall them, either that they would, soon, be forced from their resolutions by a want of necessaries, or, if they perished in them, that they would perish by the most deplorable of all deaths; and, desiring the consuls to assemble the senate upon his account, as having something to propose to them of great moment, and necessity, when they were met, he spoke to them, as follows; “ Fathers, having a design to venture upon an
“ undertaking, by which the city will be freed from the pre-
“ sent evils, I place great confidence in the success of the
“ action, and believe I shall, easily, effect it. But, concerning
“ my own life, I have small hopes of surviving the accom-
“ plishment of this action, or, to say the truth, none at all.
“ In exposing myself to so great a danger, I do not desire that
“ the elevation of mind, with which the hope of great things
“ has inspired me, should be concealed from all the world, if
“ I should happen to miscarry in the undertaking; but ra-
“ ther for great actions, to gain great applause, by which
“ I shall exchange a mortal body, for an immortal glory.
“ It is not safe to communicate my design to the people, lest
“ any one, for his own advantage, should inform the enemy
“ of a thing, which ought to be concealed with the same
“ care,

“ care, as a secret mystery : But you, who, I am persuaded,
 “ will keep the secret inviolable, are the first, and the only
 “ persons, to whom I disclose it : And, from you, the rest
 “ of the citizens will be informed of it at a proper season.
 “ My enterprize is this : I propose to go to the camp of the
 “ Tyrrhenians as a deserter : If I am disbelieved by them,
 “ and put to death, the number of the rest of my country-
 “ men will be lessened by the loss of one citizen only : But,
 “ if I can enter the camp of the enemy, I undertake before
 “ you to kill their king : And, when Porfena is dead, the
 “ war will be at an end. As for myself, I shall be ready to
 “ suffer whatever heaven shall decree, when I reflect that
 “ you are privy to my design, and will bear witnesses of it to
 “ the people : But I go with the assurance that a fate more
 “ favourable to my country will be my guide.”

XXVIII. ²⁶ After he had received the praises of the senate,

²⁶. Επαινέθης δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ.
 ‘ Livy, also, says that the proposal to assassinate Porfena was received by the senate with approbation, *Approbant Patres*. He seems, indeed, sensible that the action, proposed to the senate, was criminal, and could, only, be excused by the condition, to which the city of Rome was, at that time, reduced : *Fortunâ tum urbis crimen affirmante, senatam adiit*. However, no distress, no approbation, even, of a Roman senate, no authority of historians, whether profane, or those called sacred, who mention some events like this, though of a worse complexion, which, I hope, are understood to be related as facts, rather than proposed as ex-

° B. ii. c. 12.

amples, can justify the immorality, and baseness of assassinating an enemy. Dionysius seems, industriously, to have omitted a romantic circumstance in this scene of Mucius, which Livy, and many authors, after him, describe with great ostentation ; I mean, his holding his hand in the fire, to let Porfena see how despicable a thing the body is to men, who aim at great glory ; [†] *En tibi inquit, ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis, qui magnam gloriam vident*. This is a truth every general of an army has many opportunities of being convinced of, without so incredible, and so shocking a proof as this, which is too horrid, even for tragedy, much more for history.

† Id. ib.

and

and favourable omens had countenanced his enterprize, he passed the river ; and, arriving at the camp of the Tyrrhenians, he entered it, having deceived the guard at the gates, who took him for one of their own country, by his not appearing to have any arms, and by his speaking the Tyrrhenian language, which he had been taught, when a child, by his nurse, who was a Tyrrhenian. When he came to the forum, and to the general's tent, he perceived a man remarkable both for the size of his person, and the strength of his body, dressed in a purple robe, and sitting in the general's tribunal, and many armed men standing round him : Having never seen the king of the Tyrrhenians, he mistook this man for Porfena : But, it seems, he was the king's secretary, who sat in the tribunal, while he was taking an account of the numbers of the soldiers, and distributing their pay amongst them. Making his way, therefore, to this man through the crowd, and ascending the tribunal (for, as he seemed unarmed, nobody hindered him) he drew the dagger he had concealed under his garment, and struck the man on the head : And, the secretary being killed with one stroke, he was, presently, seized by those, who stood round the tribunal, and brought before the king, who had, already, been informed, by others, of his secretary's death. As soon as Porfena saw him, he said ; “ Thou most wicked of all men, “ who art sure to suffer, presently, the punishment thou “ deserveest, say, Who art thou ? And, from whence thou “ comest ? And, what assistance didst thou depend on to dare “ to commit such an action ? Didst thou propose to kill my
“ secretary

“ secretary only, or me also? Who are thy accomplices in
 ‘ this attempt, or privy to it? Conceal no part of the
 “ truth, lest torture force it from thee.”

XXIX. Mucius, without discovering any fear, either by
 a change of color, a mournful look, or any other disorder
 incident to men, who are going to die, said to him; “ I am
 “ a Roman of no mean birth; who, desirous to free my
 “ country from the war, came into your camp, as a deserter,
 “ with a design to kill you; well knowing that, whether I
 “ succeeded, or failed in the attempt, I should die; how-
 “ ever, I resolved to sacrifice my life to my country, from
 “ which I received it, and to exchange a mortal body, for
 “ an immortal glory: But, being disappointed of my hope,
 “ I killed your secretary by mistake, instead of you, misled
 “ by the purple, the seat, and the other ensigns of dignity.
 “ Death, therefore, to which I condemned myself, when I
 “ undertook this action, I do not deprecate: But, if you
 “ think fit to remit the tortures, and the other indignities,
 “ and give me assurance of it by the gods, I promise to re-
 “ veal to you a matter of great moment, which concerns
 “ your own safety.” This he said with a design to circum-
 vent the king; who, being lost in amazement, and, at the
 same time, forming ill-grounded conjectures of dangers from
 several people, gave him, upon oath, the assurance he de-
 sired. After which, Mucius, having thought of an artifice
 of the newest kind, that could not, evidently, be discovered,
 said; “ O king, we are three hundred Romans, all of the
 “ same age, and all patricians, who have conspired to kill

“ you; to effect which, we have bound ourselves by mutual
“ oaths: And, when we were considering of the means to
“ execute our design, we resolved not to make the attempt
“ all together, but one by one; nor to communicate to one
“ another when, where, how, or with what advantages each
“ of us was to attack you: This was thought the most ef-
“ fectual means to prevent a discovery. After we had set-
“ tled these things, we drew lots; and it fell to my lot
“ to make the first attempt: Be assured, therefore, that
“ many brave men will be induced, by a thirst of glory, to
“ pursue the same design, and some one, I hope, with better
“ fortune: Consider, now, by what means, you may, suffi-
“ ciently, secure yourself against their several attacks.”

XXX. The king, having heard these things, commanded his guards to take Mucius away, and bind him, taking care he did not escape: While he himself assembled those of his friends he most confided in; and, ordering his son Aruns to sit down by him, considered with them, in what manner, he should prevent the designs of these men. All the rest advised precautions so weak, they seemed to understand nothing of the measures, that ought to be taken: When his son delivered his opinion last, in which there was more wisdom, than could be expected from his age: He desired his father not to consider what precautions he should use to prevent a misfortune, but what he should do not to stand in need of precautions. They all admiring his advice, and desiring to know how this might be effected, “ If, says he,
“ instead of enemies, you make these men your friends;
“ and

“ and set a greater value on your own life, than on the restoration of the Tarquini, and their fugitives.” The king said his advice was the best, that could be offered; but, that the means of making an honourable peace with them was a matter, that deserved consideration; saying it would be a great shame to him, if, after he had defeated them in battle, and, actually, kept them shut up within their walls, he should retire without effecting any thing he had promised to the Tarquini, as if he was conquered by those he had overcome, and fled from those, who durst, no longer, even stir out of their gates: And, that the only thing, that could enable him to put an honourable end to the war, was for the enemy to send some persons to him to treat of a peace.

XXXI. This the king said then to his son, and to those present: But, a few days after, he himself was obliged to propose terms of accommodation, for this reason: His soldiers being dispersed about the country, and carrying off the provisions, that were coming to the city, and doing this frequently, the Roman consuls surprised them by an ambuscade; and, killing several, took many more of them prisoners. Upon this, the Tyrrhenians grew uneasy; and, meeting together, communicated their complaints to one another, accusing both the king, and the other commanders of prolonging the war, and desired to return home. The king, therefore, finding that a peace would be acceptable to them all, sent some of his most intimate friends, as ambassadors, to treat of it. And some say that Mucius, also, was sent with them, having given the king an assurance, upon oath, that he would

return: But others say, that he was kept in the camp as an hostage, till the peace should be concluded; and this, possibly, is the truest account. The instructions, given by the king to the ambassadors, were these: Not to make the least mention of the restoration of the Tarquini; but, to desire the restitution of their fortunes; particularly, of all Those Tarquinius the elder left, and they themselves had, justly, acquired, and possessed: But, if that could not be, then, to desire that as many of their lands, houses, and cattle, as possible, should be restored, together with the value of the produce of the lands, from the time the Romans had been in possession of them; leaving it to them to determine whether those, who possessed, and enjoyed them, should pay it, or the public. So far their instructions related to the Tarquini. Then, for himself, they were to desire, upon his putting an end to the war, the restitution of²⁷ the seven villages (this territory, formerly, belonged to the Tyrrhenians, but the Romans had taken it from them by the right of war, and were then in possession of it) and, in order to perpetuate the attachment of the Romans to the Tyrrhenians, they were to demand of them the sons of their most illustrious families to remain with them as hostages.

XXXII. When the ambassadors came to Rome, the senate, by the advice of Poplicola, one of the consuls, and from a belief that the people, and the poorer sort particularly, labouring under a want of necessaries, would, even cheerfully, accept of a peace upon any terms, resolved to

²⁷ Επὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ. See the 110th annotation on the second book.

grant every thing, that Porfena propofed. But the people, who ratified every other article of the fenate's decree, would not hear of reftoring the effects; on the contrary, they voted that no reftitution fhould be made to the Tarquinii, either by the public, or by private perfons; and that embaffadors fhould be fent to king Porfena concerning thefe things, who fhould defire him to accept the hoftages, and the territory he infifted on; and, concerning the effects, that he himfelf, as judge between the Tarquinii, and the Romans, having heard both, fhould determine what he thought juft, without regard either to favor, or enmity. The Tyrrhenians returned to the king with thefe answers, and, with them, the embaffadors, appointed by the people; taking with them twenty children of the beft families, as hoftages for their country, the confuls being the firft to give their children for that purpofe; Marcus Horatius delivering his fon to them, and Publius Valerius his daughter, who was, already, marriageable. When thefe arrived at the camp, the king was pleafed; and, giving great commendations to the Romans, agreed with them upon a ceffation of arms for a certain number of days; and took upon himfelf the part of a judge. But the Tarquinii were grieved to find themfelves difappointed of the hopes they had entertained of greater things; having expected to be reftored by the king to the fovereignty: However, they were obliged to acquiefce in the prefent difpofition, and accept the terms, that were offered. The perfons, who were fent to defend the caufe of the commonwealth together, with the moft ancient fenators, being

being come from the city at the appointed time, the king seated himself upon the tribunal with his friends; and, ordering his son to sit as judge with him, he gave them leave to speak.

XXXIII. While the cause was pleading, a messenger brought an account of the flight of the virgins, who were hostages: For, having desired leave of their guards to go to the river, and bathe, after they had obtained it, they told the men to withdraw a little, till they had bathed, and dressed themselves, lest they should see them naked; and, the men having gratified them in this also, the virgins, following the advice, and example of Cloelia, swam cross the river, and returned to Rome. Upon this occasion, Tarquinius, loudly, accused the Romans of a breach of their oaths, and of perfidy; and, exasperating the king, represented to him that he ought to pay no regard to the false men, who had deceived him. On the other side, the consul cleared the Romans of this accusation, by alledging that the virgins had done this of themselves, without orders from their parents; and that he would, soon, convince him that these had been guilty of no treachery; which so far prevailed with the king, that he gave him leave to go to Rome, and bring back the virgins according to his promise: Upon which, Valerius departed in order to bring them to the camp. In the mean time, Tarquinius, and his son-in-law, in contempt of all the rules of justice, formed a wicked design, by sending, privately, a party of horse to possess themselves of the road, with orders to seize the virgins, as they were bringing to the
camp,

camp, together with the consul, and the rest of their company, with a view of retaining their persons, as pledges for the effects taken by the Romans from Tarquinius, without waiting the event of the cause. But heaven did not suffer their treachery to succeed : For, while the horse, designed to surprize them in their return, were going out of the camp of the Latines, the Roman consul prevented them, and arrived with the virgins : And, just as he came to the gates of the Tyrrhenian camp, he was overtaken by the horse of the other camp, who pursued him : Where a skirmish ensuing, the Tyrrhenians, soon, perceived it ; and, presently, the king's son came, with a body of horse, to their assistance, and the foot, posted before the camp, hastened, also, to their relief.

XXXIV. Porfena, resenting this attempt, assembled the Tyrrhenians, and acquainted them, that the Romans, having appointed him judge of the accusations, brought against them by Tarquinius, before the cause was determined, the fugitives, justly expelled, had, during a truce, been guilty of a wicked attempt upon the inviolable persons both of embassadors, and of hostages : For which reason, he said, the Tyrrhenians declared the Romans to be discharged of those accusations ; and, at the same time, renounced all intercourse of hospitality with the Tarquini, and Mamilius ; and ordered them, that very day, to go out of their camp. Thus, the Tarquini, who, at first, had entertained great hopes either of exercising their tyranny, again, in the city by the assistance of the Tyrrhenians, or, at least, of having their effects restored
to

to them, were disappointed of both, by their wicked attempt upon the persons of the ambassadors, and of the hostages; and went out of the camp with shame, and the detestation of all men. After which, the king of the Tyrrhenians, ordering the Roman hostages to be brought to the tribunal, returned them to the consul, saying, that he depended more upon the faith of the commonwealth, than upon any hostages: And to one of the virgins, by whose persuasion the rest had swam over the river, he gave great commendations, as to a person, who had shewn a spirit superior both to her sex, and age; and, after congratulating the city of Rome for producing, not only, brave men, but, also, virgins like men, he made her a present of a war-horse adorned with magnificent trappings. Having dismissed the assembly, he entered into a treaty of peace, and friendship with the Roman ambassadors, which was confirmed by mutual oaths; and, having entertained them, he restored, without ransom, as a present to the commonwealth, all the prisoners he had taken, the number of whom was very considerable: And the place, where his army lay, being not, like a camp, prepared for a short stay in a foreign country, but, sufficiently, adorned with buildings, both private and public, though it is not the custom of the Tyrrhenians, when they decamp from an enemy's country, to leave these buildings standing, but to burn them, he would not suffer this to be done, but left them in the same posture; and, by this means, made a present to the commonwealth of no small value; which appeared by the sale, made by the quaestors, after the king's departure.

departure. And this was the event of the war between the Romans, and the Tyrrhenians, commanded by Lars Porfena, king of the Clufini ; in which the commonwealth had been exposed to great dangers.

XXXV. After the departure of the Tyrrhenians, the Roman senate ordered a throne of ivory, a scepter, and a crown of gold with a triumphal robe, such as their kings had been adorned with, to be sent as presents to Porfena. And to Mucius, who had taken a resolution to die for his country, and who was looked upon as the chief instrument in putting an end to the war (as, before, to Horatius, for having repulsed the enemy from the bridge) they gave as much of the public lands, lying beyond the Tiber, as he could plow round in one day. And this place, even now, is called the *Mucian meadows*. These were the rewards they gave to the men. To Cloelia they ordered ²⁸ a brazen statue to be erected ; which was erected, accordingly, by the fathers of the virgins in the *Via sacra*, the holy way, that leads to the forum. This statue we did not find standing : But it was said that, a fire happening in the houses next adjoining, the

²⁸. Στασιν εικονος χαλκης. This was an equestrian statue, and the first, that was erected at Rome ; ¹ *Pace redintegrata, Romani novam in feminâ virtutem, novo genere honoris, statuâ equestri, donavere. In summâ sacrâ viâ fuit posita virgo insidens equo.* Our author says this statue was not in being in his time. If it was destroyed by fire before his coming to Rome, another resem-

bling it must have been erected in the same place ; because Seneca says, in so many words, that the equestrian statue of Cloelia stood in the *viâ sacrâ* so many years after our author's time : ² *Equestri insidens statuae in sacrâ viâ, celeberrimo loco, Cloelia exprobrat juvenibus nostris pulvinum ascendentibus, in eâ illos urbe sic ingredi, in quâ etiam feminas equo donavimus.*

¹ Livy, B. ii. c. 13.

² Ad Marc. c. 16.

statue was destroyed. This year, the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter was finished; of which I gave a particular description in the preceding book. This temple was ²⁹ consecrated by Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls, and inscribed with his name before the arrival of his colleague; Valerius happening, at that time, to be in the field with an army employed in securing the country: For, as soon as the men left the fortresses, and went into the plains, Mamilius sent bands of robbers, and, greatly, annoyed the husbandmen. These transactions happened in the third consulship.

XXXVI. The consuls for the fourth year, Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius, passed their magistracy without war. In their consulship, Aruns, son to Porfena, king of the Tyrrhenians, died in the second year of the war he was engaged in with the ³⁰ Aricini: For, as soon as the peace was made with the Romans, his father gave him one half of his army, with which he marched against the Aricini, with a view of establishing a particular government for himself: And, when he was near taking their city, succours came to the Aricini from Antium, Tusculum, and ³¹ Cumae of Cam-

²⁹ Την ανιερωσιν και την επιγραφην. See the sixty eighth annotation on the fourth book.

³⁰ Αρικηνων πολιν. ^a Aricia stands near the Appian road, thirteen Roman miles to the south east of Rome. It is, now, called *La Riccia*.

³¹ Κυμη. ¹ Cumae was, formerly, a city of great note; but has, long since, lain in ruins, which are, still, called Cumae. ^v Strabo says some are of

opinion that it received its name from κυμαλα, *waves*; because that part of the Campanian shore, on which it stood, was very rocky, and exposed to the winds, which, generally, produced a high sea. However, he tells us, in the same place, that Cumae was a colony of the Chalcidenses in Euboea, and that it was the most ancient city both of Italy, and Sicily; Κυμη Χαλκιδων και Κυμχιων παλαισθαιου κλισμα.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 920.

¹ Id. B. iv. p. 1102.

^v B. v. p. 372, 373.

pania; and, engaging an army superior in number, he put most of them to flight, and pursued them to the city; but was overcome by the Cumani, commanded by Aristodemus, surnamed Malachus, and lost his life: And the Tyrrhenian army making, no longer, any resistance after his death, was forced to fly. Many of them were killed in the pursuit by the Cumani; but many more, dispersing themselves about the country, fled into the territories of the Romans, which were not far distant, having lost their arms, and being unable, by reason of their wounds, to proceed further. These the Romans brought into the city upon waggons, and in chariots, and other carriages, some of them half dead; and, carrying them to their own houses, recovered them by supplies of victuals, by medicines, and every other instance of humanity, the effect of great compassion: So that, many of them, engaged by these favors, had no desire to return home; but chose to continue with their benefactors. To these the senate gave a place, in the city, to build houses; being a valley, lying between the Palatine, and Capitoline hills, about four stadia in length; which, even to this day, is called by the Romans, in their language, *Vicus Tusculus*, the habitation of the Tyrrhenians; and, through this, there is a passage from the forum to the great circus. In consideration of these favors, they received from their king an acknow-

πασων γὰρ ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρῃ των τε Σικελικων, καὶ των Ιταλιωιδων. Virgil alludes to its origin, when he says,

Et tandem Euboicis Cumarum allabitur oris.

As to Aristodemus, I shall refer the reader to a digression concerning him, which he will find in the seventh book of this history; chapter the third.

▼ B. vi. §. 2.

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ledgement of no small value, which gave them the greatest satisfaction; this was the territory beyond the Tiber, which they had resigned, when they put an end to the war; and, upon this occasion, they performed sacrifices to the gods at a great expence, which they had vowed to offer up, whenever they should, again, be masters of the seven villages.

XXXVII. The fifth year after the expulsion of the king, the sixty ninth olympiad was celebrated, in which ³² Ischomachus of Croton won the prize of the stadium for the second time, Acestorides being archon at Athens, and Marcus Valerius, brother of Valerius Poplicola, and Publius Postumius, surnamed Tubertus, consuls at Rome. In their consulship, another war was raised against the Romans by their nearest neighbours, which began by depredations, but proceeded to many considerable engagements: However, it ended in an honourable peace in the fourth consulship after these persons, having been carried on, during that whole interval, without intermission: For, some of the Sabines, imagining that the commonwealth, weakened by the defeat she had received from the Tyrrhenians, would, never, be able to recover her ancient dignity, assaulted those, who came down into the country from the fortresses, by the bands of robbers they had placed in different parts, and did great damage to the husbandmen. For which, the Romans, sending ambassadors, before they had recourse to arms, demanded satis-

³²· Ην ενικησαδιον Ισχομαχος· Εξ ο'ωνια-
της το δευτερον. So, I find, by a note in
Hudson, Meursius has corrected this
passage, with whom I, intirely, agree,

because our author told us, in the be-
ginning of this book, that Ischomachus
of Croton won the prize of the stadium
at the preceding Olympiad.

saction,

faction, and that, for the future, they would not molest the husbandmen contrary to justice: And, having received haughty answers, they declared war against them. The first expedition was conducted by Valerius, one of the consuls, who, with the horse, and a chosen body of light-armed foot, fell, suddenly, upon those, who were laying waste the country; and, great numbers of them being surpris'd, while they were plundering, many of them were put to death, as may well be imagin'd, they being in no order, nor expecting the assault. The Sabines, after this, sending a considerable army against the Romans, commanded by a general experienced in war, these, again, came out against them with all their forces, under the conduct of both the consuls. Postumius incamped on the eminences near Rome, fearing lest some sudden attempt might be made upon the city by the fugitives: And Valerius posted himself not far from the enemy, near the river Anio, which, after passing through the city of³³ Tibur, falls in a vast torrent from a high rock; and, run-

³³ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΙΒΟΥΡΩΝ. I have given a long truce to le Jay, not for want of opportunities to censure his translation, but for fear of tiring my readers with those censures: However, I must break the truce, to make some observations upon his translation of this passage, which he has rendered, *sur les bords du Teveron, qui prend sa source d'une ville qu'on appelle Tibur*. It is well known that the *Anio, now, called Teverone, rises from the mountains above Treba, and, after a course of about thirty four

Roman miles, runs through Tibur, known, now, by the name of *Tivoli*. *Anio in monte Trebanorum ortus*, says † Pliny. The cataract, here taken notice of, is mentioned by many ancient writers, and is, at this day, the admiration of all travellers. This cataract, I imagine, gave occasion to ‡ Horace to call the river, *praeceps Anio*: In explaining which passage, Dacier has committed the same mistake with le Jay; his words are, *la source de l'Anion, qui est le Teveron d'aujourd'hui, est dans les montagnes de Tibur ou Tivoli*.

* Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 713.

† Nat. Hist. B. iii. c. 12.

‡ B. i. Od. 7.

ning

ning through a plain belonging to the Sabines, and the Romans, serves as a boundary to both their territories : After which, the Anio, whose water charms both the eye, and the taste, mixes its stream with the Tiber.

XXXVIII. On the other side of the river, was placed the camp of the Sabines, near the river likewise, upon a gentle descent, and not, very strongly, situated. At first, both armies observed one another with caution, and were unwilling to pass the river, and begin the engagement : But, afterwards, being inflamed with heat, and pique, rather than guided by reason, and a view of advantage, they came to a battle : For, going to the river for water, and leading their horses thither to drink, they went, by degrees, a good way into the river ; which was then low, as not yet swelled with the winter's rains : So that, they passed it without having the water much above their knees. And first, a skirmish happening between small parties, some ran out of each camp to assist their companions : Then, others, again, to relieve those on each side, who were overpowered. And, sometimes, the Romans forced the Sabines from the river ; sometimes, the Sabines drove the Romans from it. When, many being killed, and wounded, and an eagerness for the engagement possessing all of them, as it, generally, happens, when unseasonable skirmishes are suffered, the generals of both armies grew, equally, desirous to pass the river. But the Roman consul, prevented the enemy ; and, having passed it with his army, began the attack, while the Sabines were yet arming themselves, and forming. Neither were these back-ward

ward in engaging; but, elated with a contempt of the enemy, because they had neither both the consuls, nor the whole Roman army to engage with, they joined in the battle with all the intrepidity, and eagerness imaginable.

XXXIX. A warm action ensuing, and the right wing of the Romans, commanded by Valerius, gaining ground upon the enemy, and advancing still, while the left was, already, pressed, and forced towards the river, the consul, Postumius, who commanded in the other camp, being informed of what passed, led out his army: And, while he, with the foot, marched, slowly, on, he sent before him, in all haste, Spurius Lartius, his legate, one of the consuls of the preceding year, with all his horse; who, riding full speed, passed the river with ease, as no one opposed him, and, wheeling round the right wing of the enemy, charged the Sabine horse in flank: Hence ensued a great engagement of the horse on both sides, who fought hand to hand a considerable time. In the mean while, Postumius came up with the foot; and, attacking that of the enemy, killed many with his own hand, and put the rest in disorder: And, if night had not come on, the whole army of the Sabines, being surrounded by the Romans, now, become superior in horse, had been, totally, destroyed: But, the darkness preserved those, who fled, they being without arms, and few in number, and brought them home in safety. The consuls made themselves masters of their camp without resistance, which had been abandoned by the troops appointed to defend it, as soon as they saw the defeat of their own army: Where, finding a great booty,
they

they left it to the discretion of the soldiers, and returned home with their forces. Upon this occasion, the commonwealth, recovering itself, for the first time, from the defeat received by the Tyrrhenians, was restored to her former spirit, and dared, as before, to aim at the sovereignty over her neighbours. The Romans decreed a triumph, jointly, to both the consuls; and, as a particular gratification to Valerius, ordered that a place should be granted to him for his habitation in the best part of the Palatine hill; and that the charges of the building should be defrayed by the public. The ³⁴ street door of this house, near to which stands a brazen bull, is the only door in Rome, either of public, or private houses, that opens outwards.

XL. These consuls were succeeded by Publius Valerius, surnamed Poplicola, chosen consul for the fourth time, and by Titus Lucretius, now, colleague to Valerius for the second time. In their consulship, all the Sabines, holding a general assembly of their cities, resolved upon a war against the Romans, alledging that the treaties they had made with them, were dissolved by the expulsion of Tarquinius, with whom they had entered into those treaties, and sworn to the observance of them. They had been prevailed on to take

³⁴ Κλισιαδες θυραι. So this must be read with the Vatican manuscript, or κλεισιαδες: For κλησιαδες in all the editions is, certainly, an error of the transcriber, as it is in Hesychius, by whose authority, this reading is endeavoured to be supported. Κλισιαδες θυραι were doors large enough to admit

coaches, or carts, as ^a Julius Pollux explains the word; και αι θυραι αυται, μειζης δοκυσι, καλεμεναι κλισιαδες, προς το και τας αιμαξας εισελαννεν, και τα σκευοφορα.

^b The same author shews that κλεισιαδες signifies the same thing. Κλεισιον, παρτα το κεκλεισθαι· ε και αι θυραι, κλεισιαδες.

^a B. iv. Segm. 125.

^b B. ix. Segm. 50.

this

this step by Sextus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, who, by courting, and pressing the men of power in every city in person, had created a general animosity in the nation against all the Romans, and engaged two cities, Fidenae, and Cameria, to revolt from them, and to enter into a confederacy with the Sabines: In consideration of which services, they appointed him general with absolute power, and gave him leave to raise forces in all their cities, looking upon the defeat they had received in the last engagement, to be owing to the weakness of their army, and the incapacity of their general. While they were employed in these preparations, Fortune, designing to ballance the losses of the Romans with advantages, instead of the allies, who had deserted them, presented to them an unexpected accession of strength from among their enemies; which was this: A certain person of the Sabine nation, who lived in a city, called ³⁵ Rigillum, and was of a good family, and had great riches, by name, ³⁶ Actius Clausus, deserted to them, bringing with him many relations, and friends, and, also, a great number of clients, who removed with their families, and were not

³⁵ Ρεγίλλον. All we know of the town, called by the Roman authors, Regillum, is, that it belonged to the Sabines.

³⁶ Ακτίος Κλαύσος. So I have corrected this name upon the authority of Sigonius, who contends that we must read *Actius Clausus*, * in Livy, instead of *Atta Clausus*, which, in most editions, is the name of this Sabine, who deserted to the Romans

upon this occasion, and was the first of the Claudian family; which, though it produced some great men, yet was much more fertile in tyrants, of whom Appius Claudius, the decemvir, was one: This family, also, gave birth to a crafty, bloody tyrant in Tiberius, to a wanton tyrant in Caligula, and to a stupid tyrant in Claudius.

Quid debeas, O Roma, Neronibus?

* B. ii. c. 16.

less than five thousand able to bear arms. The reason, that compelled him to remove to Rome is said to have been this : The men of power, in the principal cities, having an aversion to this man, grounded on a political emulation, designed to try him for treason, because he was not inclined to the war against the Romans ; but, alone, opposed, in public, those, who were of opinion that the treaties were dissolved ; and would not suffer the inhabitants of his own town to look upon the decrees, made by the rest of the nation upon that occasion, to be valid. Apprehending, therefore, the event of this trial (for he was to have been tried by the rest of the cities) he came over to the Romans with all his riches, and his friends ; and, by adding no small weight to their affairs, was looked upon as the principal instrument in the success of this war. In consideration of which, the senate, and people admitted him into the number of the patricians, and gave him leave to chuse as much of the city as he thought fit to build on : They, also, granted to him lands, belonging to the public, that lay between Fidenae, and ³⁷ Ficulea, to be divided among his followers ; of whom, in process of time, a tribe, called Claudia, was composed ; which name it has preserved to this day.

³⁷ Φικυλαεας. This, I believe, is the true reading, not Πικυλιας, as it stands in the editions, nor Πικυλίας, as we find it in the Vatican manuscript. Ficulea lay about three Roman miles from Fidenae, on the other side of the Anio with respect to Rome ; and ^d Livy

says that the lands, that were given to the clients of Clausus, lay on the other side of the Anio ; *his civitas data, agerque trans Anienem*. I find, in ^e Cluver, that a church, called S. Vassile, is, now, to be seen on the spot, where, formerly, Ficulea stood.

^d B. ii. c. 16.

^e Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 660.

XLI. After all the necessary preparations were made on both sides, the Sabines, first, led out their forces, and formed two camps; one of which was in the open field, not far from Fidenæ; and the other, in Fidenæ itself, which they designed both as a guard to the citizens, and a refuge to those, who lay incamped without the city, if any misfortune should befall them. After that, the Roman consuls, hearing the Sabines were coming against them, they, also, marched out with all the youth, and incamped asunder; Valerius near the camp of the Sabines, that lay in the field; and Lucretius, not far distant, upon a hill, from whence he had a prospect of the other camp. The design of the Romans was, since the fate of the war would, soon, be decided by an open battle, presently to engage the enemy. On the other side, the general of the Sabines, apprehending the consequence of an open battle against the boldness, and constancy of men prepared to face every danger, resolved to attack them by night: And, having prepared every thing, that could be of use to fill up the ditch, and mount the intrenchments, he proposed, when all things were ready for the attack, to assemble the best of his forces, after the first sleep, and lead them to the camp of the Romans. He, also, gave notice to the troops incamped in Fidenæ, that, as soon as they found his men were come out of the camp, they, also, should march out of the city with light arms; and, having formed an ambuscade in proper places, if any succours were coming to Valerius from the other camp, they should rise up, and, getting behind them, attack them

with shouts, and a great noise. This was the design of Sextus, who communicated it to his officers, and they, also, approving of it, he waited for the hour appointed: When a deserter came to the Roman camp, and informed the consul of his plan: And, presently after, a party of horse brought in some Sabine prisoners they had taken, as they went out to get wood. These, being examined apart concerning the designs of their general, said that he was ordering ladders, and portable bridges to be got ready: But where, and when he proposed to make use of them, they said they did not know. After this information, Valerius sent his brother Marcus to the other camp, to acquaint Lucretius, who had the command of it, with the designs of the enemy; and, also, with That he had formed of attacking them. And he himself, assembling the tribunes, and centurions, and informing them of what he had learned both from the deserter, and the prisoners, exhorted them to behave themselves with gallantry, from this assurance, that they could not wish for a better opportunity to take a glorious revenge upon their enemies; and, after letting them know what each of them was to do, and giving the word, he dismissed them to their commands.

XLII. It was not, yet, midnight, when the Sabine general was marching to the camp at the head of his choicest troops, having ordered all his men to keep silence, and to make no noise with their arms, that the enemy might not be apprized of their march, before they were arrived at the intrenchments. When those in the front approached the camp, and neither
saw

saw any lights, nor heard the voice of the sentinels, they thought the Romans guilty of a great neglect in appointing no guards, and giving themselves up to sleep in their camp : And, filling up many parts of the ditches with fascines, they passed over without opposition. The Romans, who, all this time, lay in separate bodies all round between the ditches, and the palisades, and were unperceived by reason of the darkness, killed them as they passed over, and fell into their hands. For some time, the destruction of those, who led the way, was not perceived by their companions in the rear : But, when, the moon rising, light appeared, and those, who approached the ditch, saw, not only, heaps of their own men lying dead near it, but, also, strong bodies of the enemy advancing to attack them, they threw down their arms, and fled : When the Romans, giving a great shout, which was the signal to those in the other camp, sallied out upon them all at once. Lucretius hearing the shout, sent the horse to reconnoitre if there was any ambuscade of the enemy, and he himself followed, presently after, with the choicest foot : The horse, meeting with those, who had been sent from Fidenæ to place themselves in ambuscade, put them to flight, and the foot pursued such, as had approached their camp, with great slaughter, these preserving neither their arms, nor their ranks. In these actions, of the Sabines, and their allies, there fell about thirteen thousand ; four thousand two hundred being made prisoners ; and their camp was taken the same day.

XLIII. Fidenæ, after a few days siege, was taken in that very part, where it was thought the most difficult of access, and which, for that reason, was defended by few men: But the inhabitants were not made slaves, nor was the city demolished; neither were there many men killed after the city was taken: For the consuls looked upon the loss of their effects, and their slaves, and of the men, who had been slain in the action, as a sufficient punishment for an offending city, inhabited by their own countrymen; and that a severity, usual with the Romans, inflicted on the authors of the revolt, would be a moderate precaution, yet sufficient to restrain the inhabitants, after the taking of their city, from being, easily, persuaded to run to arms for the future. Having, therefore, assembled all the Fidenates, who were prisoners, in the forum, and inveighed, strongly, against their folly, saying that all of them, who were men grown, deserved to be put to death, since neither the favors they had received could make them grateful, nor their sufferings reclaim them, they ordered the most considerable to be, publicly, whipped with rods, and, then, put to death; and allowed the rest to live in the city, as before, placing a garrison there, appointed by the senate, to cohabit with them; and, seizing some part of their lands, they granted it to this garrison. After they had settled these things, they withdrew their army from the enemy's country, and celebrated the triumph which the senate had decreed for them. These were the transactions of their consulship.

XLIV.

XLIV. Publius Postumius, surnamed Tubertus, being chosen consul for the second time, and, with him, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, the Sabines made a third irruption into the Roman territories with a greater army, before the Romans were aware of it, and advanced to the walls of Rome: In this incursion, many of the latter lost their lives, not only, of the husbandmen, on whom this unexpected misfortune fell, before they could take refuge in the neighbouring fortresses, but, also, of the citizens, who, at that time, lived at Rome: For Postumius, one of the consuls, looking upon this insult of the enemy as not to be borne, took the first men he met with, and marched out to the relief of the country with greater eagerness, than prudence. Whom the Sabines, observing to advance with great contempt of the enemy, without order, and separated from one another, contrived to encrease that contempt, by retiring rather hastily, than leisurely, as if they fled, till they came into thick woods, where the rest of their army lay in wait for the Romans: Then, facing about, they attacked their pursuers; and, at the same time, the others came out of the wood, and, giving a great shout, joined in the attack. The Sabines, who were very numerous, advancing, with great regularity, upon men, who observed no discipline, but were disordered, and out of breath with running, killed such of them, as stood their ground, and the rest endeavouring to save themselves by flight, they cut off their retreat to the city, and forced them to take refuge upon the ridge of a hill, destitute of provisions, and shut them up there: Then, resting their arms

near

near the place (for it was now dark) they kept guard the whole night to prevent their escape. When the news of this misfortune was brought to Rome, there was a great tumult, many of the citizens running to the walls, and a general apprehension lest the enemy, elated with their success, should enter the city in the night: They commiserated the slain, and expressed their compassion for those, who survived, as for men in imminent danger of being subdued through a want of necessaries, unless they were, presently, relieved: They passed that night, therefore, without sleep under dismal apprehensions. The next day, the other consul, Menenius, having armed all the youth, marched out with them in great order, and discipline, to the assistance of those upon the hill. When the Sabines saw them advancing, they withdrew their army from the hill, contented with their present success; and, without staying long in the field, they returned home, greatly, elated, and carrying with them a great booty in cattle, slaves, and money.

XLV. The Romans, resenting this defeat, which they attributed to Postumius, one of the consuls, resolved to invade the territories of the Sabines, immediately, with all their forces, not only, from their impatience to repair the shameful, and unexpected defeat they had received, but, also, from their indignation at the embassy full of abuse, and haughtiness, lately, sent to them by the enemy: For, as if, already, victorious, and having it in their power to take Rome without any trouble, if the Romans refused to obey their commands, they ordered them to restore the
Tarquinius,

Tarquinius, to yield the sovereignty to the Sabines, and to settle such a form of government, and enact such laws, as the conquerors should think fit to impose. The answer, given to the ambassadors, was, to acquaint their nation that the Romans commanded the Sabines to lay down their arms, to deliver up their cities to them, and to return to the condition of subjects, as they had been before ; and, after they had complied with these things, then to come, and beg pardon for the injuries, and damages they had done them in their former incursions, if they desired to obtain peace, and their friendship : And that, in case they refused to yield obedience to these orders, they might expect to see the war soon brought to the gates of their cities. These orders being given, and received, both of them made preparations of every thing necessary for the war, and led out their forces ; Those of the Sabines consisting of the chosen youth of all their cities, whom they had armed in a distinguishing manner. On the other side, the Romans drew out all their forces, not only, from their city, but, also, from the fortresses ; looking upon those above the military age, and the number of their servants, as a sufficient guard both to the city, and to the fortresses in the country : Both armies approaching, they incamped at a small distance from one another near the city of Eretum, which belongs to the Sabine nation.

XLVI. When both of them observed the condition of the enemy, of which they judged by the compass of the camps, and the information of the prisoners, the Sabines

grew full of confidence, and contempt for the small number of their adversaries; and the Romans were seized with fear at the sight of the multitude they had to encounter: However, they recovered their spirits, and entertained some hopes of victory from many omens, sent to them from heaven; but, particularly, from this last, which they saw, when they were going to engage. From the javelins, that were fixed in the ground before their tents (these are ³⁸ missive weapons, used by the Romans, which they dart against the enemy in

³⁸. Εἰς δὲ ταῦτα βέλη Ῥωμαίων. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and called *Pilum*. As the shape of it was singular, and the effect very considerable, I shall give a description of it from Polybius, who is known to be very exact in describing the arms of the Romans: Τῶν δ' ὕσων εἰσιν οἱ μὲν παχείς, οἱ δὲ λεπτοί. τῶν δὲ σφενδαλίων, οἱ μὲν σφενδαλίοι παλαισιαίαν ἔχουσι τὴν διαμέτρῳ. οἱ δὲ τέτραυροι, τὴν πλευρᾶν. οἱ γὰρ μὴν λεπτοὶ σιδυριοῖς εἰκόσι συμμέτροις, ὥς φέρουσι μέγα τὴν προσηρημένων. ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν τετραύλων τὸ μήκος εἰσιν ὡς τρεῖς πήχεις. προσσηρημένοι δ' ἑκάστοις βέλος σιδυρὴν ἀκτισμένον, ἴσον ἔχον τὸ μήκος τοῖς ξυλοῖς, ὃ τὴν ἐνδεσιν, καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν ὥτως ἀσφαλίζονται βεβαίως, ἕως μέσον τῶν ξυλῶν ἐνδεονίης, καὶ πυκναὶ τὰς λαβῆσι καὶ ἀπερονωνίης· ὥστε μὴ πρότερον τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις ἀναχαλασθῆναι, ἢ τοῦ σιδυροῦ θρανεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ οὗ τοῦ παχὺς ἐν τῷ πυθμένι, καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ξύλον συναφῇ τριῶν ἡμιδακτύλιων. The substance of which is (for I shall not extend this note by a literal translation of it) that the shaft of this weapon was three inches diameter, and three cubits long (our author says only three feet, which

I take to be an error in the transcriber) to this was fixed the head of the weapon, which was of iron, extending one cubit and a half, and bearded at the point, the other half being let into the shaft, to which it was fastened by several bolts. So that, the length of the *Pilum* was six feet, and nine inches. I do not trouble the reader with the fractions, that constitute the difference between our feet, and Those of the Greeks, which may be seen in Arbuthnot. I must observe that all the translators of our author have been misled by the words ἐκαστὸν τῶν ακρων, which stand in all the editions, and are, very properly, corrected in the Vatican manuscript, by ἐκ θάτερας τῶν ακρων. There is another mistake, also, which, in my opinion, they have all been let into by the pointing in the editions, where the comma is placed after χειροπληθῆ, which ought to come after ποδῶν; otherwise, the sense will be, as they have rendered it, that the iron part of this weapon was not less than three feet long, which is nine inches longer than, even, Polybius makes it.

¹ B. vi. p. 469.

the beginning of an engagement, being long staves, large enough to fill the hand, of not less than three feet in length, having, at one of the ends, iron tucks, pointing forward, and, with the iron, are equal, in length, to common javelins) from these javelins, at the top of the tucks, flames issued, and the blaze spread itself through the whole camp, like That of torches, and lasted great part of the night: From this sight, they concluded, as the interpreters of prodigies informed them, and was obvious to every man, that heaven signified to them a speedy, and conspicuous victory; because every thing yields to fire, and there is nothing, that is not consumed by it. Since, therefore, this fire issued out of their offensive weapons, they came, boldly, out of their camp; and, engaging the Sabines, fought with enemies, many times, superior to them in number, placing their hopes in their confidence: Besides, their long experience, joined to their love of labor, encouraged them to despise every danger. First, therefore, Postumius, who commanded the left wing, desiring to repair the disgrace of his former defeat, forced the right of the enemy to give way, shewing no regard to his own preservation from a desire of victory; but, like a man distracted, and seeking death, threw himself into the midst of the enemy: And the right wing, commanded by Menenius, which suffered already, and was giving ground, when they found that the forces under Postumius had the advantage over Those, who stood opposite to them, recovered themselves, and attacked the enemy. And now, both wings of the Sabines, giving way, fled outright:

Neither did Those, who were posted in the center, when their flanks were left naked, stand their ground ; but, being pressed by the Roman horse, that charged them in separate troops, they were driven off the field ; and all of them flying towards their camps, the Romans pursued them, and, entering with them, made themselves masters of them both. The army of the enemy had been, totally, destroyed, had not the night come on, and their defeat not happened in their own territories : For those, who fled, were under less difficulty in finding their way home in safety, by being acquainted with the country, than their pursuers in overtaking them, by being unacquainted with the passes.

XLVII. The next day, the consuls, having burned their own dead, gathered together the spoils (for there were some found belonging, also, to the living, which they had thrown away in their flight) and carried off many captives, and effects, besides Those, that were plundered by the soldiers : These being sold for the use of the public, all the citizens received the contributions they had each of them paid to equip the soldiers. Thus, both the consuls, having gained a most glorious victory, returned to Rome ; and both of them were honoured with triumphs by the senate, Menenius, with the greater, and most honourable, entering the city in a royal chariot ; and Postumius with the lesser, and inferior triumph, which they call ³⁹ *Εὐασμὸν*, *Ovationem* ; being an

³⁹ *Εὐασμὸν*. Casaubon reads *εὐασμὸν*, or *εὐασμὸν*, neither of which words has any signification in Greek, and our author says this was, originally, a

Greek word : For which reason, instead of *εὐασμὸν*, which signifies one of these Bacchanalian companions, I would read *εὐασμὸς*, with Portus, which

obscure

obscure derivation from the Greek word: For it was, first, so called from what happened upon that occasion, according to my opinion, which I find confirmed by many Roman histories; the senate having, as Licinius writes, then first, invented this sort of triumph: It differs from the other, first, in this, that the general, who triumphs in the manner, called the *Ovation*, enters the city on foot, followed by the army, and not in a chariot, like the other; and, in the next place, because he is not attired in an embroidered robe, distinguished with gold, with which the other is adorned; neither does he wear a gold crown, but is clothed in a white gown, bordered with purple (which is worn by the consuls, and praetors, according to the custom of the Romans) and crowned with laurel; he is, also, inferior to the other in not

signifies the ceremony itself. Both these words are derived from *εὐοι*, which was the acclamation, made use of upon those occasions;

Οὐδ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς Βακχίος, *εὐοι*.

From hence, also, Bacchus was called
¹ *Εὐοίος*,

Σεβέριος ² *Εὐοίος*.

Our author says that the person, who was honoured with the ovation, was crowned with laurel. However,¹ Pliny, not to mention Gellius, who is not of authority enough to be quoted in such company, says he was crowned with myrtle; *bellicis quoque se rebus inseruit (myrtus) triumphansque de Sabinis Postumius Tubertus in consulatu (qui primus omnium oceanus ingressus urbem est, quo-*

¹ Eurip. *Βακχαι*. γ. 141.

² Id. ib. γ. 566.

niam rem leviter sine cruore gesserat) myrto Veneris cistricis coronatus inquit. — Haec postea ovantium fuit corona. Whether Pliny is in the right, or not, in what he says concerning the myrtle crown, it is certain that he is not so in regard to the reason he gives for this ovation: For, if this had been the reason, the senate would not have decreed the greater triumph to his colleague. Our author gives a much better for the distinction, that was made between them. It may seem very strange, but it is true, that ^k Pliny himself, in another place, says that, in the ovation, the person, who was honoured with it, was crowned with olive; *olvae honorem Romana majestas magnum praebuit, turmas equitum Idibus Juliis ex ea coronando: item minoribus triumphis ovantes.*

¹ Nat. Hist. B. xv. c. 29.

^k Id. ib. c. 4.

holding

holding a scepter; but every thing else is the same: The reason why this inferior honor was decreed to Postumius, though he had distinguished himself more than any man in the last engagement, was the great, and shameful defeat he had, before, received in the excursion he made against the enemy, in which he, not only, lost many of his men, but, narrowly, escaped being taken prisoner himself, together with those, who had survived that defeat.

XLVIII. In the consulship of these persons, Publius Valerius, surnamed Poplicola, died of sickness; a man esteemed superior to all the Romans of his time in every kind of virtue. I need not relate all the actions of this person, by which he deserved both to be admired, and remembered; because they have been, already, taken notice of in the beginning of this book; but I think myself obliged not to omit one thing, which most deserves admiration of all, that can be said in his praise, and has not, yet, been mentioned: For I look upon it as the greatest duty of an historian, not only, to relate the military actions of illustrious generals, and the glorious, and salutary institutions they have invented in favor of their commonwealths, but, also, to give an account of their private lives, when they have passed them with moderation, and temperance, and a strict adherence to the customs, and discipline of their country. This person, therefore, was one of the four first patricians, who expelled the kings, and confiscated their fortunes; was four times consul; victorious in two wars of the greatest consequence; triumphed for both; the first time, for his victory

victory over the Tyrrhenians, and the second, for That over the Sabines; and, though he had such opportunities of amassing riches, which none could have traduced as shameful and unjust, yet he never suffered himself to be overcome by avarice, which subdues all men, and forces them to act unworthily; but contented himself with the small estate he had inherited from his ancestors, leading a life of temperance, and moderation, superior to every passion; and, with this small fortune, he brought up his children in a manner worthy of their birth; making it plain to all men, that He is rich, who wants few things, not who possesses many. The poverty of this person, which appeared after his death, was a certain, and indubitable argument of the moderation he had shewn during the whole course of his life: For, he did not, even, leave fortune enough to provide for his funeral, and burial in such a manner, as became a man of his dignity: So that, his relations were going to carry him out of the city, like one of the vulgar, in order to burn his body, and bury it: When the senate, being informed of their poverty, decreed that he should be buried at the expence of the public, and appointed a place in the city, under the hill, called ⁴⁰ Velia, near the forum, where his body

⁴⁰. ΤΟ' ΕΛΙΑΣ. This, I dare say, is the true reading, not ὑπο ελεως, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts, which, I find, all the translators have followed, except le Jay, who has left it out: However, M. *** has taken notice of this reading in his notes. Velia is the hill, λοφος ὑπερκείμενος της αἰας, mentioned by our author in the

nineteenth chapter of this book. ¹ Livy says, also, that Poplicola was buried at the expence of the public. *P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, — moritur, gloriâ ingenti, copis familiaribus adeo exiguis, ut funeri sumptus deesset: de publico est elatus. Luxere matronae ut Brutum.*

¹ B. ii. c. 16.

should

should be burned, and buried ; which was a distinction none of the illustrious Romans, besides himself, have, to this day, received : This place is, as it were, sacred and dedicated to his posterity, as a place of burial ; an advantage, greater than any riches, or royal dignities, in the eyes of all men, who make virtue, not shameful pleasures, the measure of happiness. Thus Valerius Poplicola, who had aimed at the possession of nothing more, than would supply his necessary wants, was honoured by his country with a splendid funeral, equal to Those of the richest kings ; and all the Roman matrons, with a general consent, laying aside both their gold, and purple, mourned for him during a whole year, as they had done for Junius Brutus, and as it is the custom for them to mourn after the funerals of their nearest relations.

XLIX. The next year, Spurius Cassius, surnamed Viscellinus, and Opiter Virginus Tricostrus were appointed consuls : In whose consulship, the war with the Sabines was ended after a great battle, fought near the city of Cures ; in which battle, about ten thousand three hundred Sabines were killed, and near four thousand taken prisoners. The Sabines, struck with this last misfortune, sent ambassadors to the consul to treat of a peace. But Cassius referring them to the senate, they came to Rome ; and, after great intreaties, with difficulty, obtained a reconciliation, and a peace, by agreeing to give, not only, as much corn to the army, as Cassius had ordered, but each of them a certain sum of money, and to yield to the Romans ten thousand acres of sown land. Spurius Cassius triumphed for the victory he had obtained
in

in this war. The other consul, Virginus, marched against the city of the Camerini, which had withdrawn itself from the alliance of the Romans during this war: He took half the other army with him, and acquainted no person with the destination of his march, which he performed that night, that he might fall upon the inhabitants, both unprepared, and unapprized of his design; which fell out accordingly: For it was day break, before any of them knew of his approaching their walls; and, before he incamped, he applied the battering rams; and, advancing the ladders, put in practice every method, used in sieges. The Camerini, astonished at his sudden arrival, and some of them being willing to open the gates, and receive the consul, and others insisting upon their defending themselves with all their power, and not suffering the enemy to enter their city; while they continued in this confusion, and division, the consul, having cut down the gates, and scaled the lowest parts of the fortifications, took the city by storm: That day, therefore, and the following night, he suffered his men to carry away the effects of the inhabitants: The day after, he ordered the prisoners to be brought together to one place; and, having put to death all the authors of the revolt, he sold the rest of the people, and demolished the city.

L. In the seventieth Olympiad, when Niceas of Opus in Locris won the prize of the stadium, ⁴¹ Myrus being archon

⁴¹ M^{ug}s. The Vatican calls this archon Smyrus: But that is a mistake; because we find, in the succession of the Athenian archons, that Myrus succeeded Acestorides, and was followed, as we shall see, by Hipparchus.

at Athens, Postumus Cominius, and Titus Lartius were created consuls. In whose consulship, the cities of the Latines withdrew themselves from the friendship of the Romans, Octavius Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, having prevailed upon the most considerable men of every city, partly, by promises of great gifts, and, partly, by intreaties, to assist him in restoring the fugitives. And a general assembly was held of all the cities at Ferentinum, except Rome (for the latter was the only city they had not summoned, as usual, to send deputies thither) in which assembly, the cities were to give their votes concerning the war, to chuse their generals, and to consider of other preparations. Now, it happened that, at this time, Marcus Valerius, a consular person, was sent embassador, by the Romans, to the neighbouring cities, to intreat them not to enter into any new measures : For some of their people, sent out by the men in power, were plundering the neighbouring fields, and doing great damage to the husbandmen. This person, hearing there was, then, a general assembly of the cities, at which they were all to vote for the war, came to the assembly ; and, desiring the presidents to give him leave to be heard, said, that he was sent embassador, from the commonwealth, to the cities, that were sending out bands of robbers, to desire they would find out the men, who were guilty of these devastations, and deliver them up to be punished according to the law, which they had inserted in the convention, when they entered into a league of friendship ; and to desire them to take care, for the future, that

no offence might be countenanced by the public to interrupt their friendship, and affinity : When, observing all the cities were assembled in order to declare war against the Romans (which he discovered by many tokens, but, particularly, because the Romans were the only persons they had not summoned to be present at the assembly, there being an express article in the treaty, that all the Latin cities should send their deputies to the general assemblies, when summoned by the presidents) he said, he wondered what provocation, or what cause of complaint against the Romans, had induced these deputies to suffer Rome to be the only city they had not summoned to their assembly, which ought to have been the first to send her deputies thither, and the first to be asked her opinion ; as being in possession of the sovereignty of the nation, which she had received from them with their own consent, in consideration of the many great benefits they had received from her.

LI. After he had said this, the Aricini, desiring leave to speak, accused the Romans of having, though relations, drawn upon them a war from the Tyrrhenians, and exposed all the Latin cities, as far as in them lay, to be deprived of their liberty by the former. And Tarquinius, the late king, put the cities in mind of the treaties of friendship, and alliance they had entered into with him in the name of the whole nation, and desired the cities to fulfil their oaths, and restore him to the sovereignty. The fugitives, also, of Fidenæ, and Cameria, lamenting, the former, the taking of their city, and their own banishment ; and the latter, the

inflaming their countrymen, and the subversion of their city, exhorted them to declare war. And, last of all, Mamilius, the son-in-law of Tarquinius, a man, at that time, of the greatest power among the Latines, rose up, and inveighed against the Romans in a long speech. But Valerius answering all his accusations, and seeming superior in the justice of his cause, the deputies spent that day in hearing the accusations, and the apologies, without coming to any resolution. However, the next day, the presidents did not admit the Roman ⁴² ambassador, any more, to the assembly; but, allowing Tarquinius, Mamilius, the Aricini, and all the rest, who were desirous of accusing the Romans, to say what they thought fit, after they had heard them all, they decreed that the Romans had violated the treaties, and gave this answer to Valerius, that, seeing the Romans had dissolved the affinity, that subsisted between them, by their repeated acts of injustice, they should consider, at leisure, in what manner they ought to punish the aggressors. While these things were in agitation, there was a conspiracy formed against the city ⁴³ itself, several slaves having agreed together to possess themselves of the places of strength, and to set fire to many parts of it: But, information being given by the accomplices, the consuls, immediately, ordered the gates to be shut, and all the places of strength to be possessed by the

⁴² Τὸν πρεσβευτήν. This is in the plural number in all the editions, and manuscripts; but, as no other ambassador but Valerius has been mentioned, I have altered it to the singular.

⁴³ ἑαυτοῦς. This word, which is in

the Vatican manuscript, I have altered to αὐτοῦς, which the transition from one subject to another seems to require, and which, I believe, was changed to εαυτοῦς by the carelessness of the transcribers.

knight.

knights. And some of the conspirators being, soon, taken in their houses, and others brought up from the country, those, whom the informers declared to have been concerned in the conspiracy, were all torne with whips, and tortures, and, then, crucified. These were the transactions of this consulship.

LII. Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Manius Tullius Longus being appointed consuls, some of the Fidenates, having sent for soldiers from the Tarquinii, possessed themselves of the citadel at Fidenæ; and, putting to death some, who would not concur in their measures, and banishing others, caused the city to revolt, again, from the Romans; and, when ambassadors came to them from Rome, they attempted to treat them like enemies: But, being hindered by the elders from effecting it, they drove them out of the city, without vouchsafing either to hear what they had to say, or to say any thing to them. The Roman senate, being informed of this, did not desire, as yet, to make war upon the whole nation of the Latines, because they understood that all of them did not approve of the resolutions taken by the leading men in the assembly; that the common people, in every city, were averse to the war; and that the number of those, who desired the league should subsist, was superior to such, as alledged it had been violated: However, they resolved to send Manius Tullius, one of the consuls, against the Fidenates with a considerable army: Who, having laid waste their country with great security, none offering to defend it, incamped near the walls, and placed

placed guards to prevent the inhabitants from receiving provisions, arms, or any other assistance. The Fidenates, thus, shut up within their walls, sent ambassadors to the cities of the Latines to desire that succours might, speedily, be sent to them. Upon this, the leading men of the Latines, holding an assembly of the cities, and, again, giving leave to the Tarquini, and to the ambassadors of the besieged, to speak, called upon the deputies to deliver their opinions, beginning with the most ancient, and the most illustrious, in what manner they ought to make war against the Romans: And many speeches having been made, first, concerning the war itself, whether they ought to give their sanction to it, the most turbulent of the deputies were for restoring the king, and advised to assist the Fidenates, desiring to have the supreme command of the armies, and the administration of great affairs: But these things were, particularly, pressed by those, who aimed at domination, and tyranny in their own countries, in which they expected the assistance of the Tarquini, if they recovered the sovereignty of the Romans. On the other side, the men of the greatest fortunes, and of the greatest equity, were of opinion, that the cities ought to adhere to the treaties, and not, hastily, take up arms: And these were in the greatest credit with the people. Those, who pressed for a war, being, thus, defeated by the advisers of peace, prevailed, however, so far at last, that they engaged the assembly to send ambassadors to Rome to induce, and, at the same time, to advise the Romans, to receive the Tarquini, and the rest of the fugitives upon the terms of impunity,

impunity, and a general amnesty; and, having confirmed these concessions upon oath, to restore their ancient form of government, and withdraw their army from Fidenæ, since they could not suffer their relations, and friends to be deprived of their country: And, in case the Romans should submit to neither of these things, then, to deliberate concerning the war. They were not ignorant that the Romans would submit to neither, but desired to have a specious pretence for breaking with them, and expected to gain their opposers, in the mean time, by courting, and obliging them. The deputies, having passed these votes, and limited a year's time for the Romans to take their resolutions, and for themselves to make their preparations, and appointed such ambassadors as Tarquinius thought proper, dismissed the assembly.

LIII. The Latines being dispersed about their cities, Mamilius, and Tarquinius, observing the generality of the people were become ⁴⁴ remiss by this truce, abandoned the hopes of a foreign assistance, as not altogether to be depended on; and, changing their system, formed a design of raising, in Rome itself, a civil war, against which their enemies were

⁴⁴ *Αναπεπρωχασι*. The Latin translators seem not to have understood the sense of this word (I say nothing of the French translators, because they have both translated the others) and have said *prociui*: Whereas, the literal signification of the word is just the reverse; since *αναπιπλων* and *υπλος* are synonymous. And, as to the figurative signifi-

cation, ^m Thucydides will best explain it in the character, given of the Athenians by the Corinthian ambassadors; *κραίνεις τε των εχθρων, επι πλεισιν εξερχονται, και νικωμενοι, επ' ελαχιστον ΑΝΑΠΙΠΤΟΥΣΙ*. Hobbes has given the sense of the word, though inelegantly enough: He has said, *fall off the least*.

^m B. i. c. 70.

unguarded,

unguarded, by fomenting a sedition of the poor against the rich. Before this, a great part of the common people were dissatisfied, and, no longer, entertained, especially the poorer sort, and those, who were oppressed with debts, the best affections for the commonwealth: For the creditors were immoderate in the use of their power; and, laying the persons of their debtors in chains, treated them like slaves they had purchased. Tarquinius, hearing this, sent some unsuspected persons to Rome with money, in company with the ambassadors of the Latines; who, conversing with the poorer sort, and those, who were boldest, and, by giving some money to them, and promising more, if the Tarquini returned, corrupted a great many of the citizens: And, thus, a conspiracy was formed against the aristocracy, not, only, of indigent freemen, but, also, of profligate slaves, engaged by the hopes of liberty, who, being exasperated by the punishment of their fellow-slaves the year before, and, secretly, incensed against their masters, by whom they were distrust- ed, and suspected, as if they themselves, also, would lay hold on the first opportunity to destroy them, willingly, hearkened to those, who invited them to enter into the conspiracy. The plan of which was this: The heads of the conspiracy were to take the opportunity of a dark night, and make themselves masters of the fortresses, and the other strong places of the city; and, when the slaves found the former were in possession of those places of advantage (which was to be made known to them by a shout) they were to kill their masters, while they were asleep; and, having
done

done this, to plunder the houses of the rich, and open the gates to the tyrants.

LIV. But the same Divine Providence, which has, at all times, preserved this city, and, to this day, watches over it, discovered their counsels; information being given to Sulpicius, one of the consuls, by two brothers, ⁴⁵ Publius, and Marcus Tarquinius of Laurentum, who were the heads of the conspiracy, and forced by heaven to discover it: For frightful appearances haunted them in their sleep, threatening them with grievous chastisements, if they did not desist, and abandon the attempt; and they thought themselves pursued, and beaten by some demons; that their eyes were torne out, and, at last, that they suffered many miserable punishments: From which dreams they waked with fear, and trembling, and these terrors would not, even, allow them to compose themselves. At first, they endeavoured to deprecate the anger of these demons, who haunted them, with averting, and expiatory sacrifices; but, finding no relief, they had recourse to divination; and, keeping secret the design of the consultation, they desired, only, to know whether it

⁴⁵ Δυο Ταρκύνιοι, Πύπριος καὶ Μάρκος.
If there is no error in the text, it is very extraordinary that we have never heard of these Tarquinii before; and, since we have not, that our author should give no account of them, when he produces them upon the stage for the first time. Le Jay, with great modesty, offers a conjecture to solve this difficulty: He supposes them to have been the sons of Aruns, the bro-

ther of Tarquinius Superbus; and that, to avoid the persecution of their uncle, they retired to Laurentum after the murder of their father. I am so far from objecting to his discovery, that I cannot say whether I am more pleased with the diligence of his inquiry, or charmed with the modesty, with which he communicates the success of it.

were, now, a proper time to execute what they proposed : And the soothfayer answering that they were treading a wicked, and destructive path ; and that, if they did not change their resolutions, they would die a most shameful death, fearing lest others should prevent them in revealing the secret, they themselves gave information of the conspiracy to the consul, who was, then, at Rome. The consul, having commended them, and promised them great rewards, if they confirmed their words by their actions, kept them in his house, without acquainting any one with what had happened : And, introducing to the senate the embassadors of the Latines, to whom he had, till then, delayed giving an answer, he informed them of the resolutions of that body. “ Friends, and relations, says he, acquaint the general
“ assembly of the Latines at your return, that the Roman
“ people did not either, before, consent to the restoration
“ of the tyrants at the instance of the Tarquinienses, or,
“ afterwards, yield to all the Tyrrhenians, who interceded
“ in their favor ; and who, led by Porfena, brought upon
“ them the most grievous of all wars ; but submitted to see
“ their lands laid waste, their country-houses on fire, and
“ themselves shut up within their walls for the sake of li-
“ berty, and of not being commanded to act otherwise than
“ they thought fit. And we wonder, Latines, that you,
“ who are acquainted with these things, should, neverthe-
“ less, come to us with orders to receive the tyrants, and to
“ raise the siege of Fidenæ ; and, if we refuse to obey you,
“ threaten us with a war. Cease, then, to colour your
“ hatred

“ hatred with these frivolous, and improbable pretences :
 “ And if, for these reasons, you are determined to dissolve
 “ the bonds of our affinity, and to declare war, no longer
 “ defer it.”

LV. Having given this answer to the embassadors, and ordered them to be conducted out of the city, he, then, laid before the senate every thing relating to the secret conspiracy, which he had learned from the informers. And, being invested by them with ⁴⁶ absolute authority to inquire after the accomplices in these private counsels, and to punish the offenders, he did not proceed in a haughty, and tyrannical manner, as any other might have done under the like necessity, but took reasonable, and safe measures, and such, as were agreeable to the form of government, then, established : For he would not suffer the citizens to be seized in their own houses, and from thence hurried to death, or torne from the embraces of their wives, children, and parents ; but considered the compassion, which this violent parting between the guilty, and their nearest relations, would raise in the breasts of the latter ; and, at the same time, apprehended lest some

⁴⁶. Εξουσιαν ἀντοκρατορεα. This was a kind of sovereign power granted to the consuls by the senate in times of great danger. With this power Cicero, and his colleague, were invested upon the discovery of Catiline's conspiracy. The extent of this power is described, upon that occasion, in so particular a manner by Sallust, that it may serve as a rule for all others : For which reason,

I shall lay his account of it before the reader in his own words : *Itaque, quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet : eo permittitur exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque civis : domi militiaeque imperium, atque judicium summum habere. aliter sine populi jussu, nullius eorum rerum consuli jus est.*

▪ Bell. Cat. c. 29.

D d d 2

of

of the offenders, being driven to despair, might have recourse to arms ; and, when forced to fly to illegal means, might imbrue their hands in civil blood : Neither did he think it proper to appoint tribunals to try them, because he concluded they would all deny the fact, and that no certain, and indubitable proof of it, besides the information he had received, could be laid before the judges, to which they would give credit, and condemn the citizens to death ; but he thought of a new method of circumventing the persons, who had been guilty of these innovations, by which, in the first place, the heads of the conspirators would themselves, without compulsion, come to the same place ; and, after that, be convicted by indubitable proofs, against which they would be left, even, without any defence : Besides, as they would be brought together, not in an unfrequented place, nor convicted by a few witnesses, but in the forum, and their guilt made manifest to all the world, they would suffer the punishment they deserved, which would be attended with no disturbance in the city, nor insurrection of other people, which, often, happen, when innovators are punished, particularly in dangerous times.

LVI. Some other historian might, possibly, think it sufficient to say, in a summary way, that the consul seized the conspirators, and put them to death ; as if no more than a bare relation of the fact were required : But I, who esteem, even, the manner of their apprehension to be worthy of history, have determined not to omit it ; because I consider that those, who read history, do not receive a sufficient
advantage

advantage by being informed only of the event of things: For every man desires to be made acquainted with the causes also, and the manner, of all transactions, and with the views of the actors, and the interposition of heaven upon those occasions, and to hear every circumstance that, usually, attends those events; and I observe that the knowledge of these things is, absolutely, necessary for public ministers, to the end they may have examples before them to make use of upon every occasion. The manner of apprehending the conspirators, contrived by the consul, was this: He ordered those among the senators, who were in the vigor of their age, to assemble the friends they most confided in, together with their relations; and, when the signal should be given, to possess themselves of the strong places of the city, where each of them happened to dwell: He, also, commanded the knights to post themselves in the most convenient houses round the forum with their swords, and there to remain in a readiness to obey his orders: And, to the end that, while he was apprehending the conspirators, neither their relations, nor any of the other citizens might raise a disturbance, nor any civil blood be shed by reason of this commotion, he sent letters to the consul, who was employed in the siege of Fidenæ, desiring him to come to the city, in the beginning of the night, with the chosen troops of his army, and to post them upon an eminence near the walls, with their arms in their hands.

LVII Having made these preparations, he ordered the informers to appoint the heads of the conspiracy to come into the forum about midnight, with those of their friends
they

they most confided in, to be informed there of the order, the place, and the word, and of every thing each of them was to do. This was executed: And, when all the heads of the conspiracy, with their friends, were assembled in the forum, the signals, unknown to them, were given; and, presently, the strong places were full of men, who had taken arms in defence of their country, and all the parts round the forum guarded by the knights: So that, not a single passage was left for any, who might endeavour to escape. And, at the same time, Manius, the other consul, having decamped from Fidenæ, was marching with his army to the plain of Mars. As soon as day appeared, the consuls, surrounded with armed men, ascended the tribunal; and, ordered the cryers to summon the people, in every street, to come to the assembly; and, all the citizens flocking thither, they acquainted them with the conspiracy formed to restore the tyrant, and placed the informers in a conspicuous part of the forum. After that, they gave the accused an opportunity of making their defence, if any of them desired to object to the information; and none attempting to deny the fact, they withdrew from the forum to the senate, to ask the opinion of the senators concerning them; and, having caused the decree to be written out, they returned to the assembly, and read the previous decree of the senate; the tenor of which was; that to the Tarquini, who had given information of the conspiracy, be granted the rights of Roman citizens; and, to each of them, ten thousand

thousand ⁴⁷ drachmae of silver, and twenty acres of the public lands: And, that the conspirators be seized, and put to death, if the people shall be of the same opinion. Their assembly having confirmed the decree of the senate, the consuls ordered the people to withdraw from the forum, and called the lictors to attend with their swords; who, surrounding the conspirators, where they stood in a body, put them all to death. After the consuls had caused these to be executed, they received no more informations against any, who had entered into the same designs; but acquitted every one, who had escaped the present punishment, to the end that all cause of disturbance might be removed. In this manner, those, who had formed that conspiracy, were put to death. After which, the senate ordered all the citizens to be purified, because they had been under a necessity of giving their votes for shedding civil blood; it not being lawful for them to enter the temples, and partake of the sacrifices, before the abomination was expiated, and the calamity discharged by the customary lustrations. After all these ceremonies were performed by the interpreters of religious matters, according to the custom of their country, the senate determined to offer up sacrifices of thanksgiving, and to celebrate games, and dedicated three holy days to these things. Anc. Manius Tullius, one of the consuls, falling from his consecrated chariot in the circus, during the pro-

⁴⁷ Μυρίαε δραχμας. Ten thousand drachmae make 322 l. 18 s. 4 d. of our money, as ° I have, already, shewn.

• See the twenty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

cession,

cession, and the holy games, called after the name of the city, and dying the third day after, Sulpicius continued alone in the magistracy during the rest of the time, which was not long.

LVIII. Publius Veturius Geminus, and Titus Aebutius Elva were appointed consuls for the following year. Of these, Aebutius had the care of the civil affairs, which seemed to require no small attention, lest some other attempt should be made by the poorer sort. And Veturius, marching out with one half of the army, laid waste the lands of the Fidenates without opposition; and, sitting down before the town, attacked it without ceasing: But not being able to take it by a siege, he surrounded the town with palisades, and a ditch, designing to reduce the inhabitants by famine. The Fidenates were, already, in great distress, when succours from the Latines arrived, which Sextus Tarquinius sent, together with corn, arms, and other military supplies. All which so far raised their confidence, that they ventured to come out of the town with no inconsiderable forces, and to incamp in the field. The line of contravallation was, now, of no further use to the Romans, and a battle seemed necessary: Which was fought near the city, and, for some time, continued doubtful: But the Fidenates, though superior in number, being, at last, forced to give way to the unwearied constancy of the Romans, which they had acquired, to a great degree, by long experience, were put to flight: However, as they had not far to retreat; and, as those, who were upon the walls, repulsed the pursuers, their

their loss was not considerable. After this action, the auxiliary troops, dispersing themselves, departed, without having done any service to the inhabitants: And the city fell, again, into the same distress, and laboured under a scarcity of provisions. About the same time, Sextus Tarquinius marched with an army of Latines to Signia, then in the possession of the Romans, in expectation of taking the place by storm. But the garrison making a brave resistance, he prepared to force them to quit the place by famine, and staid a considerable time there without performing any thing remarkable: And, finding himself disappointed of this hope also, by the provisions, and succours the consuls sent to the garrison, he raised the siege, and departed with his army.

LIX. The following year, the Romans created ⁴⁸ Titus Lartius Flavus, and Quintus Cloelius Siculus, consuls. Of these, Cloelius was appointed by the senate to the administration of the civil affairs, and, with one half of the army, to guard against those, who might be disposed to innovate, being looked upon as a mild, and popular man. Lartius marched with his forces ready for action, to make war against the Fidenates, and carried with him every thing necessary for a siege. The Fidenates being, now, reduced to

⁴⁸ Τίτος Λαρήιος Φλαέος. The name of this consul is Titus Lartius Flavus, not Largius, as it stands in both the Latin, and, consequently, in both the French, translations. He had been consul three years before with Postumus Cominius: For which reason, he is, thus, set down in the *Festi consulares*,

T. Lartius Flavus II. This is confirmed by Livy, who calls this consul T. Lartius in both places. This deserved the more to be cleared up, because T. Lartius was the first dictator; a magistracy, which, often, saved, and, at last, destroyed, the commonwealth.

† B. ii. c. 18. and 21.

great distress by the length of this war, and in want of all necessary provisions, he pressed them hard by undermining the foundations of the walls, raising mounds, applying his warlike engines, and continuing the attacks night, and day ; by which means, he expected, soon, to take the city by storm. For the Latines, in confidence of whose assistance alone the Fidenates supported the war, were not, any longer, in a condition to relieve them ; no one of those cities having sufficient strength to raise the siege : Neither was there, as yet, any army on foot raised by the whole nation ; but, to the ambassadors, who came, frequently, from Fidenae, the leading men in the cities, always, gave the same answers, that succours should soon be sent to them. However, no effects of these promises appearing, the expectation, raised of succours, went no farther than words : Notwithstanding this, the Fidenates did not altogether despair of being assisted by the Latines ; but supported themselves with constancy, under all their dreadful circumstances, by their confidence in those hopes. Above all the evils they suffered, famine was a thing not to be encountered ; and this destroyed many of the inhabitants. Being, now, wearied out with their calamities, they sent ambassadors to the consul to desire a cessation of arms for a certain number of days, in order to deliberate, during that time, concerning the conditions, upon which they should enter into a league of friendship with the Romans : But this time was not desired by them for deliberating, but for soliciting succours, as appeared by some of the deserters, lately come over to the Romans : For, the night before,

before, they had sent the most considerable of their citizens, and such, as had greatest interest in the cities of the Latines, to that nation with the ensigns of suppliants.

LX. Lartius, who was, before, apprized of these things, ordered those, who desired a truce, to lay down their arms, and open their gates ; and, then, to apply to him ; otherwise, he told them, they were to expect neither peace, nor truce, nor any other instance of humanity, or moderation from the Romans. He, also, took care that the ambassadors, sent to the Latin nation, might not return to the city, by reinforcing the guards, that were posted on all the roads, which led thither : So that, the besieged, despairing of assistance from their allies, were compelled to have recourse to a supplication of their enemies : And, assembling together, they determined to submit to such conditions of peace, as the conqueror had prescribed. However, the commanders, at that time, were, in their whole behaviour, so obedient to the civil power, and so averse from tyrannical presumption (which few of those, in our days, who are subject to be elated with the greatness of their power, have been able to avoid) that, being master of the town, he did nothing by his own authority ; but, having ordered the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and left a garrison in the citadel, he himself went to Rome ; and, assembling the senate, referred it to them to consider how, or in what manner, those, who had surrendered themselves, ought to be treated. When the senate, admiring the man for the honor he had done them, decreed that the most considerable among

the Fidenates, and those, who had been the authors of the revolt, to be declared by the consul, should be whipped with rods, and beheaded: And, concerning the rest, they gave him authority to do every thing he should think fit. Lartius, having, by this means, the sole power vested in him, ordered some few of the Fidenates, who were accused by those of the opposite party, to be put to death in a public manner, and confiscated their fortunes: And, to all the others, he granted the possession both of the city, and of their effects: He, also, took from them one half of their lands, which was divided, by lot, among those Romans, who were left in the city, as a garrison to the citadel. Having settled these things, he returned home with his army.

LXI. When the Latines heard that Fidenæ was taken, every city was alarmed, and full of fears, and expressed their repentment against those, who were at the head of the public affairs; accusing them of having betrayed their allies: And a general assembly being held at Ferentinum, the advisers of the war inveighed, bitterly, against those, who had dissuaded it; particularly, Tarquinius, and his son-in-law, Mamilius, together with the magistrates of Aricia. By whose harangues, all the deputies of the Latin nation were deluded into a resolution to join in a war against the Romans. And, to the end that no one city might either betray the public cause, or be reconciled to them without the concurrence of all the rest, they confirmed their agreement by mutual oaths, and voted that those, who violated that agreement, should be excluded from their alliance, be accursed, and common enemies.

enemies. The deputies, who signed the treaty, and swore to the observance of it, were sent from the following people : The ⁴⁹ Ardeates, Aricini, Bovillani, ⁵⁰ Bubetani, Corani, Forentani, Gabini, Laurentes, Lanuvini, Lavinienſes, Labicani, Nomentani, Norbani, Praeneſtini, Pedani, Querquetulani, Satricani, Scapti, Setini, Telleni, Tiburtini, Tusculani, Tolerinenſes, Tricinenſes, Veliterni, Circacenſes, Coriolani, Corbienenſes, Cabani, and Phortinienſes : They reſolved that as many of the youth, belonging to all theſe cities, ſhould take arms, as their commanders, Octavius Mamilius, and Sextus Tarquinius ſhould judge neceſſary (for they had appointed theſe to be their generals, and inveſted them with abſolute authority) and, to the end they might appear to have a ſpecious pretence for the war, they ſent the moſt conſiderable men of every city to Rome, as embaſſadors ; who, being introduced into the ſenate, ſaid, that the Romans were accuſed by the citizens of Aricia for having, not, only, granted a ſafe paſſage through their territories to the Tyrrhenians, when they made war upon the inhabitants of

⁴⁹ *Ἀρδεῖων*. The reader may have obſerved that moſt of theſe cities have, already, been taken notice of in the notes. Of the reſt, ſome were of ſo little note, that the place, where they ſtood, is not known ; of ſome, the names only are to be found ; and of others, not ſo much as the names. We are, however, obliged to the Vatican manuſcript, at leaſt, for the names of ſix cities, to complete the number of thirty. It is certain that ſome of theſe cities lay in the territories

of the Aequi, and of the Volſci : But, then, it muſt be remembered that our author has, already, told us that the country poſſeſſed by the Aborigines, and the reſt of the Greeks, who were incorporated with them, all of whom were, afterwards, called Latini, extended from the Tiber, to the Liris.

⁵⁰ *Βουβητῶν*. Theſe, I imagine to be the ſame people with the *Bubetani*, mentioned by Pliny, who places them in Latium.

Aricia, but, also, assisted them with every thing, that was necessary for them to carry on the war; and, having received such of the Tyrrhenians, as fled from the defeat, they had preserved them all, when they were wounded, and without arms; when they could not be ignorant that the war, carried on by them, threatened the whole nation; and that, if they had, once, made themselves masters of the city of Aricia, nothing could have hindered them from enslaving, also, all the other cities: If, therefore, they would appear before the general tribunal of the Latines; and, pleading there to the accusations, brought against them by the inhabitants of Aricia, submit to the determination of all the members, they said the Romans might avoid a war: But, if persisting in their usual arrogance, they refused to yield to their relations in any thing, that was just and reasonable, they threatened them with a vigorous war from all the Latines.

LXII. These invitations of the ambassadors could not prevail with the senate to plead their cause with the inhabitants of Aricia, of the merits of which their accusers would be the judges, who would not confine their judgement even to these impositions, but add others to them still more grievous; for which reasons, they decreed to accept the war. The bravery, indeed, and experience of the Roman troops gave them no room to apprehend any misfortune to the commonwealth; but they were afraid of the numbers of their enemies; and, sending ambassadors to various parts, they invited the neighbouring cities to enter into their alliance; while the Latines, also, sent ambassadors to the same cities
to

to cross their negotiations; and, loudly, exclaimed against the Romans. The Hernici, assembling together, gave suspicious, and ambiguous answers to the ambassadors of both nations, saying they would not, at present, enter into the alliance of either, but consider, at leisure, which of the two nations had the justest pretensions to their assistance; and that they should take a year's time for that consideration. The Rutuli declared, openly, they would assist the Latines; and to the Romans they engaged to prevail with the Latines to moderate their demands, and that they would mediate a peace between them, provided the former agreed to lay aside their animosity. The Volsci said they, even, wondered at the impudence of the Romans, who, though conscious of the many injuries they had done them, particularly, of the last, in taking from them the best part of their territories, of which they were, still, in possession, had, nevertheless, the boldness to invite them, who were their enemies, to enter into their alliance: And they advised them, first, to restore their lands to them, and, then, to require justice from them, as from their friends. The Tyrrhenians defeated the expectations of both, by alledging that they had, lately, entered into treaties with the Romans, and that there was an affinity, and friendship, actually, subsisting between them, and the Tarquinii. Notwithstanding these answers, the Romans abated nothing of their spirit, which, often, happens to those, who are entering into a dangerous war, and despair of any assistance from their allies; but, trusting to their national forces only, they grew much more eager for the
engage-

ingagement, being conscious of the necessity they were under of behaving themselves, bravely, in the article of danger, and sure, if they succeeded, of owing the victory to their own valor, without communicating the glory of it with others. Such an excess of spirit, and confidence had they acquired from the many actions they had been engaged in.

LXIII. While they were preparing every thing, that was necessary for the war, and beginning to raise forces, they fell into great perplexity, when they found that all the citizens did not shew the same cheerfulness for the service : For the poorer sort, and, particularly, those, who were unable to pay their debts, being many in number, when called upon to take arms, refused to obey, or to join with the patricians in any undertaking, unless they passed a vote for the abolition of their debts : Some of them threatened, even, to leave the city, and exhorted one another to lay aside their fondness of living in a city, that allowed them no share in any thing, that was valuable. At first, the patricians endeavoured, by intreaties, to prevail upon them to change their resolutions ; but, finding their intreaties of no avail to inspire them with greater modesty, they, then, assembled in the senate to consider what justifiable method could be found out to put an end to the present disturbance. Those senators, therefore, who were of a mild disposition, and of moderate fortunes, advised to remit the debts of the poorer sort, and to purchase, at a small price, the benevolence of their fellow-citizens, from which they were sure to derive great advantages, both private, and public.

LXIV.

LXIV. The author of this advice was Marcus Valerius, the son of Valerius, one of those, who destroyed the tyranny, and, from his love to the people, was called Poplicola: He shewed them that, where the rewards men fight for, are equal, the emulation, with which they are led on to action, is equal also; while those, who expect no rewards, are inspired with no bravery. He told them, also, that the poorer sort of people were inflamed, and, going about the forum, used these discourses: What advantage shall we gain by overcoming our foreign enemies, if we are liable to be dragged to prison by our creditors? And by investing the commonwealth with sovereignty, if we ourselves cannot secure even the liberty of our own persons? He, then, shewed them that this was not the only danger, which hung over them, if the people should be exasperated against the senate, lest they should leave the city in the present exigence, which every one, who desired the preservation of the commonwealth, ought to tremble at; but that there was another danger, also, still more formidable, which was, lest they, seduced by the inticements of the tyrants, should take up arms against the patricians, and give their assistance to the restoration of Tarquinius. That while they only talked, and threatened, and had proceeded to no outrageous action, he advised them to prevent the effect of those threats, by reconciling the people to the government with this relief, since they would neither be the first, who had adopted such a measure, nor incur any considerable disreputation by it; but were able to quote others, who had submitted, not only,

to this, but to many other things still more grievous, when they had no other remedy : That necessity was stronger than human nature ; and that all men, then, considered decency, when they were in possession of security.

LXV. After he had enumerated many examples, taken from many cities, he, at last, laid before them That of the city of Athens, then in the greatest repute for wisdom, which, not very long before, but in the time of their fathers, had, by the ⁵¹ advice of Solon, decreed an abolition of debts in favor of the poorer sort ; and that no one, then, censured this institution, or called the author of it a flatterer of the people, or a bad man ; but all commended both the great prudence of those, who were persuaded to enact it, and the great wisdom of the person, who persuaded them to it. What man of sense, therefore, can blame the Romans, who are not exposed to a trivial danger, but to That of being, again, delivered up to a cruel tyrant, more

⁵¹ Σολωνος καθήκισαμεν. This law of Solon was called, by him, σεισαχθεια, literally, *the shaking off a burden* ; and was, in effect, an abolition of debts. This law was one of those, which Solon meant, when, being asked if he had given the best laws to the Athenians, he answered, *the best they would receive*. Our author makes Valerius say that this law was enacted in the time of their fathers ; and Plutarch, from Phanias, affirms that Solon died in the archonship of Hegestratus, who, as appears by the tables of the Athenian archons, bore that magistracy in

the second year of the fifty fifth Olympiad, and we are, now, in the first year of the seventy first Olympiad : So that, there will be about sixty three years from the death of Solon to this period. But we find in Plutarch that Solon enacted this law, when he himself was archon ; and, by the same tables, it appears that his archonship coincides with the fourth year of the forty fifth Olympiad, that is, thirty seven years before his death, and a hundred years before this period ; which falls in with the beginning of the preceding generation.

^s Plutarch's Life of Solon.

savage than any wild beast, if, by this instance of humanity, they can engage the poor, instead of enemies, to become joint supporters of the commonwealth? To these foreign examples, he, at last, added some, that were domestic; and, put them in mind of the distress, they had been, lately, reduced to, when their country being in the power of the Tyrrhenians, and themselves shut up within their walls, and in great want of necessary provisions, they did not form wild designs, like men distracted, and seeking death; but, yielding to the pressures of that juncture, and suffering necessity to teach them their interest, they submitted to deliver up to king Porfena the children of the most considerable persons, as hostages, which they had, never, yielded to before; to be deprived of part of their territories, by the cession of the seven villages to the Tyrrhenians; to consent that their enemy should be the judge of the accusations brought against them by the tyrant; and to supply the Tyrrhenians with provisions, arms, and every thing else they insisted on, as the conditions of their putting an end to the war. Having made use of these examples, he shewed them that it was not the part of the same prudence to refuse no terms insisted on by their enemies, and to make war, for a trivial concern, upon their own citizens, who had signalized themselves in many battles for the sovereignty, when the kings were in possession of the government, and shewn great cheerfulness in assisting the patricians to free their country from the tyrants, and would, still, shew greater zeal in what remained to be done, if invited to it; and,

though labouring under poverty, would, freely, expose their persons, and lives, which were all they had left, to any dangers for her sake. Then he said that, if the people had, through modesty, forbore to say any thing of this kind, or to declare it to the senate, the patricians ought to make proper reflexions upon their situation ; and whatever wants, either public, or private, they knew any of them to labour under, to relieve them chearfully, and to consider that it will shew great pride in them to demand their persons, and refuse them money ; and to publish to all the world that they make war to preserve the common liberty, while they deprive those, who assisted them in preserving it, of their own ; without being able to reproach them with any crime, but only with poverty, which deserved compassion, rather than hatred.

LXVI. This advice of Valerius was approved of by many ; when Appius Claudius Sabinus, being called upon in his turn, advised contrary measures, and told them that the sedition would not be taken away, if they decreed an abolition of debts, but would become more dangerous, by being transferred from the poor, to the rich : For it was, already, plain to every one, that those, who were to be deprived of their money, would resent it ; and, as they were, not only, citizens, but, also, dignified persons, and had served their country upon all occasions, when it fell to their lot, they would not bear that the money, left them by their fathers, together with what they themselves had, by their industry, and frugality, acquired, should be confiscated for the benefit
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of the most profligate, and most lazy of the citizens. That it would be a great folly in them to gratify the worse part of the commonwealth, at the expence of the better ; and, by dividing the fortunes of others among the most unjust of all the citizens, to take them away from those, who had, justly, acquired them. He desired them, also, to consider that governments are not subverted by those, who are poor, and without power, when they are⁵² compelled to do justice, but, by the rich, and such, as are capable of administering the affairs of the public, when they are insulted by their inferiors, and cannot obtain justice. However, if those, who are deprived of the benefit of their contracts, should entertain no resentment, but submit, with some degree of mildness, and indolence, to the loss, yet, even in that case, he said, it would neither be right, nor safe for them to gratify the poor with such a gift, by which all commerce would be banished from, and mutual hatred introduced into, the community ; which would, by that means, be reduced to a want of necessaries, without which cities cannot

52. Τα δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζομένων. The Latin translators have mistaken the sense of this passage, and, by mistaking it, have misled their followers, the French translators: Portus has said, *quod ipsâ necessitate coacti in officio contineantur*; and le Jay, *et qu'il est aisé de contenir dans le devoir*; Sylburgius, *quando hi necessitate contineantur in officio*; and M. ***, *parce qu'il est facile de les retenir dans les bornes du devoir*. The reader will, easily, see that the French versions are translations of the Latin, and, equally, erro-

neous. Without insisting upon it that τα δίκαια ποιεῖν cannot be made to signify ὑπακούειν, as I might, easily, do, I shall observe that, here, is, visibly, a contrast between τὰς πεινῆας τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζομένους, and, τὰς εὐποροῦς, ὅταν τῶν δικαίων μὴ τυγχάνωσι. Appian says, very finely, I think, though I am far from adopting all his conclusions, that governments are not in so much danger of being subverted by the poor, when they are compelled to do justice, as by the rich, when they cannot obtain it.

be

be inhabited; while neither the husbandmen would, any longer, sow, and plant their lands, the merchants use the sea, and import foreign provisions, nor the poor employ themselves in any other just occupation: For none of the rich would throw away their money to supply those, who wanted it, with the means of carrying on any of these things. Thus, riches would be envied, and industry destroyed; and the prodigal be in a better condition, than the frugal; the unjust, than the just; and those, who appropriated to themselves the fortunes of others, would have the advantage of those, who preserved their own. These were the things, that created seditions in cities, mutual slaughters without end, and every other sort of mischief; by which the happiest lose their liberties, and the less happy are, totally, destroyed.

LXVII. But, above all, he desired that they, who were instituting a new form of government, would take care that no bad custom gained admittance there: For he told them that, of whatever nature the public institutions of cities were, such would, most assuredly, be the manners of private men: And that no worse institution could be established either in cities, or in private families, than for every man to make his passions the constant principles of his conduct, and for superiors to grant every thing to their inferiors, either through favor, or necessity: For the desires of senseless men are, never, satisfied, when they obtain what they demanded, but, presently, covet other things of greater importance, and know no bounds; which is a failing the
common

common people are, particularly, subject to: For there are many excesses, which each of them, by himself, may either be ashamed, or, being restrained by his superiors, afraid to commit; yet, being together, they fortify their own sentiments, when they find them espoused by their companions, and venture upon those excesses with less remorse: For which reason, he said, they ought to oppose the insatiable, and unlimited desires of a senseless multitude, while they were, yet, in their infancy, and weak, and not suffer them to grow up, and gain strength, till they are unable to restrain them: For all men are more outrageous, when deprived of concessions, than when they are disappointed of their hopes. This he confirmed by many examples, and laid before them the fate of some Greek cities, which, having been prevailed upon, by some unseasonable junctures, to relax, and give admittance to the beginnings of evil institutions, were, no longer, able to put an end to, and abolish, them; by which means, they were compelled to submit to shameful, and irreparable mischiefs. He said, the commonwealth resembled every particular man; the senate bearing some resemblance to the soul, and the people, to the body: If, therefore, they suffered the senseless people to govern the senate, they would act like those, who subject the soul to the body, and live under the influence of their passions, not of their reason: Whereas, if they accustomed the people to be governed, and led by the senate, they would act like those, who subject the body to the soul, and lead the best, not the most voluptuous, lives. He shewed them that no great mischief would

would befall the commonwealth, if the poor, dissatisfied with them for not granting an abolition of their debts, should refuse to take arms in its defence, saying there were, extremely, few, who had nothing left but their persons, and who, if present in the armies, would not prove a wonderful advantage to their cause, or a loss to it, if absent; putting them in mind that those, whose fortunes were of the least value, were posted in the rear in all actions, and that they were placed there only to add to the number of the forces, that were disposed in the lines of battle, and to strike the enemy with terror, as having no other arms but slings, which are of the least use in action.

LXVIII. He said that those, who thought it reasonable to commiserate the poverty of the citizens, and who advised to relieve such of them, as were unable to pay their debts, ought to inquire what it was, that had made them poor, when they had inherited the lands their fathers left them, and gained great advantages from the wars; and when, lately, each of them had received his share of the confiscations of the tyrants; and, after that inquiry, they ought to look upon such of them, as they found had abandoned themselves to gluttony, and the most shameful pleasures, and, by such means, had consumed their fortunes, as a disgrace, and damage to the city, and to esteem it as a great benefit to the commonwealth, if they would, voluntarily, withdraw from this city, and perish in some other: And, as to those among them, whom they should find to have lost their substance through the unkindness of fortune, these, he advised
them,

them, to relieve with their own money. And, he said, their creditors could best distinguish, and assist these; and that they themselves might relieve their misfortunes, not compelled by others, but, voluntarily; to the end that, instead of their money, the gratitude of their debtors might accrue to them, as a noble debt. But, to extend the relief to all, of which the profligate will have an equal share with the deserving, and to confer benefits, not at their own expence, but at That of others; and not to leave to those, whose money they take away, even the obligation of this favor, does not, in any degree, become the virtue of the Romans. He said that, above all these, and many other considerations, it was a grievous thing, and not to be suffered by the Romans, who were aiming at sovereignty, to give up what their ancestors had, with many labors, acquired, and left to their posterity; and to do this, not by choice, nor convinced by reason, nor at a proper season for taking the best resolutions, and such, as are most advantageous to the commonwealth; but, as if the city was taken, or expected to be taken, and, contrary to their opinion, to bestow this benefit on those, from whom they expected little, or no assistance, but were in danger of receiving the most shameful treatment. That it was far better to submit to the commands of the Latines, as the more reasonable, and not, even, to try the fortune of a war, than, by yielding to the desires of those, who are of no use upon any occasion, to destroy public faith, which their ancestors

had appointed to be honoured with a ⁵³ temple, and annual sacrifices, when they could expect no other advantage from it, than That of adding to their forces a body of slingers. The substance of his opinion was this; to accept the service of such citizens, as should be willing to take a share in the fortune of the war, upon the same terms with every other Roman: And to reject the offers, of those who insisted upon any terms whatever in taking arms for their country, as of no use, if they entered into the service: For, when they knew this, he said, they would come of their own accord, and shew themselves obedient to those persons, whose deliberations tended most to the benefit of the commonwealth: It being the character of all senseless men, when flattered, to insult, and, when terrified, to submit.

LXIX. These were the opposite opinions, delivered upon that occasion; besides which, there were many between both: For some of the senators advised to remit the debts of those only, who had no fortune, and that the creditor should be at liberty to seize the effects of the debtor, but not his person. Others were of opinion that the public should discharge the debts of the insolvents, to the end that the credit of the poor might be preserved by this favor of the public, and the creditors receive no injustice. And others thought it more expedient to ransom the persons of

53. Πισιν — ἣν ἱερὸν κτίσασθαι, etc.
This relates to the temple erected by
Numa Πισει δρυμοισι: Of which our

author gave us an account in the second book, chapter seventy five.

those debtors, who were, already, deprived of their liberty, or should, hereafter, be deprived of it on account of their debts, by substituting captives in their room, and assigning them over to their creditors. These opinions having been debated, it was carried to make no decree, at present, concerning these matters: But, after the wars were ended in the most successful manner, that the consuls should, then, propose this affair, and take the votes of the senators: And that, in the mean time, there should be no money exacted by virtue either of any contract, or any judgement; and that all other suits should cease, and no courts of justice be held, nor the magistrates take cognizance of any thing, but what related to the war: When this decree was brought to the people, it allayed, in some measure, the civil commotion; but did not, intirely, eradicate the spirit of sedition: For some of the lower sort did not look upon the hopes, given by the senate, which contained nothing express, nor certain, as a sufficient relief; but desired they would either grant them an abolition of their debts immediately, if they wanted them to take a share in the dangers of the war, or not to impose upon them by deferring it to another opportunity: For the sentiments of men, they said, when desiring a favor, were very different from Those of the same men, after they had obtained it.

LXX. While the affairs of the public were in this situation, the senate, considering what means would be the most effectual to prevent the plebeians from raising fresh disturbances, resolved to abolish the consular power for the present,

and to create some other magistrate to be invested with the power, not only, of war, and peace, but of all other matters with absolute authority, and subject to no account either of his counsels, or actions; and, that the duration of this new magistracy should be limited to six months; after the expiration of which time, the consuls were, again, to govern. The reasons, that compelled the senate to submit to a voluntary tyranny, in order to put an end to the war brought upon them by their tyrant, were various; but the chief inducement was the law, introduced by the consul Publius Valerius, called Poplicola, which I mentioned before, and, by which, he rendered invalid the determination of the consuls, by ordering that no Roman should be punished before he was tried, and granted to such, as were leading to punishment by their orders, a right to appeal to the judgment of the people; and, until the people had passed their votes upon them, they were to enjoy the security both of their persons, and fortunes; and he ordained that, if any person attempted to transgress any of these provisions, he might be put to death with impunity. The senate considered that, while this law remained in force, the poor could not be compelled to obey the magistrates, because they would, probably, disregard the punishments, which they were not, presently, to undergo; but, then only, when condemned by the people: But, when this law was repealed, all men would be under the greatest necessity of obeying orders. And, to the end the poor might give no opposition, as they would not fail to do, if an open attempt were made to
repeal

repeal a law, that was so much in their favor, the senate resolved to introduce a magistracy of equal power with a tyranny, which should be superior to all the laws. Thus they passed a decree, by which they imposed upon the poor, and, silently, repealed the law, that secured their liberty. The decree of the senate was to this effect: *That Lartius, and Cloelius, who were, then, consuls, and every other person, who was invested with any magistracy, or with the administration of the public affairs, should resign their power; and that a single person, to be chosen by the senate, and approved of by the people, should be invested with the whole power of the commonwealth, and govern during the space of six months only, and that his magistracy should be superior to That of the consuls.* The plebeians, not knowing the importance of this decree, confirmed the resolutions of the senate, this magistracy being, in reality, superior to a legal monarchy, and consented that the senate, after deliberating among themselves, should make choice of the person to be invested with it.

LXXI. After this, the leading men of the senate employed their whole attention in inquiring into, and, previously, considering, the qualities requisite in the person to be intrusted with the government: For they looked upon it that the present juncture of affairs required a man both of activity, and great experience in military affairs; and besides, that he should be indued with prudence, and moderation, and not suffer himself to be intoxicated with the greatness of his power: But, above all these qualities, and
others

others required in a great general, that he should know how to govern with firmness, and remit nothing to the disobedient ; a character they, then, stood, particularly, in need of. The senate, observing all the qualities they required to be united in Titus Lartius, one of the consuls (for Cloelius, who excelled in all political virtues, had no activity, nor inclination for war, no genius for command, nor talents to inspire terror, but was a mild punisher of the disobedient) were, however, ashamed to deprive one of them of a magistracy he was, legally, possessed of, and to invest the other with the power of both, a power superior in splendor to the royal dignity. Besides, they were under secret apprehensions lest Cloelius, looking upon the preference, given to his colleague, as a dishonor cast upon himself by the senate, might change his sentiments, and, becoming a patron of the people, totally subvert the government. And all being ashamed to lay their thoughts before the senate, and this lasting some time, at last, a person of the greatest age, and dignity among the consular senators delivered an opinion, by which he preserved an equal share of honor to both the consuls, and found out a means of having the person the most proper for the command to be appointed by themselves. He said that, since the senate had decreed, and the people, in confirmation thereof, had voted that the power of this magistracy should be committed to a single person, two things remained, that required no small consideration, and care ; the first, who should be the person, to whom this magistracy, of equal power with a tyranny, should be committed ;

mitted; and the other, by what legal authority he should be appointed; his opinion, therefore, was, that one of the present consuls, either by consent of his colleague, or by lot, should chuse, among all the Romans, the person he thought the most capable of governing the commonwealth in the best, and most advantageous manner: And that, in the present juncture, it was unnecessary to create interreges, whom it had been customary, while they lived under a regal government, to intrust, solely, with the nomination, of the future kings, since the commonwealth was, already, provided with a legal magistracy.

LXXII. This opinion being applauded by all, another senator rose up, and said; “Fathers, I think this, also, “ought to be added to what is proposed; that, as two “persons of the greatest worth have, at present, the admi- “nistration of the public affairs, than whom you can find “none more deserving, one of them may have the power of “the nomination, and the other be elected by his colleague; “they themselves considering together, which is the properer “person; to the end that, as the honor is equal, the satisfac- “tion may be equal also; to the one, in having declared “his colleague to be the most deserving; and, to the other, “in having been declared so by his colleague: For each “of them is pleasing, and honourable. I am convinced; “therefore, that, if this clause were not added to what is “proposed, they themselves would have thought proper to “act in this manner: But it is better it should appear “that, even, you do not approve of any other conduct”

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This being applauded of by all, and no other clause added, the decree passed. After the consuls had received the power of determining which of them was the fitter person to command, they did a thing both admirable in itself, and above all human imagination: For each of them declared not himself worthy of the command, but the other; and they continued all that day enumerating one another's virtues, and intreating that they themselves might not have the command: So that, all, who were present in the senate, were in great perplexity. When the senate was dismissed, the relations of each, and the most dignified among the other senators, came to Lartius, and continued intreating him till late at night, and representing that the senate placed all their hopes in him, and that his indifference for the command was prejudicial to the commonwealth. But he was unmoved; and, in his turn, continued to use many prayers, and intreaties to each of them. The next day, the senate was, again, assembled, and he still resisting, and, contrary to the advice of all the senators, still adhering to his resolution, Cloelius rose up; and, having nominated him, according to the custom of the interreges, he himself abdicated the consulship.

LXXIII. This person was the first, who was appointed a monarch at Rome, with absolute authority in war, in peace, and in all other affairs. They call this ⁵⁴ magistrate a

⁵⁴ Ονομα δαυίω τιθενται δικτατωρα.
There are many particulars relating to this high office, which, though too minute for history, and, as such,

probably, omitted by our author, may, without impropriety, find a place in a note. Dionysius has explained the intention of the senate in creating a dictator,

dictator, either from the power he has of ordering, and dictating to others those things, that are just and honourable, as he thinks proper (for the Romans call commands, and injunctions of things just and unjust, *Edicta*, *Edicts*) or, as some write, from the nomination, which was, then, introduced; since he did not receive the magistracy from the people, according to the customs of the nation, but by the appointment of a single person: For they did not think proper to give an invidious, and hateful name to any magistracy, that

dictator, which was to take away the appeal, given to the people from the consuls by the Valerian law. This view would have been disappointed, if there had, still, been an appeal from the dictator, as there was, before, from the consuls; which, in my opinion, plainly, shews there was not. However, the people afterwards, recovered this right, so essential to their liberty: For, after the abrogation of the decemvirate, that is, in the year of Rome 306, fifty years after the creation of the first dictator. L. Valerius, a descendant of Valerius Poplicola, and M. Horatius being consuls, a law was enacted, by which it was made capital to create a magistrate without an appeal to the people; *ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet. qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi: neve ea caedes capitalis noxae haberetur.* So that, from this time, there lay an appeal to the people, even, from the dictators. We find, by the law passed both by the senate, and people for the creation of a dictator, that all magistrates were,

upon that occasion, to lay down their employments: But this related only to the magistracies, then, in being. For the tribunes of the people, after their institution, did not lay down their office upon the nomination of a dictator. *Ὁυτος (ὁ δικτατωρ) δ' εστιν αυτοκρατωρ στρατηγος, & καλισταθενος παραχρημα διαλυεσθαι συμβαινει πασας τας αρχας εν τη Ρωμη, ΠΛΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΩΝ.* The next thing, I shall observe, concerning the dictators, is very singular: It seems, they were, always, appointed in the night; *nocte deinde silentio, ut mos est, L. Papirium dictatorem dicit.* This was scarce worth taking notice of, any more than what * Plutarch says, that the dictators were forbidden, by an old law, to mount a horse. However, the best thing, that can be said of this magistracy, too powerful for a free people, is, that, after the death of † Julius Caesar, in whom it had been made perpetual, it was, absolutely, abolished: I say absolutely, because the most audacious of his successors never ventured to revive it.

* Livy, B. iii. c. 55.
Maxim.

† Polyb. B. iii. p. 238.
Cicer. Phil. i. c. 1.

‡ Livy, B. ix. c. 38.

* Life of Fabius

was to govern a free people, as well for the sake of the subjects, lest they might be alarmed by odious appellations, as from a regard to the magistrates themselves, lest they might either receive some silent injury from others, or commit such acts of injustice against others, as powers, so extensive, naturally, suggest. For this reason, the power, with which the dictator is invested, does, least of all, appear by the name: For, the dictatorship is an elective tyranny. The Romans seem to me to have taken this institution, also, from the Greeks: For the magistrates, anciently called, by the Greeks, *Λισυμνήται*, *Presidents*, as Theophrastus writes⁵⁵ in his treatise concerning kingly government, were a kind of elective tyrants: These were chosen by the cities, not for an unlimited time, nor constantly; but, at such junctures, and, for so long a time, as they thought convenient: In the same manner, as the Mitylenacans, formerly,⁵⁶ chose Pittacus to oppose the banished men, headed by Alcaeus, the poet.

⁵⁵ Ως εν τοις περι βασιλειας ισορει Θεοφραστος. This book is mentioned by^a Diogenes Laertius in the catalogue of his works. From whom, also, we know that Theophrastus was a disciple, first, of Plato, and, afterwards, of Aristotle, whom he succeeded in his school at Athens in the 114th Olympiad: He was, also, the master of Menander. These facts give a great idea of Theophrastus, which is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of all writers, and by the few of his numerous works, that remain. Theo-

phrastus says, the *Λισυμνήται* were *ἀιρέσει τινες τυραννοι*: This is a small deviation from the description given of this magistracy by his master^a Aristotle, who says of it; *εσι δε τετ', ως ἀπλως ειπείν, αἰρέσει τυραννις*.

⁵⁶ Εἰλον τον Πιττακον προς της Φυλαδας. ^b Pittacus held this magistracy ten years, and, then, resigned it. He lived ten years after this, and died in the third year of the fifty second Olympiad. It is no wonder that Alcaeus, whom we find at the head of the banished men, was a declared enemy to Pitta-

^a Life of Theophrastus.

^a Περὶ πελάγ. B. iii. c. 10.

^b Diog. Laert. Life of Pittac.

LXXIV. The first, who had recourse to this institution, learned the advantage of it by experience: For, ⁵⁷ in the beginning, all the Greek cities were governed by kings, not, like the Barbarous nations, despotically, but according to the laws, and customs of each city; and he was the best king, who was the most just, the most observant of the laws, and did not, in any degree, depart from the established customs. This appears from Homer, who calls kings, *Δικασπολεις*, *The ministers of justice*, and ⁵⁸ *Θεμισοπολεις*, *The ministers of the laws*. And kingly governments continued for a long time subject to certain limitations, like ⁵⁹ That of the Lacedaemonians: But some of the kings transgressing their powers, and, seldom, regarding the laws, but govern-

cus, against whom he employed all the powers of poetry, the only arms he had left. Aristotle, in the place above quoted, has preserved a small fragment of Alcaeus, which I shall transcribe the rather because it is not in the small collection of his remains. ΕΠΙΤΙΜΑ ΓΑΡ ΟΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΙΡΙΔΑ ΠΙΤΤΑΚΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΑΣ ΑΧΟΛΩ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΡΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ ΕΞΑΣΟΥΝΟ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΝ, ΜΕΓ' ΕΠΑΙΝΕΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΑΟΛΛΕΕΣ. And ^c Horace, who was a great admirer of Alcaeus, whom he had chosen for his model in Lyric poetry, gives a great character of his manner of writing, when he says,

*Et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaec, pleetro dura navis,
Dura fugae mala, dura belli.*

⁵⁷ Καὶ ἀρχας μὲν γὰρ ἀπαντα πόλεις Ἑλλας ἐβασίλευντο. See the twenty se-

^c Ode xiii. B. ii.

venth annotation on the second book.

⁵⁸ *Θεμισοπολεις*. Sylburgius observes that this word is not to be found in Homer; which, I believe, is true. If so, the following verses in that poet must have misled our author, unless he had met with the word in some manuscripts of Homer, which may have differed, in some few words, from Those made use of by the moderns: The verses, I mean, are in the angry speech of Achilles to Agamemnon, in which, speaking of his scepter, ^d he says,

Ἴν' αὖ τε μιν ἦες Ἀχαιῶν
὘ν πολεμῆς φερέεσι δικασπολοι, οἵ τε θεμισας
Πρὸς Δίος εἰρυνάαι.

⁵⁹ Καθὰ περ ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων. See the thirtieth annotation on the second book.

^d Iliad. α. γ'. 237.

H h h 2

ing,

ing, in most things, according to their own humor; the people, in general, grew dissatisfied with the institution itself, and abolished this form of government; and, enacting laws, and chusing magistrates, they made use of these as the guardians of their cities. But afterwards, when neither the laws had strength enough by themselves to support justice, nor the magistrates, intrusted with the care of them, to support the laws, and length of time introducing many innovations, they found themselves obliged to chuse, not the best institutions, but such, as best suited the present junctures; and this, not only, under inevitable calamities, but, also, in immoderate prosperity; by which, when the constitution became corrupted, and required a speedy, and uncontrollable remedy, they were reduced to a necessity of restoring the kingly, and tyrannical powers, concealed under some specious appellations. These the ⁶⁰ Theſſalians called *Ἀρχες*, *Commanders*, and the Lacedaemonians, ⁶¹ *Ἀρμοσας*, *Reformers*, as being afraid of calling them *Tyrants*, or *Kings*;

⁶⁰. Θετταλοι — αρχες. There is a note in Hudson, in which it is said, that Xenophon, and Homer call these *ταρχες*: But that is no reason why they might not, also, be called *αρχοι*: For these words are, often, used synonymously. But I have something more conclusive to offer in favor of our author's assertion. * Homer himself, in speaking of the Theſſalians, who went to the siege of Troy, calls Proteſilaus, who had commanded them, and was killed, their *αρχον*;

ποθεν γε μιν ΑΡΧΟΝ.

⁶¹. Ἀρμοσας. These must not be confounded with the *Ἀρμοσαι*, or governors, sent by the Lacedaemonians to the cities, that were subject to their obedience. As the Lacedaemonians were not writers, we are too much unacquainted with their inward state, to know when, or, upon what occasions, they created these *αρμοσαι*, whom our author compares with the Roman dictators. It gives me some pain to see here a great number of notes either abstracted, or translated word for word from Casaubon, by M. * * *, without the least acknowledgement.

* Iliad β. γ. 703.

and,

and, looking upon it as a crime to restore those powers they had abolished with oaths, curses, and the approbation of the gods. My opinion, therefore, is, as I said, that the Romans took this example from the Greeks themselves. However, Licinius thinks they took the dictatorship from the Albans; these being, as he says, the first, who, when the royal family was extinct upon the death of Amulius, and Numitor, created annual magistrates, with the same power the kings had, before, enjoyed, and called these magistrates, dictators. For my part, I did not think it worth while to inquire from whence the Romans took the name, but, from whence they took the example of the power comprehended under that name. However, concerning this, it may, possibly, be unnecessary to say any thing further.

LXXV. I shall, now, endeavour to give an account, in few words, of the administration of Lartius, the first dictator, and, in what manner he adorned that magistracy; because I look upon these things to be of the greatest use to the readers, as they will open a large field of noble, and profitable examples, not only, to legislators, and patrons of the people, but, also, to all others, who aspire at the magistracy, and the administration of the public affairs: For I am not going to relate the institutions, and customs of an unadmired, and mean commonwealth, or the counsels, and actions of men unknown, and unworthy to be known, which might make our endeavours, if employed upon small, and frivolous objects, to appear tedious, and trifling; but I am treating of that commonwealth, which prescribes rules of
justice,

justice, and honor to all mankind, and of those magistrates, who have raised her to that dignity: Which is a subject philosophers may desire to know, and statesmen approve of. As soon, therefore, as Lartius was invested with this power, he appointed Spurius Cassius, ⁶² general of the horse, the same who had been consul about the seventieth Olympiad. This custom has been observed by the Romans to this day, and no dictator has, hitherto, continued in the magistracy without a general of the horse. After that, desiring to shew the greatness of the power he was invested with, and for a terror, rather than for use, he ordered the lictors to carry in the city the axes with the rods: This had been an established custom with the kings, but refused by the consuls, since Valerius Poplicola, when consul, first lessened the envy of that magistracy; which custom the dictator, now, revived. And, having by this, and the other ensigns of royal dignity, terrified the turbulent, and the authors of innovations, he, first, ordered all the Romans, pursuant to the wisest of all the institutions established by Servius Tullius, the most popular king, to register the valuation of their fortunes, each in their respective tribes, adding the names of their wives, with the names, and age of their children, and their own age. And all of them having delivered in this register in a short time, by reason of the greatness of the punishment (for the disobedient were to lose both their fortunes, and the rights of Roman citizens) there were found of the

⁶². Ἰππαρχῆν. This officer was called, by the Romans, *magister equitum*; and was appointed by the dictator.

Romans arrived to the age of manhood, one hundred and fifty thousand, seven hundred. After that, he separated those, who were of the military age, from their elders; and, distributing the former into centuries, he formed four bodies of foot, and horse, of which he kept That, which consisted of the choicest men, about his person; and, of the remaining three bodies, he ordered Cloelius, who had been his colleague in the consulship, to chuse which he thought fit; Spurius Cassius, the general of the horse, to take the third; and Spurius Lartius, his brother, That, which was left. This body, together with the elders, was ordered to stay in the city, as a guard to it.

LXXVI. When he had prepared every thing, that was necessary for the war, he took the field with his forces; and formed three several camps in those passes, through which he had reason to believe the Latines would, chiefly, attempt an irruption. He considered that it is the part of a prudent general, not only, to strengthen himself, but, also, to weaken his enemy; and, above all, to bring wars to a happy period without a battle, and without trouble; but, if that cannot be done, then with the least expence of men: And, looking upon those wars, as the worst of all others, and the most afflicting, which people are forced to undertake against their relations, and friends, he was of opinion they ought to be put an end to by an accommodation, in which, clemency should have a greater share, than justice. And, sending some unsuspected persons to the most considerable of the Latines, he persuaded them to endeavour to establish a friendship
between

between the two nations. He sent, also, embassadors, openly, both to the several cities, and to the whole nation ; and, by that means, easily, brought them all to entertain, no longer, the same inclinations for the war : But he, chiefly, gained their affection, and divided them from their leaders by the following favor. Mamilius, and Sextus, being invested with the sovereign command over the Latines, kept their forces all together in the city of Tusculum, and were preparing to march to Rome : However, they delayed their march for a considerable time, either because they staid for the forces of some of the cities, which had not, yet, joined them, or because the victims were not favourable : During this delay, some of their men, leaving the main body, dispersed themselves about the country, and plundered the territories of the Romans. Lartius, being informed of this, sent Cloelius after them with a detachment of choice men, both horse, and light armed ; who, falling upon them unexpectedly, killed some in the action, and took the rest prisoners : These Lartius recovered of their wounds ; and, having gained their affections by many other instances of humanity, he sent them to Tusculum in a body without ransom ; and, with them, some of the most distinguished among the Romans, as embassadors : These procured the army of the Latines to be disbanded, and a truce for a year to be concluded between the two nations.

LXXVII. After Lartius had effected these things, he returned to Rome with his army ; and, having appointed consuls, he laid down his magistracy before the whole time
of

of it was expired, without having put any of the Romans to death, banished any, or inflicted other severities on any of them. This example, set by Lartius, has been emulated by all his successors in the same power, till the third generation before this: For we find no instance of any one of them in history, who did not use it with moderation, and as became a citizen; the commonwealth having, often, found it necessary to abolish the legal magistracies, and to intrust the whole power to a single person. And, if in foreign wars alone, the dictators shewed themselves humane governors of the commonwealth, and uncorrupted with the greatness of their power, it might the less be wondered at; but all, who have had this magistracy conferred upon them, in order either to suppress civil dissensions, which have been many and very dangerous, or to defeat the attempts of those, who were suspected of aiming at the kingly power, and tyranny, or to prevent numberless other calamities, have been free from censure, and imitated the first person, who was invested with it: So that, all men were of this opinion, that the dictatorship was the only remedy for every distemper, otherwise incurable; and the last hope of preservation, when all others were rendered desperate by certain conjunctures. But, in the time of our fathers, full four hundred years after the dictatorship of Titus Lartius, this magistracy became pernicious and odious to all men under ⁶³ Cornelius Sulla, the first and only dictator,

⁶³ Κορνηλιος Σულλα. This man, after his return to Rome, and the defeat of all his adversaries, was created dicta-

tor, that is, he created himself so, after an intermission of this magistracy, for one hundred and twenty years. This

who exercised his power with severity, and cruelty: So that, the Romans, then first, became sensible of what they had, all along, been ignorant of, that the dictatorship is a real tyranny: For he composed the senate of obscure men; reduced the power of the tribunes of the people to the lowest degree; dispeopled whole cities; abolished some kingdoms, and erected others; and was guilty of many other exorbitancies, which it would be endless to enumerate: And, besides the citizens, who were slain in battle, he put no less than ⁶⁴ four thousand to death, after they had sur-

monster of cruelty set the example of a proscription, *et utinam ultimus!* as Paternus says, very well, upon that occasion. I am astonished when I read, in ¹ Plutarch, the grants he extorted from his fellow-citizens: These were an impunity for all his crimes; the power of life, and death; of confiscating the fortunes of whom he pleased; of planting colonies; of building, and destroying cities; and of giving to, and taking away kingdoms from, whom he thought fit. This example of a proscription was improved, afterwards, by the triumvirs, of whom the all-praised Augustus was one; and, though he made, or affected to make, some opposition to it at first; yet, when, once, the proscription was set on foot, he exercised it with greater severity, than either of the other two; *utroque acerbius exercuit*; and, when they, often, suffered their resentment to be disarmed by favor, and intreaties, he alone insisted with vehemence that none of their adversaries should be spared; *namque illis in multorum saepe*

personam per gratiam et preces exorabilibus, solus magnopere contendit ne cui parceretur. Upon this occasion, the great Roman orator, statesman, philosopher, and patriot fell a sacrifice to the ingratitude, the policy, or pusillanimity of an ambitious boy. This coalition of the triumvirs, the consequence of the reception of Antony by Lepidus, was the crisis, that gave the fatal stroke to the liberty of the Romans; who, after a long series of sufferings under a succession of usurpers, most of whom treated them with all the wantonness of cruelty, that power could suggest, or submission encourage, left their posterity reduced, at last, to practise the low arts of deceiving those nations, whom their ancestors had conquered.

⁶⁴ Τετρακχιλίων. The Vatican manuscript has τετρακχισμυριων; I believe both numbers have been mistaken by the transcribers. ^a Plutarch says, that Sulla murdered in the circus three thousand men, who had surrendered; together with six thousand prisoners.

¹ Life of Sulla.

² Sueton. Life of Augustus, c. 27.

^b Life of Sulla.

rendered

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rendered to him, some of whom he, first, tortured. Whether all these actions were necessary, or advantageous to the commonwealth, This is not the time to inquire : All I have undertaken to shew, is, that the name of dictator was rendered odious and terrible by these excesses. This happens, not only, to powers, but, also, to other things, which by all men are the most contended for, and admired : For they all appear noble and profitable, when, nobly, used ; but base and unprofitable, when they fall into bad hands. Of this nature is the cause ; which, to all good things, has annexed some congenial evils. But another time may be more proper for a discourse of this kind. The consuls for the following year were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, and Marcus Minucius, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy first Olympiad, in which Tisicrates of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Hipparchus being archon at Athens.

The end of the Fifth book.

E R R A T A in V O L. II.

- P**AGE 2. L. 15. for *in which*, read *at which*.
P. 11. L. 15. f. by the means. r. by means.
P. 21. L. 11. f. Latine. r. Latin.
P. 22. L. 22. f. you can say. r. can you say.
Ib. L. 25. f. be great folly. r. be a great folly.
P. 29. L. 1. f. if any. r. if any one.
P. 41. last line. f. fertune. r. Fortune.
P. 43. L. 1. a comma after *herself*.
Ib. L. 5. no punctum after *days*.
P. 49. L. 8. no hyphen after *Cyprian*.
P. 50. L. 17. f. of. r. on.
P. 54. L. 9. f. on. r. upon.
P. 55. L. 14. no comma after *incidents*.
P. 65. L. 16. no comma after *world*.
P. 70. last line but one. no colon after *bands*.
P. 72. 6. no comma after *casily*.
P. 75. L. 1. f. they. r. the latter.
P. 77. L. 5. f. of. r. on.
P. 90. L. 10. f. Latine. r. Latin.
P. 94. L. 7. f. is. r. was.
P. 97. L. 7. f. Ancus Martius. r. Ancus Marcius.
Ib. L. 15. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 99. L. 9. f. lawful issue. r. certain issue.
Ib. L. 26. f. descending. r. stooping.
Ib. last line. f. itself. r. herself.
P. 103. L. 2. f. Crustumnerini. r. Crustumeri.
and again in L. 8. 15. and P. 104. L. 14.
P. 104. L. 10. f. Latine. r. Latin.
P. 106. last line but two. f. Camerium. r. Cameria.
P. 112. last line. after *fire*, insert the following lines (omitted by Mistake) “ and the boats, and rafts to fall down the stream: these soon passed the intermediate space; and, being driven upon the bridge, set fire to it in many places. The Sabines, seeing a vast flame break out on a sudden, ran to give their assistance, and tried all means possible to extinguish the fire: while they were thus employed, Tarquinius appeared early in the morning, marching at the head of the Roman Army in order of battle; and, attacking one of the camps, the greatest part of the guards having left their posts to run to the fire.”
P. 126. L. 8. f. surname. r. prænomen.
P. 134. L. 5. f. fininished, r. finished.
P. 145. L. 7. f. Latine. r. Latin.
P. 146. L. 14. f. the phantom. r. that phantom.
P. 154. L. 17. and 18. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.
P. 161. last line but two. f. administered. r. administred.
P. 165. L. 2. f. others. r. some.
P. 166. L. 1. f. relatians. r. relations.
P. 170. C. 2. L. 10. strike out *also*.
P. 171. C. 2. L. 1. no comma before, nor after *not*.
P. 173. C. 2. L. 1. after *May*, add these Words: For which reason, this festival must have been celebrated a great deal earlier in the Year.
P. 177. C. 2. L. 2. f. ω . r. ω .
P. 191. L. 6. no comma before, nor after *even*.
P. 196. C. 2. L. 7. f. are most. r. are the most.
P. 199. L. 10. f. Latine. r. Latin.
P. 201. C. 1. last line. f. many. r. some.
P. 205. C. 2. L. 11. f. *reddita*. r. *reddite*.
P. 204. C. 1. L. 16. f. of. r. for.
P. 211. L. 21. f. soverignty. r. sovereignty.
P. 213. L. 8. f. son. r. issue.
P. 221. L. 23. f. thethe violence. r. the violence.
P. 229. L. 1. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 231. L. 1. f. expected. r. expecting.
P. 240. L. 1. a comma after *grandfather*.
Ib. L. 10. f. Echeirani. r. Ecetrani.
P. 248. last line. no comma after *himself*.
P. 280. L. 18. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.
P. 309. L. 5. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 333. L. 8. no comma after *lands*.
P. 342. L. 8. f. edile. r. α dile.
P. 350. L. 7. a comma after *city*.
P. 354. L. 9. perished. r. persifsted.
P. 355. C. 1. L. 1. f. $\sigma\upsilon\delta\pi\iota\omega$ r. $\sigma\upsilon\mu\delta\pi\iota\omega$.
P. 357. L. 16. f. coudemned. r. condemned.
P. 361. last line. a comma after *commonwealth*.
and none after *together*.
P. 367. L. 4. f. Malachus. r. Malacus.
P. 368. L. 8. f. in which. r. at which.
P. 371. L. 7. f. the left. r. their left.
P. 373. L. 17. f. Rigillum. r. Regillum.
Ib. C. 2. L. 4. f. fertile, r. fertil.
P. 382. L. 7. f. javelines. r. javelins.
Ib. C. 1. L. 26. f. three. r. four.
P. 391. L. 22. f. former. r. latter.
P. 422. L. 7. no comma after *offers*.
P. 427. L. 9. no comma after *nomination*.
P. 428. L. 1. f. applauded. of r. approved of.
P. 432. C. 2. L. 9. $\alpha\epsilon\mu\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$. r. $\alpha\pi\mu\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$.
P. 439. L. 15. f. in which. r. at which.



THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Translated into ENGLISH;

WITH
NOTES and DISSERTATIONS.

BY
EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

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THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

THE consuls of the following year, who were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, and Marcus Minucius, entered upon their magistracy in the seventy first Olympiad, in which Tisicrates of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Hipparchus being archon at Athens; and, during their consulship, performed no action either of a military, or civil nature, worthy the notice of history (for the truce with the Latines gave them a long respite from foreign wars; and the injunction, decreed by the senate, against the exaction of debts, till the war, that was expected, should be, securely, terminated, quieted the disturbances raised in the city by the poor, who desired to be discharged of their debts by a public act.) However, they procured a decree of the senate to be passed, granting power both to the Latin women, who were married to men of worth, and distinction among the Romans, and to the Roman

women married to Latines, either to stay with their husbands, or to return home; and it was, also, ordered that the male children should remain with their fathers, and the female, and unmarried should follow their mothers: For it happened that a great many women, through the affinity, and friendship subsisting between the two nations, had contracted marriages in one another's cities. The women, having this liberty granted to them by the decree of the senate, shewed how fond they were of living at Rome: For almost all the Roman women, who lived in the Latin cities, left their husbands; and returned to their fathers; and all the Latin women, who were married to Romans, except two, despised their country, and staid with their husbands: A happy omen foretelling which of the two nations should be victorious in the war. Under these consuls, they say, the temple was consecrated to Saturn, upon the ascent, leading from the forum to the capitol, and annual ² festivals, and sacrifices were appointed to be performed at the public expence: They add that, before this, the altar, built by Hercules, stood there, upon which, the persons, who had the superintendance of these holy cere-

ANNOTATIONS on the Sixth Book.

¹ *Eoſtas*. These were the *Saturnalia*, which, after the reformation of the calender by Julius Caesar, were celebrated on the sixteenth of the calends of January (the seventeenth of December) They consisted of four days only, till ^a Caligula added a fifth, which he

called *Juvenalis*. ^b Livy, also, places the dedication of the temple of Saturn, and the institution of the *Saturnalia*, under these consuls; *his consulibus (A. Sempronio, et M. Minucio) aedes Saturno dedicata: Saturnalia institutus festus dies.*

^a Sueton. Life of Caligula, c. 17.

^b B. ii. c. 21.

monies committed to them by Hercules, sacrificed burnt-offerings, as first fruits, according to the custom of the Greeks. Some historians write that this temple was inscribed with the name of Titus Lartius, the consul of the former year; others, with That of Tarquinius, who was expelled the kingdom: And that Postumus Cominius consecrated the temple pursuant to a decree of the senate. These consuls, therefore, as I said, had the opportunity of enjoying a profound peace.

II. They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Postumius, and Titus Virginus: Under whom, the truce for a year with the Latines expired: And great preparations for the war were made by both nations. All the common people of Rome entered into the war willingly, and with great chearfulness: But the greatest part of the Latines shewed a coldness to the undertaking, and were forced into it; the men of power in the cities, being almost all corrupted with bribes, and promises by Tarquinius, and Mamilius; and those among the common people, who were dissatisfied with the war, excluded from a share in the public counsels: For such of them, as desired to be heard in their assemblies, could not, even, obtain it. Upon which, many, resenting this usage, left their cities, and deserted to the Romans: For the men, who had possessed themselves of the power in every city, did not chuse to put a stop to this; but thought themselves much obliged to their adversaries for submitting to a voluntary banishment. These the Romans received, and such of them, as came with their wives, and children, they employed in defending the city, distri-

buting them among the centuries appointed for that purpose: And the rest they sent into the fortresses near the city; and, dividing them among their colonies, took care they should create no disturbance. All men being of opinion that the present juncture, again, required the administration of a single person at liberty to act according to his own sense of things, and subject to give no account of his actions, Aulus Postumius, the younger of the consuls, was appointed dictator by his colleague Virginius: And, according to the example of the former dictator, created Titus Aebutius Elva his general of horse. And, having, in a short time, lifted all the Romans, who were arrived to the age of manhood, he divided his army into four parts; one of which he himself took the command of; another he gave to his colleague Virginius; the third, to Aebutius, general of the horse; and left the command of the fourth to Aulus Sempronius, whom he appointed to guard the city.

III. After the dictator had prepared every thing, that was necessary for the war, his scouts brought him word that the Latines had taken the field with all their forces: And, presently, others informed him that they had, by storm, possessed themselves of a strong place, called ² Corbio, in which there was a small garrison of the Romans; all of whom they put to the sword; and, being masters of the place, they made it the seat of the war. But the number of slaves, and cattle they found in the country, except Those taken at Corbio, was not answerable to their expectation;

² Κορβίωνα. In Latin, *Corbio*, a town lying to the north of mount *Algidus*.

the husbandmen having, long before, removed all they could of both into the neighbouring fortresses: However, the enemy set fire to the houses they had abandoned, and laid waste the country. After they had taken the field, a fresh army arrived at their camp from ³ Antium, the most considerable city of the Volscian nation, with arms, corn, and every thing else, that was necessary for carrying on the war. This raised their confidence to a great degree, and gave them room to hope that, now the city of Antium had set the example, all the Volsci would join them with their forces. Postumius, being informed of these things, marched out, presently, against the enemy, with a design to fall upon them before all their forces were assembled: And, having made a forced march in the night, advanced near the Latines, who lay incamped in a strong post, near the lake, called ⁴ Regillus; and he himself incamped above them on a hill, that was high, and difficult of access: Where, if he continued, he was sure to have great advantages over the enemy.

IV. The generals of the Latines, Octavius of Tusculum, the son-in-law, or, as some write, the son of the son-in-law of Tarquinius, the late king, and Sextus Tarquinius (for they happened, at that time, to be incamped asunder) joined their forces; and, assembling the tribunes, and centurions, they considered with them in what manner they should

³ Εξ Ἀντίου. See the fifty seventh annotation on the fourth book.

⁴ Παρὰ Λίμνη Ρηγίλλη. This is the *Lacus Regillus*, near which this remarkable battle was fought: ^c Livy says

it lay in the territory of the Tusculani; *ad Lacum Regilium*, in agro Tusculano, *agmini hostium occurrerunt*. It is, now, called, ^d *Lago di S. Prasseda*.

^c B. ii. c. 19.

^d Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

carry on the war. And many opinions were delivered: For some advised to attack the troops, which, under the dictator, had possessed themselves of the hill, while their fear continued; looking upon their taking that strong post, as a sign of their fear, rather than of their caution: Others, to draw a line of contravallation round the camp of the Romans; and, leaving a small body of men to shut them up there, to march with the rest of the army to Rome, which, as the best of their youth were, now, in the field, might, easily, be taken. And others advised to wait the arrival of the auxiliary troops both from the Volsci, and their other allies, and to prefer safer, to bolder measures: For, they said, the Romans would reap no benefit from a delay: whereas, their condition would be improved by it. While they were debating, the other consul, Titus Virginius, having marched, suddenly, from Rome the night before, came up with his army; and incamped apart from the dictator upon another ridge of a mountain, that was exceeding craggy, and strongly situated: So that, both the passes, through which alone the Latines could make an irruption into the enemy's country, were, effectually, secured: The consul incamping before the pass on the left, and the dictator before That on the right. This encreased the confusion of the commanders, who had nothing more in view than the safety of the army, and, also, their fear, lest they should be obliged, by lying still, to live, solely, upon their own provisions, of which they had not great plenty. When Postumius observed the inexperience of these commanders, he sent Titus Aebutius, general

general of the horse, with a chosen body both of horse, and light armed men, to possess himself of a hill, which commanded the pass, through which the provisions were brought to the Latines from their own territories : And the forces, sent with the general of the horse, passed by the enemy's camp in the night ; and, marching through the untrodden paths of a wood, gained the hill, before the enemy was aware of it.

V. The generals of the enemy, finding that the strong places, which lay behind them, were, also, possessed by the Romans, and almost despairing of receiving any more provisions from home with security, resolved to drive them from the hill, before they had time to fortify it with a ditch, and palisades. And Sextus, one of the generals, taking the horse with him, rode up to them full speed, in expectation that the Roman horse would not stand their ground : But these, receiving the charge with bravery, he maintained the fight for some time, retiring, and renewing the attack. But the nature of the ground giving great advantages to those, who were once masters of the hill, and affording to those, who attacked from below, nothing but wounds, and ineffectual labor ; and fresh forces of chosen foot, sent by Postumius to follow close the first detachment, coming up to the assistance of the Romans, Sextus returned to the camp without being able to effect any thing : And the Romans, now secure in the possession of the place, openly fortified it. After this action, Mamilius, and Sextus determined not to suffer a long delay, but, presently, to decide the affair by a battle. The
Roman

Roman dictator, who had, at first, proposed to put an end to the war without an action, and founded his hopes of effecting it on the incapacity of the generals he had to deal with, now resolved to engage: For the horse, that patrolled in the roads, had taken some couriers with letters from the Volsci to the Latin generals; by which the former acquainted them that great numbers of auxiliary forces would join them within three days at farthest; and, after that, another body from the Hernici. These were the considerations, that reduced the Roman generals to an immediate necessity of fighting, which, till then, they had proposed to decline. After the signals for the battle were given on both sides, the two armies advanced to a plain, that lay between their camps, and drew up in the following manner: Sextus Tarquinius was on the left wing of the Latines, and Octavius Mamilius on the right: Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, was in the center, where, also, the Roman deserters, and exiles were posted. And all their horse being divided into three bodies, two of these were placed in the wings, and one in the center. The left of the Roman army was commanded by Titus Aebutius, general of the horse, who stood opposite to Octavius Mamilius: The right, by Titus Virginius, the ^s consul, facing Sextus Tarquinius: The center

^s. Ο ὑπάτος. Portus, and, after him, M. * * *, have thought it worth their while to observe that Virginius was not, actually, consul; since, upon the creation of a dictator, the consulship was superseded: Neither was he con-

ful, when ^c our author said, before, that the dictator ordered *his colleague* in the consulship, Virginius, to command one of the four bodies, ἑτέρας δὲ ΤΟΝ ΣΤΝ ΤΠΑΤΟΝ Ουερβίνιον ἐλάξεν ἀρχεῖν.

^c c. 2.

was

was commanded by Postumius, the dictator, in person, who proposed to encounter Titus Tarquinius, and the Roman exiles. The numbers of each army, when drawn up, were, on the side of the Romans, twenty three thousand seven hundred foot, and one thousand horse ; and on That of the Latines, and their allies, near forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse.

VI. When they were going to engage, the Latin generals called their men together, and said many things tending to incite them to fight bravely, and repeated their intreaties to that purpose: And the Roman dictator, seeing his people possessed with fear, because they were going to encounter an army greatly superior in number to their own, and desiring to dispel that fear, assembled his soldiers ; and, placing near him the senators of the greatest age, and the greatest dignity, he spoke to them in the following manner : “ The gods, by
 “ omens, sacrifices, and other auguries, promise to grant to
 “ our commonwealth liberty, and a happy victory, in return
 “ for the piety, and the justice we have shewn during the
 “ whole course of our lives, and from a just resentment
 “ against our enemies ; who, having received many great
 “ benefits from us, being both our relations, and friends,
 “ and, having sworn to look upon all our enemies, and
 “ friends, as their own, have despised all these obligations, and
 “ brought an unjust war upon us, not with a view to dis-
 “ pute the sovereignty, and dominion (for this would be less
 “ afflicting) but in support of the tyranny of the Tarquini, and to compel us, from being free, to become slaves to them.

“ You, therefore, ought, both officers, and soldiers, since
“ you are sensible you have the gods for your allies, who
“ always preserve our city, to behave yourselves with bravery
“ in this battle ; remembering that they give their assistance
“ to those, who fight bravely, and, chearfully, contribute
“ every thing in their power to the victory ; not to those,
“ who fly from danger ; but to such, as expose themselves
“ to it with perseverance. You have many other advantages,
“ also, conducive to victory, already prepared for you by
“ fortune, but, chiefly, three, which are, of all others, the
“ most considerable, and the most obvious.

VII. “ First, the confidence you have in one another,
“ which is a thing, absolutely, necessary to gain the victory :
“ For you are not to look upon yourselves, as beginning,
“ this day, to be firm friends, and faithful allies to one
“ another, but your country has, long since, prepared this
“ happiness for you all ; you have been brought up together,
“ and have received one common education ; you have
“ sacrificed to the gods upon the same altars ; you have
“ enjoyed many common advantages, and have experienced
“ many common evils ; by which, strong, and indissoluble
“ friendships are formed among all men ; which friendships
“ shew themselves when a battle, common to all, is to be
“ fought, in which the greatest interests are at stake : For,
“ if you are overcome by the enemy, the consequence will
“ not be that some of you will be treated with no severity,
“ and others suffer the last of punishments ; but all of you
“ will, equally, lose your dignity, your sovereignty, your
“ liberty,

“ liberty, and, no longer, possess your wives, your children,
 “ your fortunes, or any other happiness you, now, enjoy ; and
 “ all the men of dignity, and authority among us will suffer a
 “ most miserable death in the midst of stripes, and torments :
 “ For, if our enemies, without having received any kind of
 “ injury, have accumulated on all of us indignities of every
 “ sort, what ought we to expect from them, if they, now,
 “ overcome us ; when they will resent our having driven
 “ them from their cities, deprived them of their fortunes, and
 “ not suffered them, even, to set a foot upon the lands of their
 “ ancestors ? The last advantage we have over our enemies
 “ cannot be thought less than either of Those I have men-
 “ tioned, if you consider it properly ; which is, that the forces,
 “ we are to encounter, are not so formidable as we conceived
 “ them to be, but far short of the opinion we had entertained
 “ of them : For, except the auxiliary forces of the Antiates,
 “ you see no other allies present with them : While we ex-
 “ pected that all the Volsci, and many of the Sabines, and
 “ Hernici would have joined them ; besides a thousand other
 “ vain fears we formed to ourselves. But all these things
 “ were, only, the dreams of the Latines, founded on delusive
 “ promises, and ineffectual hopes : For some of their allies
 “ have given over all thoughts of assisting them, from a con-
 “ tempt of the incapacity of their generals : Others, instead of
 “ assisting them, will pretend to do it, and consume the time
 “ in feeding them with hopes : And those, who are, now,
 “ preparing to assist them, will stay till the battle is over,
 “ and, then, be of no further use to them.

VIII. “ But, if any of you are convinced of the reason-
 “ ableness of what I have advanced, yet fear the numbers
 “ of the enemy, a short instruction, or rather their own
 “ remembrance, will teach them that they fear things not
 “ formidable. Let them consider, in the first place, that the
 “ greatest part of them are forced to take arms against us,
 “ as they have, often, shewn both by their actions, and their
 “ discourses; and that the number of those, who, willingly,
 “ and, cheerfully, fight for the tyrants, is, extremely, small,
 “ and not, in any degree, equal to our army. Secondly, that,
 “ in all engagements, the bravest, not the most numerous
 “ forces, gain the victory. It would be tedious to alledge,
 “ as examples, how many vast armies of Barbarians have
 “ been overcome by very small numbers of ⁶ Greeks, so as to
 “ render the relations of those victories, even, incredible to
 “ the generality of mankind. But, to omit other things,
 “ how many battles have you yourselves gained with fewer
 “ forces, than your present army consists of, against enemies

⁶. *Ελληνων*. I look upon this word to have been misplaced by the transcribers, and am convinced that the sentence ought to be read thus; *ὅσα Βαρβαρων στρατευματα ὑπερβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανυ Ελληνων κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις*. I thought this might allude to the victory gained by the Greeks at ^f Marathon with 10,000 men, over the Persians, whose army consisted of no less than 300,000; a victory, which our author might, justly, say was scarce credible: However, I find upon exa-

mination, that the battle of Marathon happened above five years after this, viz. in the third year of the seventy second Olympiad: But no history that I know of informs us that vast armies of Greeks were ever defeated by others considerably less numerous; which must be the sense, if we read the text as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts; *ὅσα Βαρβαρων τε και Ελληνων στρατευματα ὑπερβαλλοντα πληθει μικραι πανυ κατηγωνισαντο δυναμεις*.

^f Usher, p. 95. Petavius, part. prim. B. iii. c. 1. Valerius Maxim. B. v. c. 3. Plutarch in Parall.

“ more

“ more numerous, than Those you are, now, going to en-
 “ counter ? It may be said that you have, indeed, continued
 “ to be formidable to those you have, once, overcome in
 “ battle ; while you may be despised by these Latines, and
 “ their allies, the Volsci, because they have never experienced
 “ your bravery : But you all know that your fathers have
 “ overcome both these nations in many battles. Can it,
 “ then, be, reasonably, supposed that the condition of the
 “ conquered is improved by so many defeats, and That of
 “ the conquerors impaired by so many victories ? What
 “ man of sense will say this ? I should wonder, indeed, if
 “ any of you looked upon the numbers of the enemy, in
 “ which there are few brave men, with terror, and with
 “ contempt upon their own army, which is so numerous,
 “ and so brave, that none, exceeding it either in courage,
 “ or in numbers, was ever brought into the field in any of
 “ our former wars.

IX. “ This, also, citizens, ought to be the greatest in-
 “ citement to you neither to apprehend, nor avoid the
 “ dangers of the field, that the principal senators are all
 “ present, as you see, ready to share the common fortune
 “ of the war with you ; whom both their age, and the law
 “ have discharged from the service. Would it not, then,
 “ be shameful for you, who are in the vigor of your youth,
 “ to fly from danger, while these, who are past that age,
 “ pursue it ? That the alacrity of the old men, though
 “ unable to kill any of the enemy, should lead them to die,
 “ at least, for their country ; and that your youth, which
 “ may

“ may enjoy the double advantage of securing your own safety,
“ and gaining the victory, or, if that cannot be, of acting, and
“ suffering with bravery, should not induce you either to try
“ fortune, or leave behind you a glorious reputation? Is it not
“ true, Romans, that there have been many great, and won-
“ derful actions performed by others, before your time, which
“ no words can, sufficiently, celebrate; and that your posterity
“ will hear, with improvement, many illustrious actions per-
“ formed by their own ancestors, if you gain this victory? To
“ the end, therefore, that neither the bravery of those among
“ you, who are resolved to do their duty, may be unprofi-
“ table, nor the fears of such, as apprehend danger more than
“ becomes them, go unpunished, learn from me, before we
“ engage, what each of them are to expect: Whoever shall
“ perform any great, or brave action in this battle, and proves
“ it by the testimony of persons acquainted with that action,
“ I will, not only, reward him, immediately, with the honors,
“ which every man, upon these occasions, is intitled to by the
“ custom of his country, but will, also, add to those rewards a
“ part of the public lands, and put him in a condition above
“ wanting any thing, that is necessary for his subsistence. But,
“ if a cowardly, and accursed mind shall suggest to any one an
“ inclination to a shameful flight; to this man I will present
“ before his eyes the death he endeavoured to avoid: For
“ death is better than life to such a citizen, both for his
“ own, and his country’s sake. And whoever is put to death
“ in such a manner, shall be honoured neither with burial,
“ nor any other funeral rites; but, unregarded, unlamented,
“ be

“ be devoured by birds, and beasts of prey. Apprized,
 “ therefore, of these things, go all, chearfully, to the ingage-
 “ ment, with sanguine hopes, the guides to glorious actions,
 “ that, by this one battle, if attended with the success we
 “ all wish for, you will obtain the greatest of all advantages ;
 “ you will free yourselves from the fear of the tyrants ;
 “ repay to your country, that gave you birth, the obliga-
 “ tions she, justly, requires of you for your education ;
 “ preserve your children, who are yet infants, and your
 “ wives from the irreparable treatment of your enemies ;
 “ and render the short time your aged fathers have yet to
 “ live most agreeable to them : Happy those among you,
 “ to whom it will be given to celebrate the triumph for
 “ this victory, while your children, your wives, and fathers
 “ receive you ! But glorious, and admired for their bravery
 “ will those be, who shall sacrifice their lives for their country !
 “ For death is decreed to all men, both to the cowardly,
 “ and the brave ; but an illustrious, and a glorious death
 “ to the ⁷ brave alone.”

X. While he was displaying these incentives to valor, a
 kind of confidence, sent from heaven, seized the army, and
 they all, as if actuated with one soul, cried out together, *Fear
 not, and lead us on.* Upon which, Postumius commended their

⁷ Μενοίς τοίς αλκατοίς. This is the only
 speech in our author, that I could wish
 shorter. When I say this, I own that
 all the powers of eloquence are dis-
 played in it. But I am afraid it will
 be said, *non erat his locus.* It signifies
 little whether this speech was, really,
 spoken by the dictator, or not : The

only point to be considered is, whether
 it can be supposed that he, or any other
 general, ever made a speech of this
 length, when his army was upon the
 point of engaging. I cannot help
 thinking that the *imperatoria brevitās*
 is full as effectual to animate the sol-
 diers, and more becoming the general.

alacrity,

alacrity, and made a vow to the gods, if the battle was attended with a happy, and glorious event, to perform great, and costly sacrifices, and to institute magnificent games to be celebrated, annually, by the Roman people : After which, he dismissed his men to their ranks ; and, as soon as they had received the word from their officers, and the trumpets sounded a charge, they gave a shout, and fell on : First, the light armed, and the horse, on each side ; then the lines of the heavy armed men, both armed, and drawn up alike ; and all mingling, a severe battle ensued, in which every man fought hand to hand. However, both sides were, extremely, deceived in the opinion they had entertained of each other : For, neither of them thought a battle would be necessary, but expected to put the enemy to flight at the first onset. The Latines, confiding in the number of their horse, concluded That of the Romans would not be able, even, to sustain their shock : And the Romans imagined that, by rushing into the midst of danger in a daring, and inconsiderate manner, they should terrify their enemies. Having formed this opinion of one another in the beginning, every thing they saw contradicted it. Each side, therefore, founding, no longer, their hopes of preservation, and of victory on the fear of the enemy, but on their own courage, shewed themselves brave soldiers, even beyond their power. Various, and fluctuating was the fortune of the day.

XI. First, the Romans posted in the center, where the dictator Postumius stood with a chosen body of horse
about

about him, he himself fighting among the foremost, forced that part of the enemy, that stood opposite to them, Titus, one of the sons of Tarquinius, being wounded in the right shoulder with a javelin, and, no longer able to use his hand (for ³ Licinnius, and Gellius, without inquiring into the probability, or possibility of the thing, introduce king Tarquinius himself, a man, then, near ninety years of age, fighting on horseback, and wounded) Titus falling, those about him, having fought a little while, and carried him off while he was yet alive, shewed no bravery after that; but retired, by degrees, as the Romans pressed them. After this, Sextus, the other son of Tarquinius, coming to their relief with the Roman exiles, and a body of chosen horse, they, again, stood their ground, and attacked the enemy: These, therefore, recovering themselves, fought again. In the mean time, Titus Aebutius; and Mamilius Octavius, the commanders of their respective wings, fought in the most distinguished manner, driving their enemies before them wherever they charged, and rallying their men when disordered; then, challenged one another, and fought: And, in the conflict, gave one another grievous wounds, but none mortal; the general of the horse, piercing the corslet of Mamilius with his spear, lodged the point of it in his breast; and Mamilius running the other through the middle of his right arm, they fell from their horses.

³ Λικιννιος, και οι περι Γελλιον. See the twenty fifth annotation on the first book. I do not think it necessary to translate a note of Casaubon upon this occasion, as M. * * *, and le Jay have

done, in order to produce instances from history of several persons, who have enjoyed great vigor at ninety years of age. But this I know, that, if I had translated his note, I should have owned it.

XII. Both of them being carried out of the field, Marcus Valerius, who had been appointed ⁹ legate, took upon himself the command of the general of the horse, and attacked Those of the enemy in front; and, after a short resistance, was driven far out of the line: For this body of the enemy had been, also, reinforced by a detachment of horse, consisting of the Roman exiles, and by light armed men: And Mamilius, having recovered himself from his wound, appeared in the field again, and was come up with a strong body both of horse, and light armed foot. In this action, fell Marcus Valerius, the legate, wounded with a spear; the same person, who first triumphed over the Sabines, and raised the spirit of the commonwealth, sunk by the defeat she had received from the Tyrrhenians; and, round him, fell many other worthy, and brave Romans. Both sides endeavouring to carry off his body, a sharp conflict ensued, while Publius, and Marcus, the sons of Poplicola, protected their uncle with their shields: However, these carried him off unspoiled; and, delivering him to their shield-bearers, while he yet breathed a little, they sent him to the camp: Then,

⁹ Πρεσβυτης. I must desire leave of the reader to translate this word, *Legate*, whenever I meet with it. I find the French translators have said *Lieutenant*, and *Lieutenant Colonel*, which, by the way, does not give the signification of *Legatus*; since it supposes this officer to be inferior to the *Tribuni*, which he, certainly, was not. If I thought myself justified in giving modern names to all the Roman officers, I should rather

translate *Legatus*, a *Lieutenant general*, which is more answerable to his post. It is well known that there were two sorts of *Legati* among the Romans; the first, ambassadors, and the other, military officers. The popes have preserved the name of the first with the addition of *a latere*; vainly imagining that this pretence can intitle them to the same consideration as the ambassadors of ancient Rome.

throwing

throwing themselves into the midst of the enemy through fury, and ardor; and, having received many wounds from the Roman exiles, who attacked them, closely, on all sides, they died together. After this misfortune, the line of the Romans was forced to give way; and the whole left wing was broken, even, to the center. When the dictator observed the flight of his men, he flew to their assistance with all the horse he had about him; and ordered the other legate, Titus Herminius, to take a troop of horse; and, passing behind their own lines, to force the men, who fled, to face about; and, if they refused obedience, to kill them; and he himself, with the best of his men, pushed on towards the body of the enemy: And, when he came near them, he clapped spurs to his horse before any of the rest, and charged them with a loose rein; and all his men falling on together in this terrible manner, the enemy, unable to sustain the wild, and savage shock, fled, and many of them fell. In the mean time, the legate, Herminius also, having rallied those, who fled, brought them up, and attacked that part of the enemy, that stood formed under Mamilius; and encountering this general, who, both for his stature, and his strength, was the most remarkable man of his time, he killed him; and he himself, while he was spoiling the body, received a wound in his side with a sword by some person, and fell dead. Sextus Tarquinius, who commanded the left wing of the Latines, maintained his post all this while in the midst of dangers, and forced the right wing of the Romans to give way: But, when he saw Postumius advancing with the chosen horse, he gave over all hopes, and rushed

into the midst of the enemy's ranks; where, being furrounded by the Romans, both horse, and foot, and, like a wild beast assaulted on all sides with missive weapons, he fell; but not before he had killed many of those, who attacked him sword in hand. The generals being slain, all the Latines fled at once; and their camp, abandoned by the men, who had been left to guard it, was taken: In which the Romans found a very considerable booty. This was the greatest defeat the Latines had ever suffered; the ill effects of which lasted very long, and their loss was greater than any they had, before, sustained: For, of forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, as I said, not ten thousand men returned home in safety.

XIII. It is said that, in this battle, two men, on horseback, far excelling the offspring of human nature, both in beauty, and in stature, and just in their prime, appeared to Postumius, and to those about him, and charged at the head of the Roman horse, wounding with their spears all they encountered, and driving the Latines before them: And, after these were put to flight, and their camp taken, the battle being, now, over, two youths are said to have appeared in the same manner, about the beginning of the night, in the Roman forum, attired in military habits, very tall, and beautiful, and of the same age, themselves retaining the looks of combatants just coming from a battle, and the horses they rode being all in a sweat. When, each of them dismounting, and washing themselves in the fountain, which, rising near the temple of Vesta, forms a small, but deep basin, many people standing
about

about them, and inquiring if they had brought any news from the camp, they related the particulars of the battle, and that the Romans had gained the victory. They add that, after they left the forum, they were no more seen, notwithstanding the great search, that was made after them by the governor of the city. The next day, when the persons intrusted with the care of the commonwealth, received the letters sent by the dictator, by which, among the other circumstances of the action, they were informed, also, of the apparition of these gods, they concluded that the same had appeared in both places, as might reasonably be imagined, and believed that the divinities, who had so appeared, were Castor, and Pollux. Of this extraordinary, and wonderful apparition of these gods there are many monuments at Rome, as the temple of Castor, and Pollux, which the Roman people erected in the forum, where they had appeared; and the fountain near it, said to be consecrated to them, and thought to be so to this day; and also the magnificent sacrifices, which the people offer, every year, by the ministry of the most considerable knights, ¹⁰ on the ides of the month, called Quintilis, which was the day, on which they gained this victory: But, above all these things, the memory

¹⁰ Εν μηνι Κυνίλιω. *Aux ides du mois appelé Quintilius*, says M. ***. There never was such a month in the Roman calendar as *Quintilius*: He should have said *Quintilis*; afterwards called *Julius*, in flattery to Julius Caesar, who was born in that month: On the ides (the

fifteenth) of which was celebrated this procession, called by the Romans, *transvectio equitum Romanorum*. ^h Livy attributes the institution of this procession to Fabius Maximus; *ab eodem institutum dicitur, ut equites Idibus Quintilibus transveherentur*.

^h B. ix. c. 46.

of it is perpetuated by a procession, performed after the sacrifice, by those, who have a ¹¹ horse maintained by the public; and who, being disposed in their tribes, and centuries, ride all in their ranks, as if they came from battle, crowned with olive branches, and attired in robes with ¹² purple borders, and stripes of the same color, which they call *Trabeae*: They begin their procession from a certain temple of Mars, that stands without the walls; and, going through several parts of the city, and the forum, they pass by the temple of Castor, and Pollux, sometimes to the number, even, of five thousand, carrying all the ornaments they have received from their generals, as the rewards of the valor they have shewn in battle: A fine sight, and worthy the greatness of their empire. These are the things I find to be related, and performed by the Romans in memory of the apparition of Castor, and Pollux; by which, among many other instances of great moment, one may judge how much the men of those times were cherished by the gods.

¹¹ Τὸν δημοσίον ἵππον. Instead of repeating what I have, already, said concerning the Roman knights, I shall refer the reader to the twenty eighth annotation on the second book. However, I cannot omit taking notice of a mistake committed by M. * * * in his note upon this passage. I think myself obliged to quote his words; *les chevaliers s'appelloient en Latin equites, de même que les soldats qui composoient la cavalerie Romaine: mais il y avoit cette différence, que ceuxci entretenoient à leurs frais le cheval, dont ils se servoient dans les batailles, au lieu que*

celui des premiers étoit entretenu aux dépens du public. This difference is, absolutely, chimerical. From the time of Romulus, to Marius, the Romans had no other cavalry but the knights, whose horses were maintained by the public, and who constituted the equestrian order. This, I think, I have proved, in the annotation referred to, by several authorities; particularly by That of Livy, from whom I have there quoted a passage, which, to me, appears decisive.

¹² Φοινικοπαρυφες. See the 138th annotation on the second book.

XIV. Postumius incamped that night in the field; and, the next day, he crowned those, who had distinguished themselves in the battle; and, having appointed guards to take care of the prisoners, he sacrificed to the gods in thanksgiving for the victory: While he had yet his crown on his head, and was laying the first offering on the altar to be consumed with fire, some scouts, running down from the eminences, brought him word that an army of enemies was marching against him: This consisted of the chosen youth of the Volscian nation, who had been sent out, as auxiliaries, to the Latines before the battle was ended. Upon this information, he ordered all his men to their arms, and that every one should stay in the camp under his proper ensigns, keeping themselves upon their guard, and in their ranks, till he himself should order them what to do. On the other side, the generals of the Volsci, incamping in a place, where they could ¹³ not be observed by the Romans, when they saw the field covered with dead bodies, and the tents in both camps standing, and that none of their enemies, or friends stirred out of their intrenchments, they were, for some time, amazed, and at a loss to guess what turn of fortune had produced this situation of affairs: But, being informed by those, who had escaped from the defeat, of all the circumstances of the battle, they consulted with their officers what was to be done. The boldest of them were of opinion, that the best thing they could do was

¹³. Εξ ἀπορίας. As this word signifies *invisible*, as well as *conspicuous*, the translators had their choice. I have given it the first sense, which seems to imply greater caution.

to attack the camp of the Romans, while many of them were yet disabled with their wounds, and all tired with the labor of the day, their arms useless, some being blunted, and others broken, and no fresh forces from Rome yet at hand to relieve them. On the other side, they said their own army was numerous, full of courage, bravely armed, experienced in war, and, by appearing unexpectedly, was sure to astonish, even, the boldest.

XV. But the most prudent among them did not think it safe, without allies, to run the hazard of attacking men well acquainted with military discipline, who had just defeated so great an army of the Latines; or to commit their greatest interests to the danger of an engagement in a foreign country, where, if any misfortune happened, they had no place of safety to retire to. These advised, therefore, to provide rather for a safe retreat to their own country as soon as possible, and to look upon it as a great advantage, if they sustained no loss in this expedition. But others disapproved of both these measures, and shewed that the eagerness for an engagement was juvenile, and the ridiculous flight to their own country, shameful; and that either of these was the object of the enemy's wishes: Their opinion, therefore, was, that, at present, they ought to fortify their camp, and prepare every thing for a battle; and that, dispatching messengers to the rest of the Volsci, they should desire them to do one of these two things, either to send another army of equal strength to That of the Romans, or, recal the forces they had, already, sent out. But the opinion, that prevailed with

with the greatest part, and received the sanction of the men in power, was to send spies to the Roman camp, secured by the quality of ambassadors, to salute the general, and acquaint him that, as allies of the Romans, sent by the Volscian nation, they were sorry they came too late for the battle, as being intitled to little, or no thanks for their zeal: However, that they congratulated the good fortune of the Romans, in having gained a great victory, without the assistance of their allies. After the ambassadors had imposed upon the Romans by this officious discourse, and prevailed on these to confide in them, as in their friends, they were to examine every thing, and acquaint the generals of the Volsci, at their return, with their numbers, the condition of their arms, and their preparations, and whether they proposed to execute any design: And that, after they were, thoroughly, acquainted with these things, they would deliberate whether it were expedient to send for fresh forces, and attack the Romans, or to return home with the army they had with them.

XVI. After they had taken this resolution, the ambassadors they had chosen went to the dictator; and, being introduced to the assembly, they spoke in the deceitful manner they had been instructed. When Postumius, after a short pause, said; “ You have brought with you, Volsci,
 “ evil designs clothed with good words; and, while you act
 “ like enemies, you desire to appear like friends: For you
 “ were sent by your nation to assist the Latines against us;
 “ but, arriving after the battle, and seeing them overcome,
 VOL. III. E “ you

“ you want to deceive us, by pretending designs contrary to
“ Those you, really, entertained: And neither the good-
“ will you express, which you have calculated for the present
“ juncture, nor the pretence, under which you are come
“ hither, have any sincerity in them; but are full of fraud,
“ and deceit: For you were not sent to congratulate our
“ good fortune, but to examine into the weakness, or strength
“ of our condition; and you are ambassadors in appearance,
“ but spies in reality.” And, when the others denied every
thing he had charged them with, he said he would soon
convince them of the truth of it: And, presently, shewed
them their letters, which he had intercepted before the
battle, to the generals of the Latines, in which they promised
to send forces to their assistance; and produced the persons,
who were carrying those letters. After these were read, and
the prisoners had given an account of the orders they had re-
ceived, the common soldiers were going to stone the Volsci,
as spies taken in the fact: But Postumius thought that good
men ought not to imitate the wicked; saying, it would
become them more, and shew more greatness of mind to
reserve their anger against the senders, rather than against
the sent; and to dismiss the men, in consideration of their
apparent title of ambassadors, rather than to put them to death
in consideration of their disguised quality of spies; lest they
should give a specious color either of war to the Volsci,
while they pretended their ambassadors were put to death,
contrary to the right of nations, or to their other enemies of
propagating reports, which, though false, would appear
neither ill-grounded, nor incredible.

XVII. Having, thus, put a stop to the fury of the soldiers, he commanded the men to be dismissed, and to return ¹⁴ without looking back ; and ordered them a guard of horse, who conducted them to the camp of the Volsci. After he had send away the spies, he commanded the soldiers to prepare for battle, as designing, the next day, to engage. But there was no occasion for a battle : For the generals of the Volsci decamped in the middle of the night, and returned home. All things having succeeded to his wish, he buried his own dead ; and, having purified his army, returned to the city, and celebrated a magnificent triumph, carrying with him heaps of arms on many carts, together with a great quantity of military stores, followed by five thousand five hundred prisoners, taken in the last battle. And, having set apart the tenths of the spoils, he employed ¹⁵ forty talents in performing games, and sacrifices to the gods ; and contracted for the building temples to Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine, in performance of his vow : For, in the beginning of the war, there had been a scarcity of provisions for the army, a failure of which was, greatly, apprehended, the land having lain uncultivated, and the importation of provisions been stopped, by reason of the war : Induced by this apprehension, he had ordered the guardians of the Sibylline books to consult them ; and, finding that the

¹⁴ Αμείλασσι. The Latin translators might have rendered this word much better than they have done, by *sine respectu* ; as ⁱ Livy says of Philip, when he received a check from T.

Quintius Flamininus, *Rex primo effuse, ac sine respectu fugit.*

¹⁵ Τετρερακοντὰ ταλάνια. In our money, 7750 pounds.

ⁱ B. xxxii. c. 12.

oracles ordered these gods to be rendered propitious, he made a vow to them, when he was going to take the field, that, if there was the same plenty of provisions in the city, during the time of his magistracy, as before, he would build temples, and appoint sacrifices to be performed to them every year. These gods, hearing his prayer, caused the land to produce abundant crops, not only, of corn, but, also, of fruit; and all foreign provisions to be imported in greater plenty, than before. Which when Postumius himself saw, he ordered the temples to be built. The Romans, therefore, having, through the benevolence of the gods, repelled the war, brought upon them for the restoration of the tyrants, employed their time in feasts, and sacrifices.

XVIII. A few days after, ambassadors came to them from the Latin nation, chosen out of all their cities (being the ¹⁶ same persons, who had, all along, declared against the war) holding up ¹⁷ olive branches, and other marks of suppliants. These, being introduced into the senate, first, accused the men of power, in every city, of having been the

¹⁶ Οἱ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐχούτες περὶ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην. The two French translators have said, *qui s'étoient opposées à la guerre*. This every body, who understands French, will see relates to the cities, not to the ambassadors; which is contrary to the Greek text, where it stands οἱ ἐχούτες, not αἱ ἐχούσαι. And these ambassadors say, in excuse of the Latines, that their cities were influenced by the men of power, when they declared for the war; which men of

power these ambassadors had opposed.

¹⁷ Ἰκετήρια. * Livy will explain this Greek custom: In giving an account of the suppliant manner, in which the Locrenian ambassadors addressed their complaints to the Roman consuls against Pleminius, he says; *decem legati Locrensiū obfiti squallore et sordibus, in Comitio sedentibus consulibus, velamenta supplicum, ramos oleae* (ut Graecis mos est) *porrigentes, ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione procubuerunt.*

* B. xxix. c. 16.

cause

cause of the war; and that the people had been guilty but of one fault, which was, of having been deluded by their corrupt demagogues, who had nothing else in view but their private advantages. And, for this delusion, in which necessity had the greatest share, they said, every city had, already, been, severely, punished by the loss of the best of their youth; so that, it was not easy to find a single family, that was not in mourning. They desired the Romans would receive those, who, willingly, submitted to them, and had no intention, any longer, either to contest the sovereignty with them, or to pretend to an equality; but were resolved to continue, ever after, to be their allies, and subjects, and to add to the happiness of the Romans all that dignity, which fortune had taken from the Latines. At the end of their speech, they called upon the affinity, that subsisted between the two nations, and put them in mind of the many occasions, where they had, formerly, assisted them without ever excusing themselves, and bewailed the misfortunes, that would fall on the innocent, who were many more in number, than the guilty; accompanying every thing they said with tears; embracing the knees of all the senators; and laying the ensigns of suppliants at the feet of Postumius: So that, the whole senate were affected, in some degree, with their tears, and intreaties.

XIX. After the ambassadors withdrew, and liberty was given to the senators, who, usually, delivered their opinions, Titus Lartius, who had been the first dictator,
three

¹⁸ three years before, advised them to use their good fortune with moderation, saying, that the greatest praise, that could be given to a whole people, as well as to individuals, was not to be corrupted with prosperity, but to bear good fortune with temperance, and moderation: For all prosperity was envied, particularly, That, which was attended with arrogance, and rigor to the humbled, and subdued. That they ought not to rely on fortune, they, who, by their own adversity, and prosperity, had experienced how inconstant she is, and subject to sudden changes: Neither ought they to reduce their adversaries to a necessity of running the greatest hazards, which necessity renders men ¹⁹daring beyond their judgement, and brave beyond their power. He said, they had reason to be afraid of drawing upon themselves the general hatred of all they proposed to command, if they

¹⁸. Τῷ παρελθόντι ενιαυτῷ. Sylburgius, and, after him, M. ***, have observed that Lartius had been dictator three years before. This must, therefore, be an error in the transcriber.

¹⁹. Παρα γνῶμην τολμήσαι — και ὑπερ δυνάμιν μαχήσαι. Whoever has read Thucydides with attention will see, at first sight, that our author has imitated him upon this occasion. The Corinthian ambassadors, in comparing the character of the Athenians with That of the Lacedaemonians, say of the former, or rather, ¹ Thucydides says for them, οἱ μὲν, και παρα δυνάμιν τολμήσαι, και παρα γνῶμην κινδυνεύσαι, etc. I was surprised to find that Valla has translated παρα γνῶμην, *praeter hominum*

opinionem. This I do not take to be the sense of the Greek words either in Thucydides, or in our author, though I observe that Portus has given this sense to them, when he says, *praeter omnem expectationem*. As for the French translators, their versions of this passage are nothing but loose paraphrases, which deserve not to be transcribed. But, to return to this expression, I have rendered it, as if the words were, παρα την ἐαυτῶν γνῶμην, not παρα την παντῶν γνῶμην, which last is the sense the two Latin translators I mentioned, have given to this passage; and the former is the sense, I find, Hobbes has given to the words of Thucydides, when he says, *adventurous above their own reason*.

¹ B. i. c. 70.

punished the guilty in a severe, and inexorable manner, as if they had abandoned their usual maxims, forgetting they owed to them their present lustre, and transformed their sovereignty from a command, and a preeminence, which it was before, to a tyranny. He added that errors are moderate, and do not deserve indignation, when a people, zealous for liberty, and, formerly, accustomed to command, are tenacious of their ancient dignity: And, if those, who aim at the greatest things, are to be punished in an irreparable manner, when they are disappointed of their hopes, nothing can hinder the whole race of men from being destroyed by one another: For all men have an innate desire of liberty. He shewed that the government, which sought to subdue its subjects by benefits, was far better, and more firmly established, than That, which sought to subdue them by punishments; the former producing love, and the latter, terror. And there was a necessity, founded on nature, that every thing, that was terrible, should be, particularly, detested. At the end of his speech, he desired they would take example from the best actions of their ancestors, by which they gained commendation; and he recounted the many cities they had taken by storm, which they had not demolished; neither had they killed the inhabitants, who were men grown, nor enslaved them; but, by making those cities Roman colonies, and by communicating the privileges of Roman citizens to such of the conquered, as desired to live at Rome, they had aggrandized their city. The substance of his opinion was, to renew the treaties they had, before, made with the
Latin

Latin nation, and to retain no resentment against any of the cities for the errors they had been guilty of.

XX. Servius Sulpicius opposed nothing the other had said concerning the peace, and the renewal of the treaties; but said his opinion was (since the Latines had first violated those treaties, and that this was not the first time they had done so, which might deserve some forgiveness, as they pretended necessity, and delusion, but they had, often, broken them before, which deserved correction) that impunity, and liberty be granted to all of them, by reason of their affinity; but that one half of their lands be taken from them, and a Roman colony sent thither, among whom they should be divided by lot, who would enjoy the produce of those lands, and prevent the Latines from raising further disturbances. Spurius Cassius advised to rase their cities, saying he wondered at the folly of those, who desired their crimes might go unpunished; and who could not see that, through the inbred, and unalterable envy, with which they were animated against the rising power of Rome, they were, ever, contriving to raise successive wars against them, and that they would never, willingly, give over their treacherous designs, while they were possessed with this unfortunate passion: That they had, lately, endeavoured to reduce a people, related to them, under the power of tyrants, more savage than any wild beasts, and had trampled upon all the treaties they had sworn by the gods to observe, being induced to it by no other hopes than that, if the war did not succeed according to their expectation, they should incur either no punishment
at

at all, or a very flight one. And he, also, desired them to take example from the actions of their ancestors, who, when they observed the city of Alba, of which they themselves, and all the other Latin cities were colonies, to envy their prosperity, and to have made use of the impunity they had obtained for their first transgressions, as an opportunity of multiplying their treacheries, they resolved to destroy it in one day; looking upon it that there was no difference between pitying none, who had committed small faults, and punishing none, who had committed the greatest, and the most incorrigible crimes: And that it would be an act of great folly, and insensibility, not of humanity, and moderation in those, who could not bear the envy of their mother city, when it appeared beyond measure grievous, and intolerable, to submit to That of their relations; and who had punished enemies convicted of being so in fewer instances, by depriving them of their country, to exact no punishment from such, as had, often, shewn their irreconcilable hatred to them. Having said this, and enumerated all the rebellions of the Latines, and put the senate in mind of the vast number of Romans, who had lost their lives in the wars against them, he advised to treat them in the same manner they had, formerly, treated the Albans; to rase their cities, and add their territories to Those of the Romans; to grant the rights of Roman citizens to such of the inhabitants, as had shewn any affection towards their commonwealth, and to suffer them to enjoy their fortunes; to put to death, as traitors, the authors of the revolt, by whom the

treaties had been dissolved; and, as to the poorer sort of the people, the lazy, and the useless, to make them slaves.

XXI. These were the opinions of the leading men of the senate: But the dictator giving the preference to That of Lartius, and no further opposition being made to it, the ambassadors were called in to receive their answer: When Postumius, after reproaching them with an evil disposition never to be reformed, said; “We should do an act of justice, “if we treated you with the utmost severity, a treatment “you had prepared for us, if the many attempts you have “made against us had succeeded. However, the Romans “have resolved not to prefer justice to clemency; because “they consider that the Latines are their relations, and have “had recourse to the mercy of those they had injured; but “to acquit them of the punishment due to these offences “also, as well from a regard to the gods, who preside over “consanguinity, as to the instability of Fortune, to whom “they owe their victory. At present, therefore, return, “says he, perfectly free; and, after you have released the “prisoners; delivered up the deserters, and expelled the “exiles, then send ambassadors to us to treat of friendship, “and of an alliance, with this assurance that they shall “obtain every thing, that is reasonable.” The ambassadors, having received this answer, departed: And, a few days after, returned, having released the prisoners, and sent away Tarquinius, and the exiles; bringing with them all the deserters they could find, in chains. In consideration of which, they obtained of the senate a treaty of friendship, and alliance
upon

upon the same terms with the former ; and renewed the oaths, before taken concerning it, by the interposition of the *Feciales*. Thus ended the war, which the Romans had carried on against the tyrants, after it had lasted fourteen years from their expulsion. After this, Tarquinius (for he still survived his family) being, now, near ninety years of age, and having lost his children, and his son-in-law, passed a miserable old age among those, who hated him ; and, when neither the Latines, the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, nor any other free people in those parts, would suffer him to reside in their cities, he retired to Cumae in Campania, and was received by Aristodemus, surnamed Malachus, who was, at that time, tyrant of the Cumaeans : And, having lived a few days there, he died, and was buried by him. Some of the exiles, who had followed his fortunes, remained at Cumae ; and the rest, dispersing themselves in other cities, ended their days in banishment.

XXII. After the Romans had put an end to the foreign wars, the civil sedition sprung up again : For the senate ordered the courts of justice to sit, and that all suits, which they had respited on account of the war, should be determined according to the laws. The contests, arising from the contracts, produced great storms, and terrible instances of an insolent, and shameless behaviour ; the common people pretending that, as the country had been laid waste by a long war, their cattle destroyed, the number of their slaves reduced by desertion, and the incursions of the enemy, and the fortunes they had in the city, consumed by their expences

in the war, they were under an impossibility of paying their debts: And, on the other side, the creditors alledged that these calamities had been common to all, and not confined to the debtors only, and thought it was insufferable for them to lose, not only, what they had been deprived of in the war by the enemy, but, also, what they had lent, during the peace, to some of the citizens, who wanted their assistance. So that, the creditors submitting to nothing that was reasonable, and the debtors to nothing that was just, and the former refusing to abate even the interest, and the latter to pay even the principal itself, frequent meetings were held by those, who were in the same circumstances, and the opposite parties faced one another in the forum; and, sometimes, skirmishes ensued; by all which, the whole system of the civil government was disordered. Postumius, who was, still, revered by men of all ranks, seeing this, thought it an advantageous measure to rescue the commonwealth from these civil storms by a difficult war; and, before he had finished the whole time of his sovereign magistracy, he abdicated the dictatorship; and, having fixed a day for the election of consuls, he, together with his colleague, appointed the usual magistrates.

XXIII. The consuls, invested, again, with the annual, and legal magistracy, were Appius Claudius Sabinus, and Publius Servilius Priscus; who, judging, rightly, that the greatest of all services they could do to the commonwealth, was to divert the civil tumult to a foreign war, were contriving that one of them should march with an army
against

against the Volsci; as well to take revenge of them for the succours they had sent to the Latines against the Romans, as to prevent their preparations, which, as yet, were not far advanced: For they, also, were reported to be raising an army with the greatest activity, and sending embassadors to the neighbouring nations to solicit them to enter into their alliance; being induced to take these steps from the account they had received that there was a division between the plebeians, and the patricians, and from an opinion that it would be no difficult matter to make themselves masters of a city weakened by a domestic war. The consuls, therefore, having resolved, for these reasons, to lead out an army, and their resolution being approved of by the whole senate, they ordered all the youth to present themselves on the day they had appointed to make their levies. But the plebeians, though, often, called to take the military oath, not obeying the consuls, these were, no longer, unanimous. But, beginning from hence, they divided, and continued to oppose one another all the time of their magistracy. For Servilius was of opinion that they ought to take the milder way, and adhere to the maxims of Marcus Valerius, a most popular man, who advised to apply a remedy to the cause of the sedition, by decreeing, above all things, an abolition, or, at least, a diminution of the debts; but, if That could not be obtained, to forbid, for the present, the carrying to prison any of the debtors, who had exceeded the day appointed for the payment of their debts; and, by exhortation, rather than force, to induce the poor to take the military oath, and

and not to punish the disobedient, as in a city where concord reigned, in a severe, and inexorable manner, but with moderation, and mildness : For, he said, there was reason to apprehend that men, in want of the daily necessaries of life, if compelled to serve at their own expence, when met together, might commit some desperate act.

XXIV. On the other side, the opinion of Appius, the most considerable person among the patrons of the aristocracy, was severe and haughty ; he advised to indulge the people in nothing, but even to allow the creditors to compel the payment of the obligations, upon the terms they were intitled to, and that the consul, who remained in the city, should appoint the courts of justice to sit according to the established customs ; that the punishments, ordained by law, against those, who declined the service, be inflicted, and that they ought to yield to the people in nothing, that was not founded in justice, or join with them in establishing a destructive power : For, says he, they are, now, grown wanton beyond all measure, by being discharged of the tributes they, formerly, paid to the kings, and freed from the corporal punishments they suffered from them, when they did not, presently, yield obedience to all their commands. But, if they go further, and attempt any alteration in the constitution, or to exalt themselves, let us make use of the sober, and sound part of the citizens, who will be found more numerous than the disaffected, to suppress them. We are provided with no small strength to effect this, and the patrician youth is ready to obey our commands : But the
most

most formidable weapon of all, and the most difficult to be resisted, is the power of the senate; armed with which we shall subdue the plebeians, and strike them with terror, while we support the laws: Whereas, if we relax, and grant their demands, in the first place, we shall disgrace ourselves by giving up the government to the people, when we had it in our power to live under an aristocracy; and, in the next, we shall be exposed to the greatest danger of losing our liberty again, if any man, aiming at tyranny, should, by courting them, acquire a power superior to the laws. The consuls contesting in this manner, as well in private, as when the senate was assembled, and many siding with each, that assembly, tired with their altercation, and noise, and the indecent speeches, with which they abused one another, was dismissed, without coming to any salutary resolution.

XXV. Much time being consumed in these things, the other consul, Servilius (for it had fallen to his lot to command the army) having, by great intreaties, and conciliating the affections of the people, prevailed with them to assist in the war, took the field with an army not raised by compulsion, but consisting of volunteers, as the present juncture required, while the Volsci were yet employed in their preparations, and expected that the Romans, thus divided, and engaged in mutual animosities, would neither march against them with an army, nor dare to resist them, if attacked; and that they should be, intirely, at liberty to begin the war, whenever they thought fit: But, when those, who were designed to be attacked, became the aggressors, the most respectable
for

for their age among the Volsci, struck with the expedition of the Romans, went out of their cities with olive branches; and, delivering up themselves to Servilius, submitted to such treatment, as he should think fit to inflict on their offences: Who, taking from them provisions, and clothes for his army; and, chusing out of the most considerable families three hundred hostages, departed, looking upon the war as at an end. However, this did not prove an end of the war, but rather a delay, and an opportunity of making preparations to those, who had been surpris'd by the unexpected invasion. For the Roman army was no sooner gone, but the Volsci, again, prepared for war, by fortifying their towns, and reinforcing the garrisons of such places, as were proper to secure them against the enemy. The Hernici, and the Sabines espoused their quarrel openly, and many others privately: But the Latines, when ambassadors were sent to them to desire their assistance, bound the men, and carried them to Rome. The senate, in return for their firm adherence to their alliance, and, yet more, for the alacrity they shewed to take a share in the war, (for they were ready to assist them of their own accord) granted to them a favor they knew they desired above all things, but were ashamed to ask it, which was to release the prisoners they had taken from them, during the wars, without ransom, the number of whom amounted to near six thousand; and, in order to give such a lustre to the present, as most became their affinity, they clothed them all with the apparel proper to free men. As to the offer of their assistance, the senate
told

told them they did not stand in need of it ; and that the national forces of Rome were sufficient to chastize those, who had revolted from them. After they had given this answer to the Latines, they passed a vote for the war against the Volsci.

XXVI. While the senate was yet fitting, and considering what forces should be sent into the field, a man, advanced in years, appeared in the forum : He was dressed in rags, with his beard, and hair grown long ; and, crying out, called upon the people for assistance. And all, who were near, flocking to him, he placed himself in a conspicuous part of the forum, and said ; “ I was born free, and have served
 “ the whole time appointed by law ; been present in twenty
 “ eight battles, and have, often, received the customary
 “ rewards for the superior bravery I have shewn in the wars ;
 “ and, when the commonwealth was reduced to the last
 “ streights by the severity of the times, I was forced to
 “ contract a debt to pay the contributions levied upon me :
 “ My lands being laid waste by the incursions of the enemy,
 “ and my fortunes, in the city, exhausted by the scarcity of
 “ provisions, I, for these reasons, unable to discharge the
 “ debt, was carried away, as a slave, by my creditor, with my
 “ two sons ; and my master ordering me to do some difficult
 “ work, and I, refusing to do it, was, severely, scourged.”
 After he had said this, he threw off his rags, and shewed his breast covered with scars, and his back bleeding with the stripes. This raising a general clamor, and lamentation in all present, the senate broke up, and the poor ran through
 VOL. III. G every

every street, each bewailing his own misfortunes, and imploring the assistance of his neighbour. At the same time, all, who were in slavery for their debts, rushed out of the houses of their creditors, with their hair grown long, and most of them in chains, and fetters, none daring to lay hold of them ; and, if any offered to touch them, they were, violently, torne in pieces : Such a madness possessed the people at that time ! and, presently, the forum was full of debtors, who had broken loose from their chains. Appius, therefore, fearing some attempt from the people, since he had been the cause of this mischief, fled from the forum. But Servilius, throwing off his robe bordered with purple, and casting himself in tears at the feet of every one of the plebeians, with difficulty prevailed upon them to be quiet that day, and to come the day after ; assuring them the senate would take some care of their interest. Having said this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no creditor should be at liberty to carry any of the citizens to prison for his debt, till the senate should come to a resolution concerning them ; and that all present might go, with impunity, whithersoever they pleased : By which means, he appeased the sedition.

XXVII. Upon this, they left the forum for that time : But the next day, there appeared, not only, the inhabitants of the city, but all the people of the neighbouring country, and the forum was crowded by break of day. The senate being assembled to consider what was to be done, Appius called his colleague a flatterer of the people, and the ring-leader in their madness : On the other side, Servilius called him

him a severe, and haughty man, and the cause of the present mischiefs. And there was no end of their contests. In the mean time, some horsemen, sent by the Latines, came riding full speed to the forum, and gave notice that the enemy had taken the field with a great army, and were, already, upon their confines: This was the account they brought. Upon which, the patricians, and the whole body of the knights, together with all those, who were distinguished either by their fortunes, or the lustre of their ancestors, as having a great deal at stake, armed themselves in all haste. But the poor, and, particularly, such, as laboured under debts, neither meddled with arms, nor gave any other assistance to the commonwealth: But were pleased, and received the news of a foreign war, as a thing, that fell out to their wish, looking upon it as a cure for their present evils. To those, who desired them to take arms, they shewed their chains, and fetters, and asked them, in derision, whether it were worth their while to make war, in order to preserve those blessings. And many went so far as to say that it was better for them to be slaves to the Volsci, than to bear the abuses of the patricians. And, now, the city was filled with wailings, tumult, and all sorts of womanish lamentations.

XXVIII. The senators, seeing these things, begged of the other consul, Servilius, who seemed, in the present juncture, to have greater credit with the people, to relieve his country. Who, calling the people together, shewed them that the necessity of the times did not admit of civil contests, and besought them to march, at that time, against the enemy with

unanimity, and not suffer their country to be subverted, in which were the gods of their fathers, and the sepulchres of their ancestors, both most precious in the eyes of all men ; to respect their parents, unable, through age, to defend themselves ; to compassionate their wives, who must, presently, be exposed to dreadful, and unutterable abuses ; and, particularly, to pity their infant children, who, though brought up with better expectations, would be treated in the most injurious, insulting, and cruel manner : And, after they had, by a general effort, freed their country from the present danger, then he advised them to consider in what manner they should constitute an equal, common, and salutary form of government, in which neither the poor might defraud the rich of their fortunes, nor these insult the low condition of their inferiors ; neither of which became fellow-citizens ; and, also, what legal protection should be established on behalf of the poor, and what moderate relief given to the creditors. By this means, the Roman commonwealth would not be the only one, from which the faith of contracts, which is the greatest of all human benefits to the injured, and the guardian of concord in all governments, would be, totally, and, for ever, banished. After he had said this, and every thing else the occasion required, he put them in mind of the affection, which he himself had ever shewn to the people, and desired them to serve under him in this expedition in return for that affection, the government of the city being committed to his colleague, and the command of the army conferred upon himself, the lot having, thus, determined

mined their respective functions. He said, also, that the senate had promised him to confirm whatever concessions he should make to the people; and that he had promised the senate to persuade the people not to betray their country to the enemy.

XXIX. Having said this, he ordered the cryer to make proclamation that no person should be at liberty to seize, sell, or retain as pledges the houses of those Romans, who should march out with him against the Volsci, or carry their children to prison for any debt, and that none should hinder any, who desired it, from entering into the service: But, with regard to those, who should decline it, their creditors should have power to compel them to pay their debts, upon the terms each of them had advanced their money. When the poor heard this, they, presently, relaxed, and all shewed great ardor for the war; some, induced to it by the hopes of booty; others, by their affection to the general; but the greatest part, to avoid the fury of Appius, and the abusive treatment, to which those, who staid in the city, would be exposed. Servilius, putting himself at the head of the army, lost no time; but marched with great expedition, that he might engage the enemy, before they entered the Roman territories. And, finding them incamped in the Pometine plain, and foraging the country of the Latines, because, when solicited by them, they had refused to assist them in the war, he incamped, in the beginning of the night, upon a hill, distant about twenty stadia from the enemy. And, in the night, his army was attacked by the Volsci, who thought they were
few

few in number, tired with a long march, and in no disposition to fight, by reason of the commotions raised by the poor concerning their debts, which seemed then to be at their height. Servilius maintained the fight in his camp, as long as the night lasted; and, as soon as it was day, when he saw the enemy employed in plundering the country without observing any order, he commanded several gates of the camp to be opened privately, and, at one signal, sallied out with his army against them. The attack being sudden, surprised the Volsci; some few of whom, making resistance, were killed fighting near the intrenchments. And the rest, flying with precipitation, after the loss of many of their companions, saved themselves in their camp, the greatest part of them being wounded, and having lost their arms. The Romans, pursuing them close, invested them in their intrenchments; and, after a short defence, these delivered up their camp, which was full of slaves, cattle, arms, and all sorts of military stores. There were, also, many free men taken in it, some of them being of the Volscian nation, and others, belonging to the cities, which had assisted them: And, with these, as great a quantity of money both in gold, and silver, and of apparel, as if the richest city had been taken: All which Servilius ordered to be divided among the soldiers that every man might be benefited by the booty, and no part of it brought into the treasury; and, having set fire to the camp, he marched, with his army, to ²⁰ Sueſſa Pometia, being the city, that lay nearest: Which,

²⁰ Συσσα. Πωμελίανη. See the fifty ninth annotation on the fourth book.

for its extent, the number of its inhabitants, and, also, for its glory, and riches, was, by far, the most considerable city belonging to the enemy, and as the capital of the nation. This place he invested; and, attacking it night, and day, without intermission, in order to tire the enemy out with want of sleep, and constant service, he subdued the besieged by famine, despair, and scarcity of men; took the town in a short time, and put to death all the inhabitants, who were men grown: And, having given the effects, that were found there also, to the soldiers, he marched against the rest of the enemy's cities, none of the Volsci being, now, in a condition to oppose him.

XXX. The Volsci being, thus, humbled by the Romans, the other consul, Appius Claudius, caused their hostages, to the number of three hundred, to be brought into the forum; and, to the end that all those, who had surrendered to the Romans, and given hostages for their fidelity, might be afraid of violating their treaties, he ordered them all to be, publicly, whipped, and then beheaded. And, when his colleague, a few days after, returned from his expedition, and demanded of the senate the honor of a triumph, usually granted to generals, who had distinguished themselves by their glorious exploits, he opposed it, calling him a factious man, and the favourer of a destructive form of government; and charged him, particularly, with having brought no part of the spoils into the treasury, but given the whole to those he thought fit: And, by this means, he prevailed upon the senate not to grant him the triumph. Servilius, looking
upon

upon himself to be abused by the senate, behaved with an arrogance unusual to the Romans: For, having assembled the people in the field before the city; enumerated the actions he had performed in the war, and acquainted them both with the envy of his colleague, and the insult he had received from the senate, he told them that, from his own actions, and the army, which had a share in them, he derived a power of triumphing for the glorious, and fortunate success, with which those actions had been attended. And, having said this, he ordered the lictors to be crowned; and he himself, wearing a crown, and attired in a triumphal robe, entered the city, attended by all the people; and, ascending the capitol, performed his vows, and consecrated the spoils. By which action, he increased the envy of the patricians, but gained the favor of the plebeians.

XXXI. While the commonwealth was in this unsettled condition, a kind of truce intervened, caused by the customary sacrifices; and the festivals insuing, which were celebrated at a great expence, appeased the sedition of the people for the present. During the celebration of these festivals, the Sabines invaded them with a great army, having, long since, waited for this opportunity: They began their march as soon as it was dark, to the end that, before the Romans were apprized of it, they might approach the city: Which they might, easily, have taken, if some of their light-armed men had not straggled from the army; and, by plundering the country houses, given the alarm. Upon which, an outcry ensued, and the husbandmen ran into the city before the enemy

enemy arrived at the gates. Those in the city were informed of this invasion, while they were seeing the public entertainments, and crowned with garlands ; when, leaving the games, they ran to arms : And an army of volunteers, presently, offered themselves to Servilius : Which he drew up ; and, with them, fell upon the enemy, who were tired both with want of sleep, and the length of their march, and did not expect to be attacked by the Romans. When the armies closed, a battle ensued ; in which, neither side, through eagerness, observed any order, or discipline : But, as if guided by fortune, whole lines, companies, or single men engaged, and the horse, and foot fought promiscuously : And, as the two cities were not far asunder, succours arrived from both : Who, by encouraging the forces, that suffered, made them sustain the fatigues of the engagement for a long time. After that, a body of horse coming to the assistance of the Romans, they, again, overcame the Sabines ; and, having killed many of them, returned to the city with a great number of prisoners. Then, discovering the Sabines, who had come to Rome under the pretence of seeing the entertainments, and designed to have possessed themselves of the strong places of the city, in order to favor the attempt of their countrymen, as it had been concerted between them, they threw them into prison : And, having voted that the sacrifices, which had been interrupted by the war, should be performed with double magnificence, they, again, passed their time in exultation.

XXXII. While they were celebrating these festivals, embassadors came to them from the ²¹ Aurunci, who inhabited the finest plains of Campania: These, being introduced into the senate, desired the Romans would restore the country to the Volsci, called Echetrani, which they had taken from them, and divided among those of their own people, whom they had sent thither as a colony, to secure the possession of that country; and that they would withdraw the guard: Which if they refused to do, the embassadors said the Aurunci would, soon, invade the territories of the Romans, and take revenge for the injuries they had done to their neighbours. To these the Romans gave this answer: “ Embassadors, let
 “ the Aurunci know we Romans think it just that, what-
 “ ever any one has acquired from an enemy by his valor,
 “ he should leave it to his posterity, as his own: That we
 “ are not afraid of a war from the Aurunci, which will
 “ be neither the first, nor the most formidable we have been
 “ engaged in; it being customary for us to fight with all
 “ men for command, and glory: And, when we see the
 “ war come to an action, we shall receive it with intrepidity.” After this, the Aurunci, who were come out of their own territories with a great army, and the Romans, with their national forces under the command of Servilius, met near the city of ²² Aricia, which is distant one hundred and twenty stadia from Rome. And each of them incamped on hills,

²¹ Ἀγρῦκων. These were the *Aurunci*, a people of Campania, whose principal city was *Suessa Aurunca*, now

called, ^m *Sessa*.

²² Πόλεως Ἀρικείας. See the thirtieth annotation on the fifth book.

^m Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 5.

strongly,

strongly, situated, not far from one another. After they had fortified their camps, they advanced to the plain, in order to a battle: And, engaging early in the morning, they maintained the fight till noon: So that, many were killed on both sides: For the Aurunci were a warlike nation; and, by their stature, their strength, and the fierceness of their looks, in which great savageness appeared, they were exceeding formidable.

XXXIII. In this battle, the Roman horse, and their commander, Aulus Postumius Albus, who had been dictator the year before, are said to have behaved themselves with the greatest bravery: For the place, where the battle was fought, was not, at all, proper for the horse, being full of rocky hills, and deep valleys; so that, the horse could be of no advantage to either side. Upon which occasion, Postumius, having ordered the horse to dismount, and formed a body of six hundred men, observing where the Roman foot suffered most, being forced down a hill, there he charged the enemy, and, presently, stopped their pursuit. The Barbarians being, once, repulsed, the Romans grew bold, and the foot emulated the horse: And both forming one compact body, they drove the right wing of the enemy to the hill: Some pursued that part of them, which fled towards their camp, and killed many: While others attacked in the rear those, who, still, maintained the fight. When, having forced these, also, to fly, they followed them in their difficult, and slow retreat up the steep places, cutting asunder the sinews both of their legs, and hams with side blows of their swords,

till they came to their camp; and, having forced the guards of this also, who were not numerous, they made themselves masters of their camp, and plundered it. However, they found no great booty there, but only arms, horses, and other things proper for the war. These were the actions of Servilius, and Appius, during their consulship.

XXXIV. They were succeeded by ²³ Aulus Virginius Coelimontanus, and Titus Veturius Geminus, ²⁴ Themistocles

²³ Αὐλὸς Οὐερῖνιος Κοιλιμοντᾶνος. Sigonius has, certainly, great reason to read this consul's name Coelimontanus, instead of Montanus, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts; because we find he is called so in the *Fasti consulares*.

²⁴ Ἀρχὼν Αθηνησὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς. I find M. * * * is of opinion that this Athenian archon cannot be the great Themistocles: The reason he gives for it, is, that he was too young to be archon at this time, that is, in the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad. I am of a different opinion: For which I shall give my reasons; and then leave it to the reader to determine between us. In the first place, among all the Athenian archons, we find no other Themistocles, till the second year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad; and it is not probable that Themistocles, who saved Athens, and all Greece from being enslaved by the Persians, should never have been chosen archon by his country. In the next place, I shall consider the reason, given by that gentleman in support of

his opinion; and shew that Themistocles was far from being too young to be chosen archon at this time. ⁿ Plutarch tells us that he was sixty five years of age, when he died. Now, it appears by ^o Cicero, and by ^p Eusebius, that Themistocles died in the third year of the seventy eighth Olympiad: From the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad, to the third of the seventy eighth, are just twenty six years: So that, Themistocles must have been about thirty nine years of age in the fourth year of the seventy first Olympiad; and, consequently, he was not too young to have been archon that year. Besides, there is great reason to believe that Themistocles had been archon long before he distinguished himself so much when the Persians invaded Greece, which was in the first year of the seventy fifth Olympiad, Calliades being then archon at Athens, as we find both in ^q Herodotus, and in ^r our author; because ^s Thucydides, in speaking of the port of Piræus, which was finished by the advice of Themistocles, after the re-

ⁿ Life of Themist.

^o In Laelio, c. 12.

^r In Chronic. MDL. ^q In Urania. c. 51.

^p B. ix. c. 1.

^s B. i. c. 53.

being

being archon at Athens, the two hundred and sixtieth year after the foundation of Rome, and the year before the seventy second Olympiad, in which ²⁵ Tifocrates of Croton won the prize for the second time. In their consulship, the Sabines prepared to invade the Romans with a greater army than before; and the ²⁶ Medullini, revolting from the latter, entered into a treaty of confederacy with the Sabines, confirmed by their oaths. The patricians, having intelligence of their designs, were preparing to take the field, immediately, with all their forces: But the plebeians refused to obey their orders, remembering, with resentment, the breach of promise they had, often, been guilty of in relation to those poor, who wanted relief; and that the votes of the senate passed in their favor, were, always, defeated by contrary votes. And, assembling together by degrees, they bound one another by oath, no longer, to assist the patricians in any war; and that they would support all the poor in general, and every one of them in particular, against any person, who should offer violence to them. This conspiracy appeared upon many occasions, both in contests, and skirmishes; but the consuls

treat of the Persians, says that it had been begun before, during his annual magistracy; ὑπεκίλο δ' αὖτις πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνης ἀρχῆς, ἥς καὶ ἐνταῦτον Ἀθηναίοις ἤρξε. This, in my opinion, plainly relates to the time, when he was archon; and, among the Athenian archons, no person of that name is to be found near that time, as I have said, but the archon of the fourth year

of the seventy first Olympiad.

²⁵ Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης. So this name must be read; and not Στησικράτης with the Vatican, nor Πισικράτης with the Venetian manuscript; because we find this man won the prize of the stadium at the preceding Olympiad.

²⁶ Μεδυλλίνοι. See the seventieth annotation on the second book.

had the greatest proof of it : For, when they ordered any of the people to be seized for not entering into the service, when summoned, the poor assembled in a body, and endeavoured to rescue the person, as he was carrying to prison ; and, when the officers of the consuls refused to release him, they beat them, and drove them away ; and, if any either of the knights, or patricians, who were present, attempted to put a stop to these proceedings, they forbore not to strike them : Thus, in a short time, the city was full of disorder, and tumult. As the sedition encreased in the city, the preparations of the enemy encreased also. And the Volsci, and the Aequi forming a design to revolt, embassadors came from all the people, who were subjects of the Romans, to desire that, as their territories lay in the passage of the war, they would send them succours : For the Latines complained that the Aequi had made an incursion into their country, and, were then, laying waste their lands, and had, already, plundered some of their cities. And the garrison in Crustumera shewed that the Sabines were advanced near that fortress, and ready to besiege it. Others gave an account of other mischiefs, which either had happened, or were like to happen, and desired immediate assistance. Embassadors from the Volsci, also, came to the senate to demand before they began the war, that the lands, taken from them by the Romans, might be restored.

XXXV. The senate being assembled to consider of these things, Titus Lartius, esteemed a man of superior dignity, and consummate prudence, was first called upon to deliver

deliver his opinion; when, rising up, he said: "To me,
 " fathers, the things, which, to others seem terrible, and to
 " stand in need of a speedy relief, do appear neither terrible,
 " nor very urging, that is, in what manner we are to assist
 " our allies, and repulse our enemies: But those things,
 " which they look upon neither as the greatest of evils, nor
 " necessary to be considered at present, but neglect them as
 " not likely, in any degree, to hurt us, appear most terrible
 " to me; and, if we do not, soon, put a stop to them, they
 " will cause a total subversion, and confusion of the com-
 " monwealth: These are, the disobedience of the plebeians
 " to the orders of the consuls, and our own severity against
 " that disobedience, and the liberty they take. I am of
 " opinion, therefore, that you ought to consider nothing else
 " at present, than, by what means, you may eradicate these
 " evils out of the commonwealth, and, all; with one consent,
 " prefer public to private considerations, in every measure
 " we pursue: For the power of the commonwealth, when
 " unanimous, is sufficient to give both security to our allies,
 " and fear to our enemies: But, when divided, as at present,
 " it can effect neither. And I should wonder, if it did not,
 " even, destroy itself, and yield the victory to the enemy
 " without any trouble: Which, by Jupiter, and all the
 " other gods, will, soon, happen, if we continue to pursue
 " the same principles of government.

XXXVI. "For we are divided, as you see, from one
 " another, and inhabit two cities; one of which is governed
 " by poverty, and necessity, and the other by satiety, and
 " pride;

“ pride ; while modesty, order, and justice, by which alone
“ every civil community can be preserved, is to be found in
“ neither : For which reason, we exact justice from one
“ another by violence, and make superior strength the
“ measure of that justice ; chusing rather, like wild beasts,
“ to destroy our enemy, though we perish with him, than,
“ by consulting our own safety, to be preserved together
“ with our adversary. These things I desire you will, seri-
“ ously, consider, and deliberate, particularly, concerning
“ them, as soon as you have dismissed the ambassadors.
“ As to the answers, to be, now, given to them, This is what
“ I have to advise : Since the Volsci demand restitution of
“ what we are in possession of by the right of conquest, and
“ threaten us with a war, if we refuse to restore it, let our
“ answer be, that we Romans look upon those acquisitions
“ to be the most honest, and the most just, which we have
“ acquired by the laws of war ; and will not endure to ob-
“ literate valor with folly, in restoring them to those, who
“ could not keep them : And that we will endeavour, by
“ force of arms, both to secure the possession of them to our-
“ selves, and to leave it to our posterity : Whereas, if we did
“ otherwise, we should treat ourselves with the severity of
“ an enemy. As to the Latines, we ought to commend their
“ affections, and dispel their fears, by assuring them that we
“ will not abandon them in any danger they shall expose
“ themselves to upon our account, while they continue
“ faithful to us ; but will, shortly, send a force sufficient to
“ defend them. These answers, I judge, will be the best,
“ and

“ and the most agreeable to justice. After the ambassadors
 “ are dismissed, I think, we ought to dedicate the first
 “ meeting of the senate to the consideration of the tumults
 “ in the city, and that this meeting ought not to be deferred,
 “ but appointed for to-morrow.”

XXXVII. Lartius having delivered this opinion, and every one applauding it, the ambassadors received the answers he had advised, and departed. The next day, the consuls assembled the senate, and proposed to them to take into consideration the means of appeasing the civil dissensions: When Publius Virginus, a popular man, being first asked his opinion, took a middle way, and said; “ Since the
 “ people, last year, shewed the greatest earnestness to serve
 “ the commonwealth, and, in conjunction with us, engaged
 “ the Volsci, and Aurunci, when they invaded us with great
 “ armies, I think that all, who, then, assisted us, and took
 “ their share in those wars, ought to be discharged of their
 “ debts; and that neither their persons, nor fortunes ought to
 “ be subject to their creditors: That the same immunity ought
 “ to extend to their parents, as far as their grandfathers;
 “ and to their posterity, as far as their grandchildren: And
 “ that all the rest ought to be liable to imprisonment at the
 “ suit of their creditors upon the terms of their respective
 “ obligations.” After him, Titus Lartius said; “ My opinion, fathers, is, that, not only, those, who fought, bravely,
 “ in the wars, but all the rest of the people, also, be discharged of their debts: For this is the only means of restoring harmony to the whole city.”

XXXVIII. The third person, who spoke, was Appius Claudius, the consul of the former year, who rose up, and said; “ As often as these matters have been debated, fathers, “ I was, always, of the same opinion, that is, never to yield “ to the people in any thing, that is not founded on law, “ and justice; nor to debase the dignity of the common- “ wealth: Neither do I, even now, change the opinion, “ which I, first, entertained: For I should be the weakest of “ all men, if, last year, when I was consul, and my colleague “ opposed me, and inflamed the people against me, I resisted, “ and adhered to my resolutions, unshaken by fear, and “ unmoved by intreaties, or favor; and, now, when I am “ a private man, I should demit myself, and betray that “ liberty I contended for. I know not whether you will “ call this liberty of my mind, generosity, or pride; but, as “ long as I live, I will never depart from the honest reso- “ lution I have, long since, taken, never to introduce an “ abolition of debts, myself, in favor of wicked men; but, “ even, to oppose, with all my power, those, who endeavour “ to introduce it; convinced as I am that an abolition of “ debts is the source of all vice, and corruption; and, in a “ word, of the total subversion of every commonwealth. “ And, whether any one shall think that what I say proceeds “ from prudence, or madness (since I consider not my own “ security, but That of the commonwealth) or from any “ other motive, I give him free leave to think as he pleases: “ But I will, ever, oppose those, who shall introduce inno- “ vations. And, since the times, instead of an abolition of “ debts,

“ debts, require a great relief, I will acquaint you with the
 “ only remedy for the present sedition, which is, imme-
 “ diately, to create a dictator; who, subject to no account
 “ for the use he shall make of his authority, will force both
 “ the senate, and the people to entertain such sentiments, as
 “ are most advantageous to the commonwealth: For no
 “ other can be applied to so great an evil.”

XXXIX. This speech, and motion of Appius was received by the young senators with a tumultuous applause, when Servilius, and some others of the ancient senators rose up to oppose it: But they were overcome by the young men, who came thither for that purpose, and used great violence; and, at last, the motion of Appius carried it. After this, the consuls, acting in concert, when most people expected that Appius would be declared dictator, as the only person capable of governing with the vigor requisite upon that occasion, they excluded him, and created ²⁷ Manius Valerius,

²⁷ Μάνιον Ουαλέριον. Sigonius has shewn, in a note upon Livy, that we must read Manius, and not Marcus. His brother Marcus was slain in the battle, that was fought near the lake Regillus, as ^v our author has, already, told us. The consuls shewed more moderation, upon this occasion, than the senate, and, probably, saved their country by it: For no body can say what might have been the consequence if the latter had conferred the dictatorship on a man of so imperious a temper as Appius, whom the people looked upon as their capital enemy, and the author of the breach of promise, which

the senate had been guilty of: But ^w Livy will explain the reason, that induced the senate to prefer the violent advice of Appius to the moderate advice of Virginus: *Medium maxime, et moderatum utroque consilium Virginii habebatur.* Sed, factione, respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere, officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit: ac prope fuit ut dictator ille idem crearetur. quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, quum Volsci, Acquique, et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut imperium, suo vehemens, mansueto permitteretur ingenio.

^v C. 12.

^w B. ii. c. 30.

a brother of Publius the first consul, dictator ; a person in years, and like to approve himself a most popular man : For they looked upon the terror alone of this magistracy to be sufficient ; and that the present situation of affairs required a person mild in all respects, that he might occasion no fresh disturbances.

XL. After Valerius was invested with this magistracy, he appointed Quintus Servilius, brother to Servilius, who had been the colleague of Appius, to be his general of the horse, and summoned the people to an assembly. And great numbers assisting for the first time since Servilius had resigned his magistracy, and the people, by being forced into the service, had been driven to open despair, he ascended the tribunal, and said ; “ Citizens, we are very sensible that you take a pleasure
 “ in being, always, governed by some of the Valerian fa-
 “ mily ; by whom you were freed from a severe tyranny, and
 “ never failed of obtaining any thing, that was reasonable,
 “ when you placed your confidence in those, who are looked
 “ upon, and are, the most popular of all men. So that, I
 “ need not inform you that we shall secure to you that liberty,
 “ which we, at first, bestowed upon you ; but only exhort
 “ you, in few words, to be assured that we shall perform
 “ whatever we promise you : For I am arrived to that
 “ maturity of age, which is the least capable of imposition,
 “ and to that sufficiency of dignity, which abhors the least
 “ appearance of deceit : Add to this, that I shall pass the
 “ remainder of my life among you, accountable to you for
 “ any practice you may think I have made use of to ensnare
 “ you.

“ you. These things I shall omit as requiring not many
 “ words, as I said, because I speak to those, who are ac-
 “ quainted with them. But there is one thing, which,
 “ having suffered from others, you seem, with reason, to
 “ suspect of all ; you have, ever, observed that the consuls,
 “ when they want to engage you to march against the
 “ enemy, promise to obtain for you what you desire of the
 “ senate ; but never perform any thing they have promised :
 “ That you can have no reason to entertain the same suspi-
 “ cions of me also, I will convince you, chiefly, by these
 “ two considerations ; the first, that the senate would never
 “ have abused my person, who am looked upon as the greatest
 “ patron of the people, by imposing this office upon me,
 “ when there are others fitter for it ; and the other, that
 “ they would not have honoured me with this sovereign
 “ magistracy, by which I am invested with a power of en-
 “ acting whatever I think best, even without their parti-
 “ cipation.

XLI. “ Imagine not, then, that I am capable of joining
 “ with them to deceive you, or that I have concerted with
 “ them any criminal design against you : For, if you enter-
 “ tain these thoughts of me, as if I was the most deceitful
 “ of all men, treat me as you please ; but believe what I
 “ I say, and banish this suspicion from your minds : Turn
 “ your anger from your friends to your enemies, who are
 “ coming with a design to take your city, to transform you,
 “ from free men, to slaves, hastening to inflict every other
 “ severity on you, which mankind stands most in fear of, and
 “ are,

“ are, now, said to be not far from your confines. Receive
 “ them, therefore, with alacrity, and shew them that the
 “ power of the Romans, though agitated with sedition, is
 “ superior to any other, when unanimous ; and be assured
 “ they will either not sustain our united attack, or suffer
 “ condign punishment for their boldness. Consider that
 “ these men, who invade you, are Volsci, and Sabines, whom
 “ you have, often, overcome in battle ; who have neither
 “ larger bodies, nor braver minds now, than those you, be-
 “ fore, conquered, and only despise you, because they think
 “ you divided. When you have taken revenge on your
 “ enemies, I myself undertake that the senate will reward
 “ you, both by composing these contests concerning the
 “ debts, and by granting every thing else you can, reason-
 “ ably, desire of them, in a manner adequate to the valor
 “ you shall shew in the war. And, till then, let all the
 “ possessions, all the persons, and all the ²⁸ families of every

²⁸. Πᾶσα δὲ συγγενεία. The editions, and manuscripts have πᾶσα δὲ ἐπιμία, which all the translators have endeavoured to make something of, except le Jay, who has left it out. The others have rendered it, *Honor, Reputation*, or something equivalent. This is, certainly, the sense of the word ; but, how will this sense agree with the construction ? Valerius says, according to the text, as it stands, ἀφαιθῶ πᾶσα ἐπιμία ἀρρύσιαστος ἀπο τε δανείων, etc. that is, *let all the reputations of the Romans be discharged of debts without security*. If ἐπιμία be taken in another

sense, which it will also bear, I mean That of a *Fine*, the expression will be, equally, absurd : For it will then signify, *Let their Fines be discharged of debts*. Reduced, therefore, to this alternative, either to write nonsense, or to make an alteration in the text, I have chosen the latter, and substituted συγγενεία το ἐπιμία. But, in order to justify this alteration, I shall lay before the reader the declaration made by Servilius not long before, which very much resembles this : * He there says ; τὰς τῶν οἰκίας μηδὲν εἶναι μὴτε καλεῖσθαι, μὴτε πῶλῃν, μὴτε ἐνεχυραζέιν, μὴτε

* C. 29.

“ Roman

“ Roman citizen be discharged without security both from
 “ debts, and every other obligation : And to those, who
 “ shall fight bravely, the most glorious crown of victory
 “ will be the preservation of their country, which gave them
 “ birth ; and glorious will be the praise they will receive
 “ from their fellow-soldiers, together with the ornaments
 “ to be bestowed by us, which will be sufficient both to
 “ restore their fortunes by their value, and to illustrate
 “ their families by their honors. I desire, also, that my
 “ alacrity, in exposing myself to danger, may be your ex-
 “ ample : For I will fight for my country with the same
 “ spirit, as the most robust among you.”

XLII. While he was speaking, the people heard him with great pleasure, as fearing no more to be imposed upon ; and promised their assistance in the war : Ten legions were raised, every one of which consisted of four thousand men : Of these each of the consuls took three, and as many of the horse, as belonged to the three legions : The other four, together with the rest of the horse, were commanded by the dictator : And, having got every thing ready, they took the field immediately, Titus Veturius marching against the Aequi, Aulus Virginius against the Volsci, and the dictator himself against the Sabines. The city was guarded by Titus

ΓΕΝΟΣ αὐτῶν ἀπαίειν πρὸς μηδὲν συμβό-
 λαιον. By this, it appears that the fa-
 milies of the debtors were liable to be
 carried to prison for the debts of the
 masters of them. This exemption,
 which was a very material one, will
 be omitted in the declaration of Vale-

rius, if we read ἐπιβουλῆ, besides the
 inconvenience, already, mentioned:
 Whereas, if we read συγγενεία, this
 immunity will be provided for, and
 that word will have the same signifi-
 cation in the declaration of Valerius
 with γένος αὐτῶν in That of Servilius.

Lartius

Lartius with those of a more advanced age, and a small body of the younger fort. The Volscian war was soon determined : For, looking upon themselves as much superior in number, and forgetting their former defeats, they were forced to fight with greater haste, than prudence ; and first attacked the Romans, which they did, as soon as they had incamped within sight of one another : And a sharp battle ensuing, in which they, having performed many brave actions, and suffered greater losses, were put to flight : Their camp was taken, and a city of note reduced by a siege : The name of which was ²⁹ Velitrae. In the same manner, the pride of the Sabines was, also, humbled in a very short time, the two nations desiring to decide the fate of the war by one battle. After which, their country was laid waste, and some small towns were taken, in which the soldiers found many slaves, and great riches. The Aequi, who suspected their own weakness, being informed of the event of the war with their allies, incamped in their fastnesses, declining an engagement ; and, retreating, as they could, through woods, and over the tops of mountains, they deferred the conclusion of the war for some time : But were not able to preserve their army unhurt to the last, the Romans, boldly, falling upon them, though defended by steep places, and taking their camp by storm. After which, they fled out of the territories of the Latines ; and the cities they had taken in their first irruption, were surrendered, and Those, of which they, obstinately, defended the citadels, were taken.

²⁹ Ουελίτραι. See the thirty eighth annotation on the third book.

XLIII. Valerius, having succeeded in this war according to his desire, triumphed, in the usual manner, on account of his victory, and discharged the people from the service, which the senate looked upon as premature, fearing the poor might demand the execution of their promises. After this, he sent a colony to possess the lands they had conquered from the Volsci, chusing out the poorer sort for this purpose, to the intent they might, not only, secure the conquered country, but, also, lessen the number of seditious citizens. Having done this, he desired the senate to perform the promises they had made to him, since they had, now, received the fruits of the alacrity the people had shewn in the late engagements. However, the senate paid no regard to him; but, as before, the young, and violent men, who were superior to the others in number, had formed a faction to oppose that motion, so they, now, opposed it in the same manner, and clamoured, violently, against him, calling his family the flatterers of the people, and the authors of destructive laws. And Valerius, being informed that these men, particularly, complained of the appeal from the courts of justice, given by the Valerian law, as of an institution, by which the power of the patricians was, totally, subverted, he, greatly, lamented his misfortune; and, reproaching them with having ³⁰ exposed him to the unjust resentment of the

30. Διαβεβλημενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. The translators have understood this as if the enemies of Valerius had accused him to the people: But this is not the sense; the people would not

have encouraged such an accusation. Valerius complains that the senate, by violating the promise they had made to him, and he, by their direction, to the people, had exposed him to their re-

people, he bewailed the unfortunate events, with which their resolutions would be attended ; and, as it, often, happens in such distress, having foretold some things from the emotion he was then under, and others from his superior sagacity, he went out of the senate ; and, assembling the people, he said ; “ Citizens, finding myself under great
 “ obligations to you for the alacrity you have expressed
 “ in giving your voluntary assistance in the war at my
 “ desire, and still more for the bravery you have shewn
 “ in the several engagements, I was very desirous of making
 “ a return to you in all things, particularly in not disappointing the hopes I gave you, in the name of the senate ;
 “ and, as an adviser, and umpire between the senate, and
 “ you, in changing, at last, the division, that, now, subsists
 “ between you, into a perfect harmony. I am hindered
 “ from effecting these things by those, whose sentiments are
 “ not the most advantageous to the commonwealth ; who
 “ prefer, upon this occasion, the gratification of their own
 “ desires to its interest ; and who, being superior to the
 “ others both in number, and the power they derive
 “ from their youth, rather than from their cause, have
 “ prevailed : While I myself, as you see, am old, and so
 “ are all my assistants, whose strength consists in counsel,
 “ which they are incapable of supporting by action ; ³¹ and

sentment, which, with great reason, he calls unjust, since it ought to have been directed against the senate, and not against him ; as it, really, happened afterwards.

³¹ Καὶ περιεσχηκεν, etc. H. Stephens has observed that our author has imitated Thucydides upon this occasion. The passage he has imitated is in the speech of the Corcyraeans to the Athe-

“ our

“ our known zeal for the commonwealth, in general, has
 “ ended in drawing upon us, the private resentment of both
 “ parties: For I am censured by the senate for courting you,
 “ and by you for shewing greater affection to them.

XLIV. “ If, therefore, the people, after they had received
 “ the favors they asked, had violated the promises made by
 “ me to the senate in their name, my apology would have
 “ been, that you were the deceivers, but that I myself was
 “ guilty of no deceit. Now, since the promises, made to
 “ you by the senate, have not been performed, I am under
 “ a necessity of making it appear to the people, that I am
 “ so far from having any hand in the treatment you have
 “ met with, that both you, and I are, equally, imposed
 “ upon, and circumvented; and I so much more than you,
 “ as I am, not only, injured in being deceived in common
 “ with you all, but am, also, hurt in my own reputation,
 “ in being accused of having given leave to the poorer sort
 “ to convert the spoils taken from the enemy to their private
 “ advantage, without the consent of the senate; which is
 “ interpreted to be taking upon myself to divide, as I think
 “ fit, the property of the citizens; and of having discharged

nians, where they say; ὅ και περιεσηκεν
 ἡ δοκσσα ἡμων πρεσβερων σωφροσυνη, το μη
 εν αλλοτρηια ξυμμαχια τη τε πελας γνωμη
 ξυγκινδυνευειν, νυν αβελια και αοθενεια
 φαινομεν. Sylburgius advises to change
 φερομεν, in our author, to φαινομενη,
 because it is so in Thucydides. But
 this I look upon to have been the
 very reason, that induced Dionysius to

make use of another word of the same
 import. I am very far from being
 fond of my translation of this passage;
 but I hope the reader will be better
 pleased with my attempt to translate
 it, than if, in imitation of my brother
 translators, I had given him a para-
 phrase of it.

γ B. i. c. 32.

K 2

“ you

“ you from the service, contrary to law, and to ³² their de-
 “ fire, when I ought to have kept you in the enemy’s coun-
 “ try, and employed you in ineffectual incampments, and
 “ marches. I am, also, reproached with having sent a colony
 “ into the territories of the Volsci, and with having granted
 “ a large, and fertile country, not to the patricians, and the
 “ knights, but to those among you, who wanted relief.
 “ But the thing, which has excited the greatest indignation
 “ against me, is, that, in raising the army, more than four
 “ hundred plebeians of good fortunes have been added to the
 “ knights. If, therefore, I had been, thus, treated, when I
 “ was in the vigor of my youth, I should have shewn them
 “ what kind of a man they had abused : But, as I am,
 “ now, above seventy years old, and incapable of doing
 “ myself justice, and find that your divisions can be, no
 “ longer, healed by me, I resign my power, and submit my
 “ person to be treated by those, who may think I have de-
 “ ceived them, in such a manner, as they shall think fit.”

XLV. This speech raised a general compassion in the
 people, who accompanied Valerius, when he left the forum ;
 but increased the resentment of the senate against him.
 Immediately, the following events happened : The poorer
 sort, no longer privately, and in the night as before, but,
 openly now, assembling, consulted together concerning a
 secession from the patricians : To prevent which, the senate
 ordered the consuls not to disband the armies as yet : For

³² Ης γε κωλυσης. I am, intirely, of Casaubon’s opinion, who thinks the
 text corrupted in this place.

these had, still, a power over the legions, who were under the obligation of their military oaths, and, for that reason, deemed holy, and none of the soldiers ventured to desert their ensigns: So far did the fear of violating their oaths prevail with all of them. The pretence, contrived for leading out the forces, was, that the Acqui, and Sabines, had entered into an union with a design to make war upon the Romans. After the consuls had marched out of the city with the armies, and incamped near to one another, the soldiers of both camps assembled together; and, having seized both the arms, and the ensigns, they carried away the latter, at the instigation of Sicinnius Bellutus, and seceded from the consuls (for these ensigns are held in the greatest honor by the Romans in time of war, and, like statues of the gods, are accounted holy) and, having appointed other officers, and Sicinnius their commander in chief, they possessed themselves of a ³³ certain mountain, near the river Anio, not far from Rome, which, from thence, is, still, called the holy mountain. And, when the consuls, and the rest of the officers persuaded them to return with prayers, tears, and many promises, Sicinnius answered; “ To
 “ what purpose, patricians, do you, now, recal those, whom
 “ you have driven from their country, and transformed
 “ from free men to slaves? What assurances will you give

³³ Ορος τι καὶ λαμβανούται. This *Sacrum Montem secessisse trans Anienem*
 mountain was three Roman miles *Amnem, tria ab urbe millia passuum.*
 from Rome, on the other side of the On this hill, there, now, stands a
 Anio, as we learn from ² Livy: In castle, called, ³ *Castello di S. Silvestro.*

² B. ii. c. 32.

³ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 9.

“ us for the performance of those promises, which, it is
“ plain, you have, already, so often violated? But, since
“ you desire to have the sole possession of the city, return
“ thither undisturbed by the poor and the obscure: We
“ shall be content to live in any part of the world, in which
“ we may enjoy our liberty; and, wherever it may be, we
“ shall look upon that place, as our country.”

XLVI. When those in the city were informed of these things, there was a great tumult, and lamentation, and a concourse in every street; the people preparing to leave the city, and the patricians endeavouring to dissuade them, and offering violence to those, who refused to obey. And a great clamor, wailing, and hostile words were heard at the gates, and hostile actions committed, while none distinguished either age, friendship, or the dignity due to virtue. When the guards, appointed by the senate to prevent the people from going out of the city, being few in number, were unable, any longer, to resist them, and forced from their post, the people rushed out in great multitudes, and the face of things appeared like a city taken by storm; and the lamentations of such, as were left behind, and the mutual accusations were heard of those, who saw the city upon the point of being deserted. After this, there were frequent consultations in the senate, where the persons, who had given occasion to the secession, were, severely, censured. At the same time, their enemies, also, invaded them, laying waste their territories to the gates of Rome. However, the seceders, taking the necessary provisions from the country, that lay
near

near them, without doing any other mischief to it, remained in the field, and received such, as resorted to them from the city, and the nearest fortresses, who were, already, come to them in great numbers : For, not only, those, who were desirous to fly from their debts, judgements, and other severities they expected, flocked to them, but many others also, who led lazy, or dissolute lives, or whose fortunes were not sufficient to gratify their passions ; or men of bad principles, or envious of the prosperity of others ; or, through any calamity, or other cause, enemies to the present establishment.

XLVII. The patricians, at first, were full of disorder, and astonishment, fearing lest the seceders should join with their foreign enemies, and, presently, besiege the city. After that, they took arms at once, as if the signal had been given ; and, being attended with their clients, some posted themselves in the roads, by which they expected the enemy would approach ; others marched to the fortresses in order to secure them ; and others incamped in the fields before the city : And those, who, by reason of their age, were unable to do any thing of this kind, placed themselves upon the walls. But, when they heard that the seceders did neither join the enemy, lay waste the country, nor do any other mischief worth speaking of, they were freed from their fears ; and, changing their resolutions, considered, upon what terms, they should come to an agreement with them : And speeches of every kind, directly opposite to one another, were made by the leading men of the senate ;
but

but the most moderate, and the best adapted to the present juncture, were Those of the oldest senators, who shewed that the people had not made this secession from them with any malicious design, but, partly, compelled by irresistible calamities, and, partly, deluded by their advisers, and judging of their interest by passion rather than reason; a misfortune ignorance is liable to: And that the greatest part of them were conscious to themselves of having taken wrong measures, and seeking an opportunity of redeeming their offences with decency. As a proof of which, they, already, acted like men repenting; and, if encouraged with favourable hopes by a vote of the senate for their impunity, and by proposals for an honourable accommodation, they would, chearfully, return home. The senators, who advised this, desired that men of the greatest worth would not be more implacable than Those of inferior merit, nor defer an accommodation till mad men should be either taught wisdom by necessity, or induced by it to cure a smaller evil by a greater, in depriving themselves of liberty, by delivering up their arms, and surrendering their persons at discretion: For these things were next to impossible. They ought, therefore, to treat the people with moderation; to set the example of salutary counsels, and to be the first to propose an accommodation; when they considered that, as patricians, their duty was to govern, and take care of the commonwealth, and, as good men, to promote friendship, and peace: That the dignity of the senate would not suffer any diminution by, generously, supporting unavoidable calamities in order

order to secure the government; but by preserving an unreasonable resentment under their misfortunes, which tended to subvert it: And that it was folly to aim at decency, and neglect security: That both, indeed, were to be wished; but, if one of them must be given up, security was a more necessary thing, than decency. They ended their advice with desiring that, as the seceders had, hitherto, been guilty of no irreparable offence, ambassadors might be sent to them to treat of an accommodation.

XLVIII. This was approved of by the senate: After which, they chose the most proper persons, and sent them to the people in the camp, with orders to inquire of them what they desired; and, upon what terms, they thought fit to return to the city: For, if their demands were moderate, and possible to be complied with, the senate would not oppose them. If, therefore, they, now, laid down their arms, and returned to the city, they should be intitled to an impunity for their offences, and, from henceforward, to an amnesty. And, if, they shall, hereafter, entertain the best affections for the commonwealth, and, chearfully, expose themselves for the service of their country, they shall receive honourable, and advantageous returns. The ambassadors, having received these instructions, communicated them to the people in the camp, and spoke in conformity to them. But the seceders, rejecting these invitations, reproached the patricians with haughtiness, severity, and ³⁴ great dissimulation in pretending to be ignorant of the demands of the

³⁴ Εἰσωνεῖαν. See the forty sixth annotation on the fourth book.

people, and of the necessity, which had compelled them to secede : That they grant them an impunity for their secession, as if they were, still, masters, when they themselves stand in need of the assistance of their fellow-citizens against their foreign enemies, who will, soon, invade them with all their forces ; which they will not be in a condition, even, to face, though, now, they look upon their preservation to be not so much the advantage of themselves, as the good fortune of those, who shall assist them. They ended their answer with telling them that, when they should be better acquainted with the difficulties which the commonwealth laboured under, they would know what kind of adversaries they had to deal with ; and added many violent threats : To all which the ambassadors making no answer, departed, and informed the patricians of the disposition, in which they had found the seceders. When those in the city were informed of these answers, their confusions, and fears encreased ; and the senate, unable either to extricate themselves out of these difficulties, or to delay their operation, and being tired with the abuses, and accusations, which the leading men threw out against one another for many days together, was dismissed. Neither were the plebeians, who had been induced by their affection to the patricians, or their fondness for their country, to stay in the city, in the same disposition as before ; but great part, even, of these, both openly, and privately, stole away, and there seemed to be no dependance upon those, who were left. In this situation of affairs, the consuls (for the remaining time of their magistracy was not long) appointed a day for the election of magistrates.

XLIX. When the time came, in which the assembly was to be held in the field, in order to their election, no person either offering himself for the consulship, or venturing to accept it, if conferred upon him, the people themselves created two consuls, who had, before, been invested with that magistracy, and who were acceptable both to the people, and to the aristocracy: These were Postumus Cominius, and Spurius Cassius, under whom the Sabines, subdued by their arms, had resigned the sovereignty: They were re-chosen in the ³⁵ seventy second Olympiad, in which Tisicrates of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Diognetus being then archon at Athens. These, having entered upon their magistracy on the calends of September, sooner than had been customary for the former consuls, the first thing they did, was to assemble the senate, in order to take their opinion concerning the return of the plebeians: The first senator they called upon to deliver his sentiments, was Agrippa Menenius, a man, then, in the maturity of his age, and looked upon as a person of superior wisdom: He was, particularly, commended for his principles of government, and for taking a middle course; being inclined neither to encrease the pride of the aristocratical party, nor to suffer the licentiousness of the people. This person advised the senate to an accommodation by the following speech: “Fathers, if all, who are
 “present, were of the same opinion; if no man would oppose
 “an accommodation with the people; and that the terms

³⁵ *Επι της Ολυμπιαδος δευτερας.* So and Sylburgius; and not *εβδομης*, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts.

“ of it, whether they are just, or unjust, were only to be
“ considered, I should deliver my sentiments in few words :
“ But, since some look even upon this, as a matter of
“ consultation, whether we ought to agree with the seceders,
“ or go to war with them, I do not think it easy for me to
“ support the advice I shall give you, by a short discussion :
“ On the contrary, it is necessary for me to extend my
“ discourse to a greater length, in order to convince those
“ among you, who oppose an accommodation, that they
“ contradict themselves, when they go about to frighten us
“ with those evils, that are most inconsiderable, and easily
“ reformed ; and, at the same time, carelessly enough neglect
“ the greatest, and Those, that are incurable. This contra-
“ diction they fall into for no other reason, than because
“ they do not judge of what is expedient by reason, but by
“ passion, and fury : For how can these men be said to
“ foresee what is expedient, or possible, who imagine that
“ so powerful a commonwealth, mistress of so extensive an
“ administration, already envied by, and grievous to, her
“ neighbours, will be able either easily to restrain, and pro-
“ tect the nations in subjection to her without the plebeians,
“ or to bring another less wicked people into the city, in the
“ room of this, who shall fight for their sovereignty, and
“ live with them under the same government, in profound
“ quiet, behaving themselves with modesty both in peace,
“ and war ? For they can alledge nothing else in support of
“ their opinion, when they desire us not to receive an ac-
“ commodation.

L. “ How

L. “ How weak either of those two expedients is, I desire
 “ you will consider from the facts themselves, and reflect that,
 “ when the lower sort among the people grew disaffected to
 “ you by reason of those, who treated their misfortunes,
 “ neither like fellow-citizens, nor like moderate men, and,
 “ afterwards, withdrew, indeed, from the city, but neither
 “ do, nor have any thought of doing you, any other mischief,
 “ and consider only, by what means, they may be re-
 “ conciled to you without dishonor, many of those, who
 “ are not well disposed to you, joyfully, seized this incident
 “ presented to them by Fortune; and, exulting in their
 “ thoughts, looked upon this, as the juncture they had long
 “ wished for to deprive you of the sovereignty. For the
 “ Aequi, the Volsci, the Sabines, and the Hernici, who have,
 “ never, ceased to make war against us, are, now, exaspe-
 “ rated at their late defeats, and, already, divide among
 “ themselves the territories we are possessed of. As to the
 “ people of Campania, and Tyrrhenia, whom we left waver-
 “ ing in their affections towards us, some of them, openly,
 “ revolt from us, and others are, privately, preparing to do
 “ the same. The Latines, also, our relations, seem, no longer,
 “ to retain for us that friendship they had assured us of, but
 “ many, even, of these are said to labor under the general
 “ distemper, a fondness for a change. While we, who used
 “ to besiege the cities of others, are now shut up in our own,
 “ leaving our lands uncultivated, and seeing our country
 “ houses plundered, our cattle driven away, and our slaves
 “ deserting, without knowing what resolutions to take under
 “ these

“ these misfortunes. And these things we suffer still expect-
 “ ing the people should sue to us for an accommodation,
 “ when we know it is in our own power to put an end to
 “ the sedition by a single vote.

LI. “ While our affairs are in this unhappy posture
 “ abroad, Those in the city are in no less terrible a condition.
 “ For we have not provided ourselves with allies before-
 “ hand, as if we expected to be besieged, neither are our
 “ numbers sufficient to resist so many nations of enemies :
 “ The greatest part of our small, and weak army consists of
 “ plebeians, of our own servants, and clients, and of artificers ;
 “ feeble supports of a shaken aristocracy. And the continual
 “ desertions of these to the seceders have rendered all the
 “ rest liable to suspicion. But, above all these things, the
 “ impossibility of bringing in provisions, while the country
 “ is in the power of the enemy, threatens us with a famine ;
 “ and, when we are once in want, will threaten us still more.
 “ But, besides this war, which gives us no rest, it surpasses
 “ every thing, that is dreadful, to see the wives, the infant
 “ children, and aged parents of the seceders running about
 “ the forum, and through every street, their habits mournful,
 “ and their looks distressed, with tears in their eyes, suppli-
 “ cating, embracing the hands, and knees of every one, and
 “ bewailing the forlorn condition they are reduced to, and still
 “ more, That, which threatens them ; a cruel, and intolerable
 “ fight ! None, sure, are so inhuman, as not to be moved,
 “ when they see these things, nor to compassionate the mis-
 “ fortunes of their fellow-creatures. So that, if we are to place
 “ no

“ no confidence in the plebeians, we must send away all these
 “ also, some of them being of no use in a siege, and others,
 “ not to be relied on. And, when these too are sent away,
 “ what forces will be left to defend the city? And what as-
 “ sistance can we depend upon to dare to encounter these ter-
 “ rors? For the natural refuge, and the only hope to be con-
 “ fided in, the patrician youth, is inconsiderable, as you see,
 “ and not worth our glorying in. What! are those, who advise
 “ us to sustain a siege, triflers, and do they impose upon us,
 “ or do they not rather, openly, advise us to deliver up the city
 “ at once to our enemies without blood, and without trouble?

LII. “ But I myself, perhaps, magnify these apprehensions,
 “ and would have you fear things, that are not formidable :
 “ The commonwealth may be threatened with no other dan-
 “ ger, than a change of inhabitants, a thing of no great con-
 “ sequence: And we may, with great ease, bring hither a num-
 “ ber of servants, and clients from every nation, and every
 “ place. For this is what many of the opposers of the plebeians
 “ throw out, and these are, certainly, not the least consider-
 “ able among us : Some being arrived to that pitch of folly,
 “ as to deliver impossible wishes, instead of salutary opinions.
 “ These I would, willingly, ask what leisure we shall have
 “ to execute this project, when the enemy is so near the
 “ city? What allowance will be made for the delay of future
 “ assistance, when we are in the midst of actual, and present
 “ evils? And what man, or what god will grant us, quietly,
 “ to raise succours from all parts, and, safely, conduct them
 “ hither? Besides, who are the people, who will leave their
 “ own

“ own countries, and remove to us? Are they such, as have
“ habitations, families, fortunes, and are respected by their
“ fellow-citizens for the lustre of their ancestors, or the
“ reputation of their own virtue? And who would submit
“ to leave the enjoyment of his own happiness, in order to
“ share, with indignity, the misfortunes of others? For they
“ will not come hither to partake of peace, and luxury, but
“ of dangers, and of war, the event of which is doubtful.
“ Or, shall we bring hither a mean sort of people, who
“ have no habitations, like those driven from hence, who,
“ to avoid their debts, judgements, and other calamities of
“ that nature, are glad to remove to any place Fortune throws
“ in their way? These, though otherwise of a good, and
“ modest disposition, that we may grant them this also, yet,
“ from their being neither born here, bred here, nor ac-
“ quainted with our customs, laws, and education, would
“ be far, nay, in every respect, worse than our own.

LIII. “ The natives have their wives, children, parents,
“ and many other friends among us, as pledges, and a fond-
“ ness, without doubt, for the place, where they have been
“ bred, which is an innate passion, and not to be eradicated :
“ While the others we propose to bring hither, this people
“ without house, or home, if they should live among us, hav-
“ ing none of these pledges here, in defence of what advan-
“ tages should they expose themselves to dangers, unless
“ we were to promise them a part of the lands, and of the
“ city, and dispossess the present owners of both, which are
“ things we refuse to grant to our own citizens, who have,
“ often,

“ often, fought in their defence. And, possibly, they might
 “ not be content even with these grants alone, but would,
 “ also, insist upon an equal share of honors, of magistracies,
 “ and of all other advantages with the patricians. If,
 “ therefore, we do not grant them every one of their de-
 “ mands, they will be our enemies, because they have not
 “ obtained them. And, if we grant their demands, our
 “ country, and our constitution will be destroyed, and de-
 “ stroyed by our own hands. I do not add, here, that we
 “ want well disciplined men at this juncture, not husband-
 “ men, servants, merchants, or artificers, who will be obliged
 “ to learn military discipline, and put it in practice at the
 “ same time: And the practice of every thing is difficult to
 “ those, who are not accustomed to it: And such must,
 “ necessarily, be men collected, and resorting hither, from
 “ every nation. As for soldiers, I neither see any raised by
 “ your allies to assist you, neither, if any, unexpectedly, ap-
 “ peared, should I advise you to admit them, inconsiderately,
 “ within your walls, since we know that many cities have
 “ been inflamed by troops, introduced to defend them.

LIV. “ When you consider these things, and what I
 “ have, before, said, and, also, recollect the motives, which
 “ invite you to an accommodation, that we are not the only,
 “ nor the first, people, among whom poverty has quarrelled
 “ with riches, and obscurity with lustre; but, in all cities,
 “ as I may say, both great, and small, the inferiors are,
 “ generally, enemies to their superiors: In all which cities,
 “ the men in power, when they acted with moderation,

“ saved their countries; but, when with pride, they lost
“ their lives, together with all the other advantages they
“ had struggled for : And, when you remember that every
“ thing, composed of many parts, is, often, affected with a
“ disorder in some one of them : And, besides, that neither
“ the affected part of a human body, ought, always, to be
“ cut off; for, that would be to render the rest deformed,
“ and of short duration; nor the disordered part of a civil
“ society to be driven out; for, by that means, the whole
“ would, in time, assuredly be destroyed by the loss of its
“ particular parts: And consider, also, the power of neces-
“ sity, to which alone the gods submit, quarrel not with
“ your misfortunes, nor suffer yourselves to be filled with
“ pride, and ignorance, as if every thing were to succeed
“ according to your wishes; but relent, and yield, deriving
“ examples of prudence, not from the actions of others,
“ but from your own.

LV. “ For every man, and every community ought to
“ emulate the most illustrious of their own actions, and
“ to endeavour that all the rest may correspond with them.
“ Thus, you yourselves have subdued many of your enemies,
“ by whom you had been injured in the highest degree;
“ but you desired neither to destroy them, nor drive them
“ out of their possessions: On the contrary, you restored
“ their houses, and lands to them, and suffered them to
“ live in the countries, that gave them birth; and have,
“ already, granted the rights both of suffrage, and of Roman
“ citizens to some of them. But I have yet a more wonderful
“ action

“ action of yours to relate ; which is, that you have suffered
 “ offences of a high nature, committed by many, even, of
 “ your own citizens, to go unpunished, while the authors
 “ of them alone felt the weight of your resentment : Of
 “ this number were the colonies sent out to Antemnae,
 “ Crustumerium, Medullia, Fidenae, and to many other
 “ places : For, to what purpose should I, now, enumerate
 “ all those, whom, after you had taken their towns by storm,
 “ you corrected with moderation, and as became fellow-
 “ citizens ? And the commonwealth has been so far from
 “ incurring either danger, or censure by this conduct, that
 “ her clemency is applauded, and her security not at all
 “ diminished. After that, will you, who spare your enemies,
 “ make war upon your friends ? Who suffer the conquered
 “ to go unpunished, punish those, by whose assistance you
 “ have conquered ? Who allow your city to be a safe refuge
 “ for all, who stand in need of it, resolve to drive out of
 “ that city the natives, with whom you have been bred,
 “ and educated, and with whom you have shared many
 “ good, and bad events, both in peace, and in war ? No,
 “ you will not, if you desire to act with justice, and in a
 “ manner agreeable to your former behaviour, and judge of
 “ your interest without passion.

LVI. “ But, some may say, we are not less convinced
 “ than you that the sedition ought to be appeased, and we
 “ have, earnestly, desired it : It is, now, incumbent on you
 “ to shew, by what means we may appease it : For you see
 “ how imperious the people are grown ; *who, though they

“ themselves are the offenders, neither send to us to treat of
“ an accommodation, nor return such answers to those we
“ have sent to them, as become men, or fellow-citizens ;
“ but assume an excessive haughtiness, and threaten ; so
“ that, it is not easy to guess what they aim at. Hear, then,
“ in what manner I advise you to act in this situation : For
“ my own part, I do not look upon the people to be irre-
“ concilable to us, neither do I think they will execute any
“ of their threats : My reason is, that their actions do not
“ agree with their words ; and I am of opinion that they
“ are far more earnest than we ourselves are to bring matters
“ to an accommodation : For we live in our own country,
“ which is most dear to us, and have in our own power
“ our fortunes, our houses, our parents, and every thing we
“ most esteem : While they are banished from their city,
“ and from their habitations, are deprived of their nearest
“ relations, and straitened in their daily support. If any
“ one should ask me, for what reason, then, do not the
“ people, even under these miseries, accept our invitations,
“ and why do they themselves not send to treat with us ?
“ I should assuredly, answer, because they are amused with
“ fair words by the senate, but see no act of benevolence,
“ or moderation flow from those words, and look upon
“ themselves to have been, often, deceived by us, while we,
“ always, promise to give them some relief, and give them
“ none. They cannot resolve to send deputies to us, from
“ their apprehension of those, who are accustomed to inveigh
“ against them here, and, also, lest their desires should be
“ rejected :

“ rejected: Possibly too, they may be possessed with some
 “ foolish pride; no wonder: Since there are some even
 “ among us, who are influenced by the same litigious, and
 “ and contentious spirit; and, like the vulgar, cannot bear
 “ to be overcome by their adversaries; but, always, seek to
 “ conquer by any means whatever, and never confer a favor,
 “ before they have subdued those, who are to have the
 “ benefit of it. When I consider these things, I think we
 “ ought to send an embassy to the plebeians, consisting of
 “ such persons, as they can most confide in: And that the
 “ persons, so to be sent, be invested with a discretionary
 “ power to put an end to the sedition upon such terms, as
 “ they themselves shall think fit, without any further appli-
 “ cation to the senate: For the people, who, now, seem
 “ haughty, and intractable, will be sensible of this; and,
 “ finding that you promote an accommodation in earnest,
 “ will descend to more moderate conditions, and demand
 “ nothing of us, that is either dishonourable, or impossible:
 “ For all men inflamed with anger, particularly those of a
 “ low condition, when treated imperiously, are enraged; and,
 “ when courted, appeased.”

LVII. When Menenius had done speaking, a general
 murmur ran through the senate, and each party held con-
 sultations together: The patrons of the people exhorting
 one another to exert themselves, in order to bring back the
 plebeians to their country, since they had now, at their head,
 the most considerable man of the aristocratical party: And
 those of this party, who made it a point to suffer no
 altera-

alteration in the established form of government, were at a loss how to behave themselves in the present juncture, being unwilling to change their opinion, and unable to persist in it. While those, who were uningaged in either party, and entered into the contests of neither, desired to see peace restored, and that the senate would consider of the proper means to prevent the city from being besieged. When all were silent, the elder of the consuls celebrated the generosity of Menenius, and recommended to the rest to shew the same zeal for the public, and, not only, to speak their sentiments with freedom, but to execute their resolutions without fear; and called upon another senator by name, in the same manner, to deliver his opinion: This was Manius Valerius, a brother of the person, who had assisted in delivering his country from the kings; a man, of all the aristocratical party, the most acceptable to the people.

LVIII. Who, rising up, first put the senate in mind of the measures he himself had pursued, when a magistrate, and that he had, often, foretold the dangers they would be exposed to, and they, as often, neglected his predictions. He, then, desired that those, who opposed an accommodation, would not, at this time, consider the reasonableness of the terms; but, since they would not suffer the sedition to be appeased, while it was yet in its infancy, now, at least, to consider, by what means a speedy end might be put to it, lest, by making a further progress, it might, insensibly, become perhaps incurable, or, at least, hard to be cured, and produce great evils: He told them that the demands
of

of the plebeians would, no longer, be the same as before ; neither did he think they would agree with them upon the same terms, or be contented with an abolition of their debts ; but that they would, possibly, insist even upon some protection, under which they might, for the future, live securely : For that, since the institution of the dictatorship, the guardian law of their liberty was abolished ; which law allowed no citizen to be put to death by the magistrates without a trial, nor any of the plebeians, who had been condemned by the patricians, when tried, to be delivered up to the magistrates, who condemned them ; but granted to those, who desired it, a right of appealing from the patricians to the people ; and that the determination of these should be final. He added that almost all the other privileges, before enjoyed by the plebeians, had been taken away, since they could not obtain from the senate even a triumph in favor of Publius Servilius Priscus, who had deserved this honor more than any man : For which reasons, it was probable the people were disheartened, and entertained small hopes of their future security ; since neither a consul, nor a dictator were at liberty to take care of their interest, when they desired to do it ; but the concern, and care they shewed for the people drew upon them abuses, and ignominy from the senate. That these things were effected by a combination, not of the most considerable persons among the patricians, but of some insolent, and avaritious men, eagerly, aiming at an unjust gain, who, having advanced large sums at a high interest, and made slaves of many of their fellow-citizens, had, by
treating

treating these in a cruel, imperious, and severe manner, alienated the whole body of the plebeians from the aristocracy; and, having formed a faction, and placed at the head of it Appius Claudius, an enemy to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, they, under his patronage, had ruined all the affairs of the commonwealth: Which, if the sober part of the senate did not oppose their attempts, was in danger of being enslaved, and subverted. He ended with saying that he was of the same opinion with Menenius, and desired that ambassadors might, immediately, be sent; and that these should endeavour to appease the sedition upon such terms, as they thought proper: But, if these were not consented to, that they accept such, as are offered.

LIX. After he had done speaking, Appius Claudius, who was of the faction, that opposed the people, being called upon to deliver his sentiments, rose up; a man who set a great value upon himself, and not without just cause: For, in his private life, he was temperate, and solemn, and his political principles were noble, and tending to preserve the dignity of the aristocracy: He took occasion, from the speech of Valerius, to speak as follows: “ Valerius would have deserved less censure, if he had, only, delivered his own sentiments, without inveighing against those, who are of a contrary opinion: For, by that means, he would have had the advantage of not hearing an exposition of his own faults. However, since he has not been contented with delivering such an opinion, as can end in nothing else, than in making us slaves to the most profligate of the citizens,
“ but

“ but has, also, cast reflexions upon those, who differ from
 “ him, and attacked me personally, I find it, absolutely,
 “ necessary for me, also, to speak to these things; and,
 “ first, to clear myself of the charge he has brought against
 “ me: For he has reproached me with a conduct becoming
 “ neither a citizen, nor a man of worth, that, desiring to
 “ get money by every method, I have deprived many of
 “ the poor of their liberty, and that the secession was, chiefly,
 “ occasioned through my means. Now, it is an easy matter
 “ to convince you that neither of these allegations is true,
 “ and well grounded: For, say, Valerius, who are those I
 “ have enslaved on account of their debts? Who are those I
 “ ever kept, or now keep, in prison? Which of the seceders
 “ is deprived of his country through my cruelty, or avarice?
 “ You can name none. For I am so far from having in-
 “ flaved any one of the citizens for debt, that, having ad-
 “ vanced my own money to very great numbers, I have
 “ caused none of those, who did not make good their pay-
 “ ments, to be either surrendered to me, or discredited; but
 “ all of them enjoy their liberty, and all look upon them-
 “ selves to be under the same obligations to me with my
 “ friends, and clients, and are considered by me in the same
 “ light. When I say this, I mean not to accuse any, who
 “ have not acted like me in this respect; neither do I think
 “ any man guilty of injustice, if he has done what the law
 “ allowed him to do; but I say it only to acquit myself of
 “ the accusations brought against me.

LX. “ As to the severity, and patronage of wicked men,
“ with which he has reproached me, calling me an enemy
“ to the people, and a favourer of oligarchy, because I
“ adhere to the aristocracy, these accusations, equally, affect
“ all those among you, who, being men of superior worth,
“ think it beneath you to be governed by your inferiors,
“ or to suffer the form of government you have in-
“ herited from your ancestors, to be transformed into the
“ worst of all constitutions, a democracy. For, if this man
“ shall think fit to call the government of the best men, an
“ oligarchy, it does not, therefore, follow, that the thing
“ itself, because it is traduced by that appellation, will be
“ impeached. While we can fix a much juster, and a truer
“ reproach upon him for flattering the people, and aiming
“ at tyranny. Since all the world knows that every tyrant
“ springs from a flatterer of the people : And that the short
“ way for those, who design to enslave their country, is That
“ which leads to domination through the favor of the most
“ profligate citizens, whom he himself has ever courted,
“ and courts even to this day : For you are very sensible that
“ these vile, and mean wretches would never have dared to
“ commit such crimes, if they had not been encouraged by
“ this venerable man, this lover of his country, and told
“ that the action should be attended with no danger ; and
“ that it should, not only, go unpunished, but their condi-
“ tion should even be improved by it. You will be convinced
“ of the truth of what I say, when you remember that,
“ while he was frightening you with a war, and shewing
“ the

“ the necessity of an accommodation, he told you, at the
 “ same time, that the poor will not be contented with an
 “ abolition of their debts, but will, also, insist upon some
 “ protection, and, no longer, submit to be governed by
 “ you, as before: And, at last, he exhorted you to acquiesce
 “ under the present situation of affairs, and to grant every
 “ thing the people should think fit to demand as the con-
 “ ditions of their return, without distinguishing whether
 “ those demands were honourable, or dishonourable, just,
 “ or unjust. With so much arrogance have the senseless
 “ people been inspired by this old man, who has enjoyed
 “ every honor we could confer upon him. Did it, then,
 “ become you, Valerius, to charge others with the reproaches
 “ they have not deserved, when you yourself lie open to such
 “ accusations?

LXI. “ What I have said is sufficient to refute the ca-
 “ lumnies this man has brought against me. Concerning
 “ the subject of your present debate, I am, not only, of
 “ opinion that what I first proposed was just, worthy of this
 “ commonwealth, and advantageous for yourselves, but I still
 “ continue in the same sentiments, and advise you not to
 “ confound the order of the government, not to alter the
 “ unalterable customs of your ancestors, not to banish public
 “ faith, a sacred thing, from human society, on which the
 “ security of every city is founded, nor to give way to a
 “ thoughtless people, who desire unjust, and unlawful things:
 “ And I am so far from retracting any part of my opinion,
 “ through the fear of my adversaries, who endeavour to

“ frighten me by exciting the plebeians against me, that I
“ am much more than ever confirmed in my resentment;
“ and my indignation at the demands of the people is
“ doubled. And I wonder, fathers, at the extraordinary
“ turn of your disposition, that you, who refused to grant
“ to the people an abolition of their debts, and a discharge
“ from their judgements, before they were in open war
“ against you, should now, when they are in arms, and
“ commit acts of hostility, seem willing, not only, to make
“ these concessions, but, also, to grant them every thing
“ else they desire: And they will desire, and the first of
“ their demands will be, to have an equal share of honors
“ with you, and to enjoy the same privileges. Will not that
“ be to transform the government into a democracy, which,
“ of all constitutions, as I said, is the most senseless, and the
“ least expedient for you, who aim at commanding others?
“ This, if you are wise, you will not do: Otherwise, it
“ would be a most glaring absurdity, if you, who looked
“ upon it as a thing intolerable to be governed by one tyrant,
“ should, now, deliver up yourselves to the people, a many-
“ headed tyrant, and submit to this without conferring an
“ obligation, or being persuaded to it, but forced by neces-
“ sity, and as if you had it not in your power to do any
“ thing in your present circumstances, but to yield contrary
“ to your inclination. And, when this senseless multitude,
“ instead of being punished for their offences, shall even
“ obtain honors, as a reward for those offences, how proud
“ and imperious do you think this will render them? For
“ you

“ you are not to flatter yourselves with the hope that the
 “ people will moderate their demands, if they know that
 “ you all concurred in this resolution.

LXII. “ But, in this respect, Menenius, who is a worthy
 “ man, and judges of the good intentions of others by his
 “ own, is very much mistaken: For they will urge you with
 “ an importunity grievous beyond all measure, encouraged
 “ both by the pride which, always, accompanies victory,
 “ and by their folly, of which they have so great a share.
 “ And, if not, at first, they will, afterwards, upon every
 “ occasion, when their demands are not granted, take arms,
 “ and fly in your faces with the same insolence. So that,
 “ if you yield to their first demands, as expedient, you will,
 “ presently, have something worse imposed upon you; and
 “ after that, something else still more intolerable than the
 “ former, upon a supposition that your first concessions
 “ flowed from fear; till, at last, they drive you out of the
 “ city, as it has, already, happened in many others, and,
 “ lately, at Syracuse, where the ³⁶ landed men were expelled
 “ by their clients. If, then, your indignation at their demands
 “ will induce you, at last, to reject them, why, do you not,
 “ from this instant, begin to assume the spirit of free men?

³⁶ Οἱ γεωργοί. Sylburgius has taken notice that Herodotus calls these γεωργοί, according to the Doric dialect, which was spoken at Syracuse. We know nothing of the manner, in which these landed men were driven out of that city by their slaves, as Herodotus calls them, or their clients, according

to our author, because the books, in which Diodorus Siculus, very probably, gave an account of this transaction, are lost. But this we know from ^b Herodotus, that Gelon restored them to their country, and, by restoring them, made himself master of Syracuse.

^b In Polymnia, c. 155.

“ For

“ For it is better to act with courage upon a small provo-
“ cation, before any damage is received, than, after suffering
“ many acts of injustice, to complain of what is past, refuse
“ the rest, and begin late to grow wise. Let none of you
“ be terrified either with the commotion of the revolvers,
“ or with a foreign war ; nor distrust our domestic forces,
“ as insufficient to preserve the city: For the strength of
“ the fugitives is small, and they cannot long continue in
“ huts during the winter, with the same ease as they now
“ incamp in the open air ; and they will be so far from
“ getting provisions by plunder, when they have consumed
“ their present stock, that they will not be able even to
“ purchase any from other places, and convey them to their
“ camp, by reason of their poverty, as having no money,
“ either public, or private : Whereas, wars are, generally,
“ supported by plenty of money. Besides, anarchy, as may
“ well be imagined, and sedition, flowing from anarchy,
“ will seize them, and soon dissipate, and disconcert their
“ counsels: For they will not submit to deliver up them-
“ selves either to the Sabines, or the Tyrrhenians, and
“ become slaves to those, whom they themselves, in con-
“ junction with you, formerly deprived of their liberty ;
“ and the men, who have, wickedly, and shamefully, en-
“ deavoured to destroy their own country, will, least of all,
“ be trusted by them, lest they treat the country, that re-
“ ceives them, in the same manner : For all the nations
“ round us are governed by aristocracies, and the people,
“ in every city, are excluded from an equal share in the
“ govern-

“ government. So that, the leading men in every city,
 “ who do not suffer their own subjects to attempt any
 “ alteration in the commonwealth, will never receive this
 “ foreign, this seditious people into their country ; left, by
 “ admitting them to a share in the privileges of their subjects,
 “ they themselves should, one day, be deprived of their own
 “ share in the administration. But, if I am mistaken, and
 “ any city should receive them, they will, presently, dis-
 “ cover themselves there to be enemies, and deserve to be
 “ treated as such. We have here their wives, parents, and
 “ the rest of their relations, as hostages ; and better we
 “ could not desire the gods to give us ; all whom we will
 “ place in the sight of their relations ; and, if they dare to
 “ attack us, we will put them to death under the most
 “ severe, and the most ignominious tortures. And, when
 “ they know this, be assured they will intreat, lament, and
 “ deliver up themselves to you unarmed, and ready to sub-
 “ mit to every thing you desire : For such distresses have
 “ an irresistible power to break the most haughty spirits,
 “ and annihilate their resolution.

LXIII. “ For these reasons I affirm that a war from the
 “ fugitives is not to be feared. As to the dangers of
 “ foreign wars, this is not the first time those dangers have
 “ been formidable only in discourse ; but, even before this,
 “ as often as we have experienced them, they have been
 “ found less terrible than we apprehended. And, let those,
 “ who think our domestic forces not sufficiently strong,
 “ and, for this reason chiefly, apprehend a war, know that
 “ they

“ they are not enough acquainted with them. We shall
 “ have a body ³⁷ of citizens equal in strength to the revolt-
 “ ers, if we think fit to chuse out the stoutest of our slaves, and
 “ give them their liberty : For, it is better to grant liberty
 “ to these, than to be deprived of our authority by the others.
 “ The former are, already, sufficiently instructed in mi-
 “ litary discipline, by having attended us in many expedi-
 “ tions. And against our foreign enemies let us march
 “ ourselves, with all possible alacrity, at the head of all our
 “ clients, and of the people, who are left : And, in order
 “ to engage these to fight cheerfully, let us grant them an
 “ abolition of their debts, not generally, but to every one in
 “ particular : For, if we are, by yielding to the times, to
 “ shew some moderation, let not that moderation exert itself
 “ towards such of the people, as are our enemies, but to-
 “ wards such of them, as are our friends ; on whom we may
 “ seem not compelled, but persuaded, to bestow favors.
 “ And, if more succours should still be wanting, these being
 “ insufficient, let us send for the garrisons of all the fortresses,
 “ and recal our colonies. And how many the number of
 “ these will amount to, may be, easily, learned from the last

37. Προς μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἀφεσηκόσας τῶν
 πολίων ἀντιπαλὸν χεῖρα ἔχομεν. The La-
 tin translators, and, after them, the
 French, have rendered this sentence,
 as if they understood that τῶν πολίων
 was joined by our author to ἀφεσηκόσας :
 I own that the text will bear this con-
 struction ; but I think the sense will
 be much stronger, if we connect τῶν
 πολίων with ἀντιπαλὸν χεῖρα ἔχομεν : For
 these slaves would, certainly, have

been Roman citizens the moment they
 had been manumitted. Whereas, if
 we adhere to the connexion they have
 adopted, τῶν πολίων will be inactive,
 and signify no more than τὰς ἀφεσηκόσας
 without that addition ; as Appian said,
 before, in this very speech, τὸς τῶν
 ἀφεστηκότων διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ὀμολογίαν,
 etc. and, afterwards says, μὴτε πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀφεστηκότας, etc.

“ census ;

“ census; when there were registered one hundred and thirty
 “ thousand men grown; of these the fugitives do not make
 “ a seventh part. I aver, also, that the thirty cities of the
 “ Latin nation would desire nothing more than to fight
 “ our battles, by reason of their relation to us, if you would
 “ only grant them the same privileges with our own citizens,
 “ which they have ever desired.

LXIV. “ But the advantage the most considerable in
 “ war is That, which neither you yourselves have yet thought
 “ of, nor any of your advisers suggested: This I shall add
 “ to what I have said, and, then, make an end. There is
 “ nothing so necessary to success in war, as good generals:
 “ With these our city abounds; while there is a scarcity of
 “ them among our enemies: For numerous armies, when
 “ commanded by unskilful generals, disgrace themselves,
 “ and, very often, occasion their own defeat; and the more
 “ numerous they are, the more they are exposed to this
 “ misfortune: Whereas, good generals, although the
 “ armies they receive are small, soon augment them to
 “ great numbers. So that, as long as we have generals
 “ able to command, we shall never want men desirous to
 “ obey. Consider, therefore, these things; reflect on the
 “ actions of this commonwealth, and determine nothing
 “ mean, ungenerous, or unworthy of yourselves. What,
 “ then, if any one should ask me, do I advise? (For, in all
 “ probability, you, long since, earnestly desire to know this)
 “ Neither to send ambassadors to the revolters, to decree an
 “ abolition of their debts, nor do any other act, that may
 “ betray

“ betray fear, or perplexity: But, if they lay down their
“ arms, return to the city, and submit their interests to be
“ discussed by you at leisure, I advise you to treat them
“ with moderation, as you well know that all senseless men,
“ particularly, the populace, behave themselves with impe-
“ riousness to the submissive, and with submission to the
“ imperious.”

LXV. When Claudius had done speaking, there was a great clamor, and prodigious tumult in the senate, which lasted a considerable time: For those, who seemed to be of the aristocratical party, and thought themselves obliged to prefer the consideration of justice to That of injustice, adhered to the opinion of Claudius; and desired the consuls particularly to join the better side, and to consider that they were invested with a regal, not a popular, power; or, at least, to keep themselves neuter, and not to overbear either party, but to count the opinions of the senators, and declare for the majority: But, if they neglected both these, and assumed to themselves the sole power of concluding the accommodation, they said they would not suffer it; but would oppose them to the utmost, with words, as far as they might, and, if necessary, with arms. These were a considerable body, and almost all the young patricians adhered to this party: But all the lovers of peace espoused the opinion of Menenius, and Valerius, particularly, the ancient senators, who considered the calamities, which all governments are exposed to, by civil wars: But, being overborne by the clamor, and disorderly behaviour, of the young men, and, suspecting

suspecting the consequences of their ambition, and, also, fearing lest the haughtiness, with which they had treated the consuls might end in violence, unless some kind of submission were made to them, they, at last, had recourse to tears, and intreaties, with which they endeavoured to soften their opposers.

LXVI. The tumult being appeased, and every one silent at last, the consuls conferred together, and pronounced their final determination, which was to this effect; “ Fathers, “ the thing in the world we desire most, is, that you would “ all be unanimous, particularly, when the public safety is “ the subject of your debate; but, if that cannot be, that “ the younger senators would yield to their seniors, and “ not contend with them; but consider that, when they “ are arrived to the same age, the same deference will “ be paid to them by their juniors: But we observe that “ a spirit of contention, the most destructive of all diseases incident to mankind, has seized you; and that the “ young men among you, behave themselves with great “ arrogance: And, since the remaining part of the day is “ short, and there is not time to perfect your resolutions, “ depart for the present; and bring with you to the next “ assembly greater moderation, and a better disposition: “ But, if you should preserve the same contentious humor, “ we shall not, for the future, make use of young men, “ either as judges, or counsellors; but, from henceforward, “ we will restrain their disorderly behaviour by a law,

O 2

“ which

“³⁸ which shall fix the age required in a senator. As to the
 “ senior members, we shall, again, give them an opportunity
 “ of delivering their opinions ; and, if they do not agree,
 “ we shall put an end to their contests by a short method,
 “ which it is proper you should be apprized of beforehand :
 “ You are sensible that we have a law, as ancient as the city
 “ we inhabit, by which the senate is invested with a sovereign
 “ power in every thing, except the election of magistrates,
 “ the enacting of laws, and the declaring, or putting an end
 “ to, wars ; and that the people have the power of deter-
 “ mining these three things by their votes : Now, the present
 “ debate has no other object, but war, or peace : So that,

38. Ταξάντες αριθμον εἶων ὃν δεήσει τῆς
 βουλευούσας εἶχεν. It does not appear that
 this threat was carried into execution ;
 at least, not till many ages after, that
 is, in the year of Rome 575 ; when,
 by the Villian law, the ages of all
 magistrates was fixed. ^c *Q. Fulvius
 Flaccus consul est creatus cum L. Manlio
 Acidino. — Eo anno rogatio primum est
 lata a L. Villio tribuno plebis, quot annos
 nati quemque magistratum peterent, ca-
 perentque.* This law, indirectly, fixed
 the age required in a Roman senator ;
 because the magistracy was the semi-
 nary of the senate, into which all ma-
 gistrates had a right to be admitted,
 as senators, upon the first call of the
 senate after the expiration of their ma-
 gistracy, unless the censors could ob-
 ject to their behaviour. Though Livy
 says this law was first enacted by Vil-
 lius, yet he himself, in another place,
 gives us reason to think that some law

of that nature was before in being ;
 because he tells us that the first Scipio,
 afterwards called Africanus, was op-
 posed by the tribunes of the people,
 when he stood for the curule edile-
 ship, for this reason, that he had not
 the age, required by law, for that
 magistracy ; ^d *quod nondum ad petendum
 legitima aetas esset.* This happened in
 the consulship of Q. Fulvius Flaccus
 for the third time, and of Ap. Claudius
 Pulcher, and in the year of Rome 542,
 that is, 33 years before the Villian law
 was enacted. Whensoever the law,
 upon which the tribunes grounded
 their opposition to Scipio, was passed,
 certain it is that there was no such law
 in the early times of the common-
 wealth. This we know from ^e Cicero,
 who says ; *Majores nostri, veteres illi,
 admodum antiqui, Leges annales non
 habebant.*

^c Livy, B. xl. c. 44.

^d B. xxv. c. 2.

^e Philippic. v. c. 17.

“ it

“ it is, absolutely, necessary that the people should, by their
 “ votes, give a sanction to our resolutions. We shall, there-
 “ fore, summon them to be present in the forum, pursuant
 “ to this law ; and, after you have delivered your opinions,
 “ we shall take their votes, as the only means to put an end
 “ to your contests : And, whatever the majority of the
 “ people shall determine, we shall esteem That as valid.
 “ Those, who have continued faithful to the commonwealth,
 “ and are to share both our good, and bad fortune, well
 “ deserve this honor.”

LXVII. Having said this, they dismissed the assembly. The following days, they ordered all the citizens, who were in the country, and in the fortresses, to be present ; and, having given notice to the senate to assemble the same day, when they found the city was full of people, and that the resolution of the patricians was subdued by the intreaties, tears, and lamentations both of the parents, and infant children, of the seceders, they went, on the appointed day, to the forum, which was crowded with a concourse of all sorts of people, who were there long before it was light : And, going into the temple of Vulcan, where it was customary for the people to hold their assemblies, they, first, commended them for the earnestness, and alacrity they shewed by assisting in so great numbers : Then advised them to wait quietly, till the previous decree of the senate was passed ; and exhorted the relations of the seceders to comfort themselves with the hopes of seeing those, who were dearest to them, in a short time. After that, they went to the senate ;
 and,

and, not only, spoke themselves with gentleness, and moderation, but, also, desired the rest to deliver mild, and humane opinions. They, first, called upon Menenius ; who, rising up, spoke in the same manner as before, exhorting the senate to an accommodation ; and, delivering the same opinion, desired that ambassadors might, immediately, be sent to the seceders, with discretionary powers to make such an accommodation as they should think proper.

LXVIII. After him, other consular senators, being called upon according to their age, rose up, and were all of the same opinion with Menenius, till it came to the turn of Appius to speak, who, rising up, said ; “ I find, says he, “ fathers, that it is the pleasure both of the consuls, and of “ almost all the senate, to bring back the people upon their “ own terms ; I am the only person left of all those, who “ opposed the accommodation, and I remain exposed to the “ resentment of the people, and can be, no longer, of any “ use to you : However, I shall not, for these reasons, depart “ from my former opinion, nor, willingly, desert my system “ of government : But, the more I am abandoned by those, “ who, before, espoused the same sentiments, the more I “ shall, one day, be esteemed by you ; while I live, I shall be “ praised by you ; and, when dead, remembered by posterity : “ And you, O Capitoline Jupiter, you guardian gods of this “ city, you heroes, and tutelary genius’s of the Roman land, “ grant that the return of the fugitives may be honourable, “ and advantageous to all, and that I may be mistaken in “ my presages of futurity : And, if any misfortune should “ redound

“redound to the commonwealth from these counfels (for
 “this will soon be manifest) may you, speedily, reform
 “them, and insure the safety of the commonwealth!
 “And, to me, who neither, upon any other occasion, ever
 “chose to say those things, that were most agreeable, instead
 “of those, that were most profitable, nor, upon this,
 “betray the public to secure myself, may you be favourable
 “and propitious! These are the prayers I address to the
 “gods: For words are of no further use: But my opinion
 “is the same it was, that is, to discharge the people, who
 “continue in the city, of their debts, and to make war
 “upon the revoltors with the utmost vigor, as long as they
 “remain in arms.”

LXIX. Having said this, he ended. When the opinions
 of the senior senators were found to agree with That of
 Menenius, and it came to the turn of the juniors to speak,
 the whole senate being in suspense, Spurius Nautius rose up,
 the heir of a most illustrious family (for Nautius, the
 author of his race, was one of the colony, that came over
 with Aeneas, and a priest of Minerva, the tutelary goddess
 of Troy; and, when he removed from thence, he brought
 with him the statue of that goddess, which the family of
 the Nautii had the custody of successively) This person
 was esteemed the most illustrious of all the young senators
 for his personal virtue; and it was expected that he would
 soon be honoured with the consulship. He began by making
 the apology of all the young senators, and said that neither
 a spirit of contention towards their seniors, nor pride had
 induced

induced them to differ from the latter in opinion at the last meeting of the senate ; and, if they had committed an error, it was an error of judgement, incident to their youth : And he ended with saying that by changing their opinion they would convince them of this : They consented, therefore, that their seniors, as men of better judgement, might decree whatever they thought most conducive to the good of the public, and declared they should meet with no opposition from them ; but, on the contrary, an intire submission to their determinations. And all the other young men making the same declaration, except a very small number, who were related to Appius, the consuls commended their orderly behaviour, and exhorted them to behave themselves in the same manner upon all public occasions ; and, then, proceeded to the choice of the deputies, who were ten in number, being the most illustrious of the senior senators, all of whom had been consuls, except one. The deputies were these ; Agrippa Menenius Lanatus the son of Caius, Manius Valerius the son of Volusus, Publius Servilius, Publius Postumius the son of Quintus, Tubertus Titus, Aebutius the son of Titus, Flavius Servius, Sulpicius Camerinus the son of Publius, Aulus Postumius the son of Publius, and Balbus Aulus. After this, the senate being dismissed, the consuls went to the assembly of the people ; and, having ordered the decree of the senate to be read, presented the deputies : And, every one desiring to be informed of the instructions, which the senate had given them, the consuls said publicly, that they had ordered them to reconcile the people to the patricians, by any means they

they could, without fraud, or deceit, and to bring home the fugitives immediately.

LXX. The deputies, having received these instructions, went out of the city the same day. But the news of this deputation, and of every thing, that had passed in the city, arrived at the camp, before the deputies: And, presently, all the plebeians came out, and met the deputies upon the road. There was in the camp a man, extremely, busy and seditious, ³⁹ quick in foreseeing things at a great distance; and, being a man of many words, and talkative, not incapable of expressing his thoughts: His name was Lucius Junius, the name of the person, who had destroyed monarchy; and, desiring to complete the similitude of their names, he would, also, be called Brutus: The generality of the people laughed at the vanity of the man; and, when they had a mind to make themselves merry with him, they gave him the additional name of Brutus. This person informed Sicinnius, who commanded in the camp, that it was not the interest of the people to submit easily to the proposals, that were to be offered, lest, by demanding things of small consequence, their return might be the less honourable; but to oppose them for a long time, and to act a part in this nego-

³⁹ Οξύς τῇ γνώμῃ προΐδεν τι τῶν εσο-
μενων ἐκ πολλῶν, etc. It may seem odd,
but it is true, that some parts in this
character of Lucius Junius bear a near
resemblance to the great qualities as-
cribed by Thucydides to Themisto-
cles, who was τῶν μελλόντων επιπλοῖον

τὸ γενησομενὸν αἰσιος ἐκαστης· καὶ αἱ μὲν
μεῖλα χειρας εἶχον, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι ὁίος τε.
I cannot very well understand how
both the French translators came to
render εἶπεν ὁ ἀνὴρ *cel avanturier*, *this*
adventurer.

^f B. i. c. 138.

tiation ; and he promised to take upon himself the defence of the people ; and, having suggested every thing else, that was to be done, and said, he prevailed upon Sicinnius. After which, the latter, assembling the people, desired the deputies to acquaint them with the cause of their coming.

LXXI. When Manius Valerius, who was the most ancient, and the most popular man of all the deputies, presented himself ; the people testifying their affection for him by the most endearing expressions, and appellations ; and, after they were silent, he spoke as follows ; “ Nothing, now, “ hinders you, citizens, from returning home, and being “ reconciled to the senate : For they have voted you an “ honourable, and advantageous return, and granted you an “ amnesty for all that is passed : They have, also, sent us, “ as deputies, whom they knew to be the greatest patrons “ of the people, and, deservedly, respected by you, with “ discretionary powers, to conclude an accommodation ; to “ the end we may not judge of your sentiments by appearances, or conjectures, but may learn from yourselves “ upon what terms you think fit to put an end to the sedition ; “ that, if there is any moderation in your demands, and they “ are not impossible in themselves to be granted, or rendered “ so by some insuperable dishonor annexed to them, we “ may grant them, without expecting the opinion of the “ senate, or exposing the success of our negotiation to the “ danger of long delays, or to the envy of your adversaries. “ The senate having decreed these things, receive their “ favors, citizens, with joy, and with all alacrity, and earnestness ;

“ nestness ; setting a value upon so great a happiness, and
 “ returning the greatest thanks to the gods that the Roman
 “ commonwealth, which commands so many nations, and
 “ the senate, which has the disposal of all her honors, with
 “ whom it is an established custom to yield to none of her
 “ adversaries, willingly departs from her dignity in favor of
 “ you alone, and neither thinks fit to enter into such an
 “ exact discussion of what belongs to each, as might be
 “ expected from superiors, who treat with their inferiors,
 “ but they themselves have first sent deputies to propose an
 “ accommodation ; neither have they received the imperious
 “ answers you gave to their former deputies, with anger ;
 “ but have suffered this forbidding, and juvenile exertion of
 “ your pride, like good parents That of their thoughtless
 “ children ; and judged proper to send another deputation,
 “ to depart from their right, and to submit to every thing,
 “ citizens, that is reasonable. Possessed of so great a felicity,
 “ delay not to acquaint us with what you desire, and do not
 “ amuse us : And, when you have put an end to the sedi-
 “ tion, return, with joy, to your country, in which you
 “ have received your birth, and education, and for this
 “ you have made her no good return, in having left her,
 “ as far as in you lay, desolate, and a pasture for cattle.
 “ If you let slip this opportunity, you will, often, wish for
 “ such another.”

LXXII. When Valerius had done speaking, Sicinnius
 presented himself to the assembly, and said that those, who
 deliberated properly, ought not to form a judgement of the

expediency of any measure from a single representation of it; but that arguments of a contrary nature should, also, be suggested, particularly, when affairs of so great moment were under their consideration. Then he declared that any person, who pleased, might answer these reasons, without being at all ashamed, or afraid: For the situation of their affairs, and their present distress did not allow them to be influenced either by fear, or bashfulness. All being silent, and looking upon one another to find out the man, who would defend the common cause, ⁴⁰ none appeared, though Sicinnius, often, repeated the same thing. At last, Lucius Junius, the same person, who desired to be surnamed Brutus, presented himself, as he had, before, promised; and, being received with the general acclamations of the people, he spoke in the following manner: “It seems, citizens, that the dread of the
 “patricians, is so far rooted in your minds, that it astonishes
 “you: And, cast down by that, you dare not, publicly,
 “avow those discourses, which are the common topics of
 “your conversation. For every one of you, possibly, thinks
 “that the next man to him will plead the common cause,

⁴⁰ Εὐαίετο δ' ὄντας. This puts me in mind of a just reflexion made by Livy upon the behaviour of the seceders, when they left the decemvirs, and incamped on the Aventine hill. As the first secession ended in the creation of the tribunes of the people; so This ended in the subversion of the decemvirate: The first established liberty; and the last abolished tyranny. It

seems, the decemvirs pretended to be ignorant of the cause of their secession, and sent deputies to them to know what they meant by it: Upon which, Livy observes that the people were not at a loss for an answer: They were at a loss for a person to give that answer. But ⁴¹ Livy has expressed this better than I can; *Non defuit quid responderetur; deerat qui daret responsum.*

⁴¹ B. iii. c. 50.

“and

“ and had rather “ That man should undergo the danger,
 “ if any ; while he himself, standing secure, expects to enjoy,
 “ in safety, his share of the benefit arising from the boldness
 “ of the other. But in this he is mistaken : For, if we were
 “ all of this opinion, the backwardness of every individual
 “ would prove a general mischief ; and, while every man
 “ consulted his own safety, he would destroy That of the
 “ public : But, if you did not know, before, that you are
 “ freed from that dread, and that you secured your liberty,
 “ at the same time you took up arms, learn it now at least,
 “ and learn it from them : For they come not with pride,
 “ and severity, to command, as before, or to threaten ; but
 “ to beg, and invite you to return home, and now begin to
 “ converse with you, as with free men, upon equal terms.
 “ Why then are you, any longer, afraid of them, and why
 “ are you silent ? Why do you not assume the spirit of free
 “ men ; and, having, at last, broken your chains, publish
 “ the injuries you have received from these ? Unhappy men !
 “ What are you afraid of, when you follow me as your
 “ leader in speaking freely ? For I shall expose myself to
 “ the danger of displaying the justice of your cause before
 “ them with freedom, and shall hide nothing. And, since
 “ Valerius has said that nothing hinders you from going
 “ home, the senate having given you leave to return, and
 “ having, besides, granted you an amnesty, I shall give him
 “ this answer, which is true, and necessary to be insisted on.

41. *Αὐτὸν μᾶλλον*. This, I think, the sense requires, instead of *παντὶ μᾶλλον*, which stands in all the editions, and manuscripts.

LXXIII. “ There are many other reasons, Valerius, that
“ hinder us from laying down our arms, and putting our-
“ selves in your power; but these three are the most con-
“ siderable, and the most notorious: The first, because you
“ come to accuse us, as if we had offended, and think that,
“ when you give us leave to return, you confer a favor on
“ us: The next, that, when you invite us to an accommo-
“ dation, you do not, at all, explain yourselves upon what
“ terms of justice, and humanity we are to enter into it:
“ And, lastly, because we can find no security in any thing
“ you promise us; since you have, always, deceived, and
“ imposed upon us. I shall speak to each of these points
“ separately, beginning with That, which relates to justice:
“ For it is the duty of all, who speak either in private, or in
“ public, to begin from thence. If, then, we injure you in
“ any thing, we desire neither an impunity, nor an amnesty;
“ we do not desire, even, to partake, any longer, of the
“ same city with you; but will live in whatever place Fate
“ shall lead us to, leaving it to Fortune, and to the gods to
“ to direct our course. But, if, injured by you, we have
“ been compelled to make trial of the condition we are, now,
“ reduced to, why do you not acknowledge that you your-
“ selves have wronged us, and stand in need of pardon, and
“ an amnesty? Whereas, you pretend to grant the pardon
“ you ask, and magnify your acquitting us of the resent-
“ ment you yourselves desire to be acquitted of: This is to
“ confound the nature of truth, and invert the claim of
“ justice. That you are not the injured, but the injurers;
“ and,

“ and, that you have not made handsom returns for the
 “ many great services you have received from the people,
 “ in respect both to your liberty, and your sovereignty, learn
 “ from what follows. I shall begin from those transactions
 “ you yourselves are acquainted with ; and I beg of you,
 “ by the gods, if I advance any thing untrue, that you will
 “ not bear it, but, presently, refute me.

LXXIV. “ Our ancient government was monarchy,
 “ under which constitution we lived, till the seventh gene-
 “ ration : And, in all these reigns, the people never suffered
 “ any hardship from their kings ; and least of all from those,
 “ who reigned last : For I omit the many considerable ad-
 “ vantages they enjoyed under them ; since, besides the other
 “ methods they used of courting, and flattering the people,
 “ in order to gain their affections, and make them enemies to
 “ you (which is the practice of all kings, who aim at extend-
 “ ing their power to tyranny) after they had made themselves
 “ masters of Sueffa, a very opulent city, by a long siege,
 “ and had it in their power to grant no part of the spoils to
 “ any one, but to appropriate the whole to themselves, and
 “ surpass all other kings in riches, they did not think fit to
 “ do so, but gave all the booty to the army : So that, be-
 “ sides the slaves, cattle, and the other spoils, which were
 “ many, and of great value, every man had five minae of
 “ silver for his share : All which we neglected, when they
 “ used their power like tyrants, by the excesses they com-
 “ mitted not against us, but against you, and resented their
 “ behaviour ; and, revolting from our affection to our kings,
 “ we

“ we joined you : And, entering into the conspiracy you
“ had formed against them, both those of us, who were in
“ the city, and those in the camp, we expelled them, and
“ invested you with their power : And, though it depended,
“ often, on us to transfer that power, again, from you to
“ the expelled kings, and we were invited to it by promises
“ of great rewards, yet, not to violate our faith to you, we
“ refused to do it, and underwent many great, and continual
“ dangers, and wars for your sake : And, at this time, which
“ is the seventeenth year, we are worn out with fighting
“ against all mankind for our common liberty. For the
“ government being unsettled (as it, often, happens in sudden
“ revolutions) we engaged the numerous forces of two very
“ considerable cities of Tyrrhenia, Tarquinii, and Veii, that
“ fought to restore the kings, with an army, vastly, inferior
“ in number ; and, fighting with the greatest alacrity, we,
“ not only, overcame our enemies, but preserved the power
“ for the surviving consul. Not long after, when Porfena,
“ king of the Tyrrhenians, was, also, endeavouring to restore
“ the exiles with the united forces of all Tyrrhenia command-
“ ed by himself, and Those, which the others had, long be-
“ fore, raised, we, though unprovided with an army of equal
“ strength, and, for that reason, besieged, and reduced to
“ difficulties, and to the want of every thing, by supporting
“ ourselves under all these terrors, we forced him to depart in
“ friendship. And, last of all, when the kings, for the third
“ time, fought to effect their restoration by the assistance of
“ the Latin nation, and brought against us the forces of
“ thirty

“ thirty cities, we, seeing you humbly intreating, lamenting,
 “ calling upon every one of us, and putting us in mind of
 “ our friendship, our common education, and our common
 “ warfare, could not bear to abandon you : But, looking
 “ upon it as a most honourable, and glorious thing to fight
 “ your battles, we rushed into the midst of terrors, and
 “ exposed ourselves to a greater danger, than we had, ever
 “ before, encountered; in which, after we had received
 “ many wounds, and lost many of our relations, of our
 “ friends, and fellow-soldiers, we overcame the enemy,
 “ killed their generals, and destroyed the whole royal family.

LXXV. “ These are the actions we have performed to
 “ assist you in freeing yourselves from the tyrants, in which
 “ our alacrity has exceeded our power, and in which we
 “ engaged rather through virtue, than necessity. Now
 “ hear what we have done to obtain for you the respect, and
 “ command of others ; and also to acquire for you a power
 “ greater than was, at first, expected ; and, as I said before,
 “ if, in any degree, I swerve from the truth, object to what
 “ I say. When you thought you had secured your liberty,
 “ you were not contented to stop there; but engaging in
 “ bold, and new attempts, perhaps looking upon every man
 “ as your enemy, who desired to preserve his liberty, and
 “ declaring war almost against all the world, in all these
 “ perils, and in all these battles, fought to support that
 “ ambition, you thought fit to lavish our blood. I omit the
 “ number of cities that, sometimes singly, sometimes two
 “ jointly, made war upon you in defence of their liberty ;

“ the forces of some we overcame in pitched battles, and
“ others we took by storm, and compelled them to become
“ subjects to you. Why should we particularize the actions,
“ when the subject is so ample? But, who were they, who
“ assisted you in subjecting all Tyrrhenia, which was divided
“ into twelve dynasties, and exceeding powerful both at
“ land, and sea? Whose succours rendered the Sabines, a
“ nation of such strength, who had ever contended with
“ you for the superiority, unable, any longer, to contend
“ with you for an equality? Who were they, who subdued
“ the thirty cities of the Latines, who, not only, were
“ elated with the superiority of their forces, but derived
“ magnificent hopes from the superior justice of their de-
“ mands, and compelled them to fly to you to deprecate
“ slavery, and the demolition of their cities?

LXXVI. “ I omit the other dangers, in which we engaged
“ with you, before we were disunited, and while we our-
“ selves entertained the hopes of some advantages under the
“ government. But, when it appeared you had converted that
“ government into a tyranny, that you treated us like slaves,
“ and that we, no longer, continued in the same disposition
“ towards you, then it was that almost all your subjects
“ revolted, the Volsci setting the example, which was fol-
“ lowed by the Aequi, the Hernici, the Sabines, and many
“ others; and an opportunity seemed to be offered, the like
“ to which had, never before, happened, if we had coun-
“ tenanced it, to effect one of these two things, either to
“ subvert your government, or to render it more moderate
“ for

“ for the future : Do you remember to what a despair of
 “ your sovereignty, and to what a degree of distress you
 “ were then reduced, lest we should either not assist you
 “ in the war, or, indulging our resentment, join the enemy ;
 “ and to what intreaties, and promises you had recourse ?
 “ What did we do then, mean citizens though we are, and
 “ abused by you ? We suffered ourselves to be overcome by
 “ the intreaties, and prevailed upon by the promises, which
 “ Servilius, the best of men, then consul, made to the people ;
 “ and retained no resentment of your former ill-usage ; but,
 “ conceiving good hopes of your future behaviour, we gave
 “ ourselves up to you ; and, having subdued all your ene-
 “ mies in a short time, we presented ourselves to our country
 “ with many prisoners, and a fine booty. . What return did
 “ you make to us for these services ? Did you make us a
 “ return, that was just, and worthy of the dangers we had
 “ exposed ourselves to ? Far, far from it : You violated even
 “ the promises, which you had ordered the consul to make
 “ to us in the name of the commonwealth : And this very
 “ person, this best of men, whom you had made use of to
 “ deceive us, you deprived of a triumph, though, of all
 “ others, he most deserved that honor ; and fixed this dis-
 “ grace upon him for no other reason, than because he
 “ desired you to do that justice you had promised, and was
 “ known to resent the imposition.

LXXVII. “ And, very lately (for I shall add one in-
 “ stance more to that part of my discourse, which relates to
 “ justice, before I make an end,) when the Aequi, the Sabines,

“ and the Volsci, uniting their counsels, themselves took arms
“ against you, and invited others to do the same, were not
“ you, who are so awful and imperious, obliged to fly to us,
“ who are mean and despised, and to promise every thing in
“ order to ingage us in your defence? And, that you might
“ not seem to have an intention to deceive us again, as you
“ had often done before, you made use of Manius Valerius,
“ the greatest patron of the people, as a cover for your
“ deceit; in whom we confiding, and thinking ourselves
“ in no danger of being imposed upon by a dictator, and,
“ least of all, by a man who loved us, we assisted you in this
“ war also; and, having fought not a few battles, nor those
“ either inconsiderable, or obscure, we overcame your enemies:
“ But, the war being ended in a most glorious manner, and
“ sooner than it was, generally, expected, you were so far from
“ rejoicing, and thinking yourselves, greatly, obliged to the
“ people for the success of it, that you desired still to keep
“ us in arms against our will, and under our ensigns, that
“ you might violate your promises, as you had, at first, deter-
“ mined: However, this person not submitting to the im-
“ position, nor to the indignity of the action; but bringing
“ the ensigns into the city, and disbanding the forces, you
“ made use of this as a pretence for not doing us justice; you
“ abused him, and performed not a single thing you had pro-
“ mised us; but, at one and the same time, you committed
“ three crimes of the blackest dye; you debased the dignity
“ of the senate; you destroyed the credit of this person; and
“ deprived your benefactors of the recompence, that was due
“ to

“ to their labors. Since, therefore, patricians, we have these,
 “ and many other things of the like nature to alledge against
 “ you, we did not think fit to solicit you by supplications, and
 “ intreaties ; nor, as if guilty of heinous crimes, to accept of
 “ our return upon the terms of an impunity, and an am-
 “ nesty : Neither do we think proper to enter into an exact
 “ discussion of these things at present, since we are met to treat
 “ of an agreement; but are willing to overlook, and forget them.

LXXVIII. “ But why do you not explain the subject of
 “ your deputation, and say, plainly, what you are come to ask ?
 “ Upon what hopes do you desire us to return to the city ?
 “ And what kind of fortune would you have us take for our
 “ guide ? What is the alacrity, or joy, that is to receive us ?
 “ For we have not, hitherto, heard you propose any thing
 “ humane, or benevolent ; no honors, no magistracies, no
 “ relief of our poverty, nor any thing else, no, not the least.
 “ Though, in reality, you ought not to tell us what you
 “ design to do, but what you have done ; to the end that,
 “ having beforehand tasted some effect of your benevolence,
 “ we might conclude that your future favors, also, would
 “ be of the same nature. I expect they will answer to this,
 “ that they are come with discretionary powers in all things :
 “ So that, whatever we can persuade one another to agree
 “ to, That is to be valid. I suppose this to be so : Let the
 “ event justify it ; I contradict it not : But, I desire to know
 “ from them what is to follow upon this ; and, after we
 “ have signified the conditions, upon which we think fit to
 “ return, and these conditions are agreed to, who will
 “ under-

“ undertake for the performance of this agreement? What
“ security shall we trust to, if we lay down our arms, and
“ put ourselves again in the power of these men? Shall we
“ trust to the votes of the senate, that are to pass upon this
“ subject? For they are not yet passed: And what shall
“ hinder these from being, again, repealed by other votes,
“ when Appius, and those of his faction shall think fit?
“ Or shall we trust to the dignity of the deputies, who
“ engage their own faith? But the senate have, already,
“ made use of these men to deceive us. Or shall we trust
“ to an agreement, entered into under the sanction of the
“ gods, and assure to ourselves the performance of it by oaths?
“ For my own part, I am more afraid of relying on this,
“ than on any other assurance mankind can give; because
“ I see it despised by the men in power; and, because I
“ have observed, upon many other occasions, as well as this,
“ that involuntary agreements, entered into by men desirous
“ to command, with those, who desire to be free, last no
“ longer, than the power of that necessity, which formed
“ those agreements. What kind of friendship, therefore, and
“ assurance is that, under which we shall be obliged to
“ court one another against our will, while each of us are
“ watching our own opportunities to surprise one another?
“ This situation will be succeeded by suspicions, and con-
“ tinual accusations of one another, by envy, and hatred,
“ and evils of every kind; and by an eternal contest which
“ of us shall first effect the destruction of his adversary, lest
“ a delay may prove the means of his own.

LXXIX.

LXXIX. “ And all know there is not a greater mischief,
 “ than a civil war, in which the conquered are unfortunate,
 “ and the conquerors criminal; and in which the former
 “ are destroyed by, and the latter destroy, their dearest
 “ friends. To such misfortunes, and to such abhorred cala-
 “ mities invite us not, patricians; neither let us yield to
 “ their invitations, citizens: But let us acquiesce under that
 “ fortune, which has separated us. Let them have the whole
 “ city to themselves, and enjoy it without us; and let them
 “ possess alone every other advantage, after they have driven
 “ the mean, and obscure plebeians from their country.
 “ Let us depart to whatever place Fortune shall conduct us;
 “ and look upon That we leave, as a foreign country, not
 “ our own: For none of us leave there either his lands, his
 “ paternal habitation, common sacrifices, or the dignity every
 “ man is intitled to in his own country; the desire of which
 “ things might induce us to be fond of staying there, even
 “ contrary to our resolutions; we have not there even the
 “ liberty of our own persons, which we have purchased
 “ with our arms, and with many labors: Since some of
 “ those have been destroyed by the enemy, some consumed
 “ by the scarcity of daily necessaries, and others we have
 “ been deprived of by these imperious creditors: For whom
 “ we, miserable men, are, at last, obliged to till our own
 “ lands, digging, planting, plowing, tending flocks of sheep,
 “ becoming fellow-servants to our own slaves taken by us in
 “ war; some of us being bound with chains, some with
 “ fetters, and others, like the most mischievous of all wild
 “ beasts,

“ beaſts, with wooden, and iron collars: I ſay nothing of
 “ the blows, outrages, ſtripes, the continual labors, and every
 “ other cruelty, abuſe, and infolence we have undergone.
 “ Freed by heaven from ſo many, and ſo great evils, let us,
 “ joyfully, fly from them with all the ſpeed, and power we
 “ are able; and, following Fortune, and that god, who
 “ preſerves us, as our guides, look upon our liberty as our
 “ country, and our courage as our riches. For every nation
 “ will receive us into their community, becauſe we ſhall be,
 “ in ſome reſpects, inoffenſive to thoſe, who will receive us,
 “ and, in others, uſeful.

LXXX. “ Of this let many Greeks, and many Barbarians
 “ be examples to us, particularly the anceſtors both of theſe
 “ men, and our own: Some of whom, leaving Aſia with
 “ Aeneas, came into Europe, and built a city in the country
 “ of the Latines; and others, coming from Alba, under the
 “ conduct of Romulus, as chief of the colony, built, in theſe
 “ parts, the city we are, now, leaving. We have with us
 “ forces more numerous than they had, even three times
 “ their number, and a more juſt cauſe of removing: For
 “ thoſe, who left Troy, were driven out by their enemies;
 “ but we, by our friends; and there is more compaſſion
 “ due to ſuch, as are expelled by their own people, than to
 “ thoſe, who are expelled by foreigners. The colony under
 “ Romulus deſpiſed the country of their anceſtors, in hopes
 “ of acquiring a better; but we, who quit a life attached
 “ to no city, and to no habitation, ingage in a colony, that
 “ will be neither envied by the gods, troubleſome to men,
 “ nor

“ nor grievous to any country. We have neither spilled the
 “ blood of our fellow-citizens who expel us, laid waste the
 “ country we quit, with fire, and sword, nor left any other
 “ monument of an everlasting hatred, according to the
 “ custom of all nations, who have been abused by a viola-
 “ tion of treaties, and reduced to unavoidable necessity :
 “ But, calling upon the gods, and genius’s, who direct all
 “ human affairs with justice, as witnesses to our complaints;
 “ and, leaving it to them to revenge our wrongs, we, only,
 “ desire this favor, that you will restore our infant children,
 “ and parents, and such of our wives, as are willing to share
 “ our fortune : These will suffice ; and we desire nothing
 “ else from our country : May you be happy, and lead the
 “ life you chuse ; since your sentiments are so inconsistent
 “ with civil government, and so incommunicative to your
 “ inferiors.”

LXXXI. Brutus thus ended his speech : When all, who
 were present, looked upon every thing he had advanced in
 relation to justice to be well-grounded, as also what he alledged
 against the pride of the senate ; particularly what he said to
 shew the assurance, offered for the performance of the agree-
 ment, to be full of fraud, and deceit : But, when, lastly, he
 described the abuses which the people had suffered from their
 creditors, and put every man in mind of his own misfor-
 tunes, none were so obdurate, as not to shed tears, and to
 bewail their common calamities ; and, not only, the people
 were affected in this manner, but the deputies of the senate
 also : For even these could not refrain from tears, when they

considered the misfortunes, that would flow from a separation of the people : And they continued, a long time, confounded, pouring forth tears, and at a loss what to say. But, after this great lamentation ceased, and the assembly was silent, Titus Lartius presented himself to answer these accusations ; a man, who seemed to excel the rest of the citizens by his dignity as well as age, and had been twice consul ; and had, of all men, made the best use of the dictatorial power, and caused that invidious magistracy to be looked upon as sacred, and respectable. He spoke first to the point of justice ; and, sometimes, censured the creditors for having acted with cruelty, and inhumanity ; and, at others, glanced at the poor for desiring things unjust, and aiming at being discharged of their debts by violence, rather than favor ; and told them they were in the wrong to quarrel with the senate for refusing to grant them what was reasonable, rather than with those, who were the cause of that refusal : He, also, endeavoured to shew that there was a small part of the people, whose offence was involuntary, and who were forced, by the excess of their poverty, to demand an abolition of their debts ; but that the greatest part of them were abandoned to libertinism, and insolence, and to a life of pleasure, and prepared to gratify their passions by robbing others ; and he thought a difference ought to be made between the miserable, and the wicked, and between those, who deserved favor, and those, who deserved hatred : And, saying some other things to the same purpose, that were true indeed, but not grateful to all who heard him, he

he did not gain their approbation; but every thing he said was received with a great murmur, some being discontented at his renewing the memory of their sorrows; and others owning that he concealed no part of the truth. But these were, greatly, inferior to the former, and being drowned with numbers, the clamor of the discontented prevailed.

LXXXII. After Lartius had added a few things to what he had, before, said, and touched upon their revolt, and the precipitancy of their resolutions; Sicinnius, who was then at the head of the people, replied, and inflamed them still more, saying that, “by what Lartius had advanced, they
 “might learn what honors, and favors were like to receive
 “them, when they returned to their country: For, if those,
 “who are in the height of their apprehensions, who im-
 “plore the assistance of the people, and are come hither for
 “that purpose, cannot, even now, prevail upon themselves
 “to speak to them with moderation, and humanity, what
 “sentiments are you to expect they will entertain, when
 “every thing shall have succeeded according to their wishes;
 “and that those, who are, now, abused by their words,
 “shall become subject to their actions? What pride, what
 “stripes, what tyrannical cruelty will they forbear? If you
 “are contented to be slaves all your lives, to be bound,
 “scourged, and destroyed by fire, sword, famine, and every
 “other abuse, defer it not; but throw down your arms,
 “and follow them with your hands tied behind you: But,
 “if you have any love for liberty, bear not this usage. And,
 “as for you, deputies, either explain the terms, upon which
 R 2 “you

“ you desire to recal us; or, if you do not explain them,
“ withdraw from the assembly: For, after this, we shall not
“ allow you to speak.”

LXXXIII. When he had said this, all present testified, by their acclamations, that they approved of his reasons. After they were silent, Menenius Agrippa, the same person, who had pleaded the cause of the people in the senate; and, having moved that deputies might be sent with discretionary powers, had been the chief cause of that deputation, signified that he, also, had a desire to speak. The people looked upon this, as the thing they had wished; and, now at least, expected to hear proposals tending to a sincere accommodation, and to the security of both parties: And first they encouraged him with a great shout, and called out to him to speak: After that, they were quiet, and so great a silence prevailed in the assembly, that the place resembled a solitude. He seemed, in all respects, to speak in the most persuasive manner, and the best suited to the inclinations of his audience: And, at the end of his speech, it is said he made use of a kind of fable, like Those of Aesop, which bore a near resemblance to the present occasion; and, by this means chiefly, prevailed with them: For which reason, it has been thought worthy to be recorded, and is celebrated in all the ancient histories. The discourse made by this person, as chief of the deputies, was to this purpose: “ We were sent to you by the senate, citizens,
“ neither to excuse them, nor to accuse you: For these
“ things were not thought seasonable, or expedient in the
“ present

“ present distressed condition of the commonwealth ; but,
 “ to put an end to the sedition with all possible zeal, and
 “ by all methods ; and to restore the government to its
 “ former state : And, for that purpose, we are invested with
 “ full powers. So that, we do not think ourselves, at all,
 “ obliged, like Junius, to spend a long time in debating the
 “ point of right : But we shall acquaint you with the hu-
 “ mane conditions, upon which we think fit to put an end
 “ to the sedition ; what assurance we shall give you for the
 “ performance of our convention ; and the resolutions we
 “ are come to concerning both. When we considered that
 “ every sedition is then cured in all cities, when the causes,
 “ that produced the disagreement, are removed, we thought
 “ it necessary both to discover, and put an end to, the primary
 “ causes of this dissention : And, having found that the
 “ springs, from whence the present evils flowed, have been
 “ the severe exactions of debts, thus we reform those ex-
 “ actions ; we think it just that all those, who have con-
 “ tracted debts, and are unable to pay them, be discharged
 “ of those debts : And, if the persons of any, who have
 “ suffered the day appointed for the payment of their debts,
 “ to elapse, are, already, confined by legal proceedings
 “ thereupon, we determine that those, also, be free. And,
 “ as to such, as have had judgement passed against them,
 “ and have, already, been delivered over to the persons, who
 “ sued them to judgement, we order that these, also, be
 “ enlarged, and we reverse those judgements. Concerning
 “ your past debts, therefore, on account of which you thought
 “ fit

“ fit to secede, we redress them in this manner. And, as to
 “ future debts, whatever shall be approved of both by you,
 “ who are the people, and by the senate, after a law has
 “ passed for that purpose, let it be so ordered. Are not these
 “ the things, citizens, that divided you from the patricians?
 “ And, if you could have obtained them, would you not
 “ have been contented, and aimed at nothing else? They
 “ are now granted to you. Return then to your country
 “ with joy.

LXXXIV. “ The assurances, which shall confirm this
 “ convention, and secure to you the performance of it, shall
 “ be such, as are founded both on law, and on the practice
 “ of all men, who put an end to their enmities: For the
 “ senate will confirm these things by a vote, and give the
 “ force of a law to the conditions, that shall be drawn up.
 “ But rather let the conditions agreed upon, be drawn up
 “ here, by us, and the senate will ratify them. That the
 “ concessions, now, made to you, may remain firm; and that
 “ nothing contrary to them may, for the future, be enacted
 “ by the senate, first, we, the deputies, are your sureties,
 “ and give you our persons, our lives, and our families, as
 “ pledges. And, in the next place, the senators, ⁴² whose

⁴² Βυλευται, ὅσοι τῷ ψηφισματὶ συνε-
 γραφῶσονται. I am afraid the French
 translators have mistaken the sense of
 these words. Le Jay has said; *tout ce*
qu'il y a de sénateurs, en signant l'arrêt
du sénat; and M. ***, *les autres séna-*
teurs qui signeront le sénatus-consulte.
 I do not think it was the custom for
 the senators to sign the decrees of the

senate. The sense, therefore, of the
 Greek words I take to be this: It was
 usual to insert in the decrees of the
 senate, before the enacting part, the
 names of those senators, who, to testify
 their approbation of that decree, assist-
 ed at the drawing it up; which was
 signified by these words, *scrib. affue-*
runt; that is, *scribendo affuerunt*: Alter

“ names

“ names will be inserted in the decree of the senate, shall
 “ enter into the same engagement: For nothing can be
 “ mentioned in it contrary to the interest of the people,
 “ while we oppose it; since we are the leading members of
 “ the senate, and, always, deliver our opinions first. The
 “ last assurance we shall give you is That in use among all
 “ men, both Greeks, and Barbarians, which no time shall
 “ ever abolish, and which, by the interposition of oaths,
 “ and libations, makes the gods sureties for the performance
 “ of agreements; under this assurance, many great enmities
 “ between private men, and many wars, arisen between na-
 “ tions, have been composed. Receive, then, this assurance
 “ also, and consider whether you will allow a few of the
 “ principal members of the senate to give you their oaths in
 “ the name of their whole body, or insist upon it that all the
 “ senators, whose names will be inserted in the decree, shall
 “ swear, by every thing that is sacred, that they will, in-
 “ violably, observe the agreement. Traduce not, Brutus,
 “ assurances, given under the sanction of the gods, and con-
 “ firmed by pledging hands, and by libations; nor destroy
 “ the most illustrious of all human institutions: Neither do
 “ you, citizens, suffer him to mention the impious violations
 “ of oaths, committed by wicked, and tyrannical men;
 “ actions far distant from the Roman virtue.

which words, the names of these se-
 nators were inserted. The famous de-
 cree of the senate, relating to the con-
 sular provinces, which tended to recal
 Caesar from Gaul, and of which

Coelius sends a copy to ^h Cicero, will
 explain what I have said. It there ap-
 pears that thirteen senators attended
 at the drawing up of that decree.

^h Cicero's Epistles, B. viii. Epist. 8.

LXXXV. “ I shall mention one assurance more, which
 “ no man is ignorant, or doubts, of, and then have done.
 “ What is That? It is the assurance, that introduces the
 “ common advantage, and preserves both parts of the con-
 “ stitution by their mutual assistance. This was the first,
 “ and only motive, that brought us together, and will never
 “ suffer us to be asunder: For the ignorant multitude will,
 “ always, want, and never cease to want, prudent leaders;
 “ and the senate, who are capable of governing, will never
 “ cease to want a multitude willing to obey. This we know
 “ by experience, and not by speculation, and conjecture alone.
 “ Why, therefore, do we terrify, and disquiet one another?
 “ Why do we treat one another with ill language, when it
 “ is in our power to do good offices to one another? Why
 “ do we not rather open our arms, embrace one another,
 “ and return to our country, to taste the pleasures we,
 “ formerly, enjoyed, and gratify desires, of all others, the
 “ most agreeable? Instead of that, we are seeking frail se-
 “ curities, and faithless assurances; like those who are the
 “ greatest enemies, and suspect the worst of every thing.
 “ As for us senators, we want no other assurance, citizens,
 “ that you will never, if you return, behave yourselves ill to
 “ us, than the knowledge we have of your good education,
 “ of your adherence to the laws of your country, and of
 “ every other virtue, of which you have given many proofs
 “ both in peace, and war. But, if there should be a neces-
 “ sity of a further assurance from an expectation of a benefit
 “ by reforming the joint agreement, now entered into, we
 “ are

“ are so far convinced of your good disposition in every
 “ thing that we shall require, from the people, neither
 “ oaths, nor hostages, nor any other assurance. How-
 “ ever, we shall oppose nothing you desire. And so much
 “ concerning our fidelity, upon which subject Brutus en-
 “ deavoured to impeach us. But, if any groundless envy
 “ possesses you with an ill opinion of the senate, I desire to
 “ speak to that point also, citizens ; and I beg of you, in
 “ the name of the gods, that you will hear me with silence,
 “ and attention.

LXXXVI. “ A commonwealth resembles, in some mea-
 “ sure, a human body : For each of them is composed of
 “ many parts ; and each of these neither has the same
 “ powers, nor is applicable to the same uses : And, if these
 “ parts of the human body should each of them be indued
 “ with a particular sense, and voice, and then a sedition
 “ should arise, and all of them unite against the belly ; and
 “ the feet should say that the whole body rests on them ;
 “ the hands, that they exercise arts, get provisions, fight
 “ with the enemy, and supply the community with many
 “ other advantages ; the shoulders, that they bear all
 “ burdens ; the mouth, that it speaks ; the head, that it sees,
 “ and hears, and comprehends, in itself, all the other senses,
 “ by which the body is preserved ; and then should say to
 “ the belly ; and you, good creature, which of these things
 “ do you do ? What return do you make, and what advan-
 “ tage are you, to us ? You are so far from doing any thing,
 “ and from assisting us in effecting any good for the com-
 VOL. III. S “ munity,

“ munity, that you are a hindrance, and a trouble to us,
“ in imposing on us an intolerable drudgery, and in com-
“ pelling us to bring to you, from all parts, supplies for your
“ luxury. Come, let us assert our liberty, and free ourselves
“ from the many troubles we undergo for the sake of this
“ indolent creature. If they should resolve upon this, and none
“ of the parts, any longer, perform their offices, is it possible
“ that the body should subsist for any considerable time, and
“ not, in a few days, be consumed by the worst of all deaths,
“ famine? None can say otherwise. Now, consider the
“ commonwealth in the same light: For this, also, is com-
“ posed of many ranks of people, not at all, resembling one
“ another: Every one of which affords some particular use to
“ the commonwealth, like the members to the human body:
“ For some cultivate the lands; some fight against the enemy
“ in defence of those lands; others carry on a beneficial
“ trade by sea; and others exercise necessary arts. If, then,
“ all these different ranks of people should rise against the
“ senate, which is composed of the best men, and say, What
“ good, senate, do you do us? And, for what reason, do you
“ pretend to govern others? For you can alledge none. And
“ shall we not, at last, free ourselves from your tyranny, and
“ live without a governor? If, then, they should take this
“ resolution, and quit their usual employments, what could
“ hinder this miserable city from perishing miserably by
“ famine, war, and every other evil? Be assured, therefore,
“ citizens, that, as in our bodies, the belly, thus reviled by
“ the members, while it is nourished, nourishes the body,
“ and,

“ and, while it is preserved, preserves it; and, like a common
 “ storehouse, distributes that, which is beneficial to them
 “ all, and maintains their harmony : So, in commonwealths,
 “ the senate, which administers the affairs of the public,
 “ and considers what is expedient for every one, preserves,
 “ guards, and reforms all things: Cease, therefore, to throw
 “ out invidious expressions against her, and to complain
 “ that you are driven out of your country by her; and that,
 “ by her means, you wander about, like vagabonds, and
 “ beggars: For she neither has done you any harm, nor
 “ designs to do you any; but she calls you, she intreats you;
 “ and, ⁴³ opening her arms, together with her gates, is de-
 “ sirous to receive you.”

LXXXVII. While Menenius was speaking, many and various were the expressions of the audience throughout his whole speech. But, when, at the close of it, he had recourse to lamentations; and, enumerating the calamities, that would befall those, who remained in the city, and those who were driven out of it, bewailed the misfortunes of both, tears flowed from all, and they cried out to him, with one voice, to lead them back to the city, without loss of time: And they were very near quitting the assembly that moment, and leaving all their concerns to the deputies, without settling any thing relating to their security, if Brutus had not stood

⁴³ Τας χειρας υμιν αμα ταις πυλαις αναπειλασασα. Asking our author's pardon, this prettiness, which might do well enough in a comedy of Aristophanes, is, in my opinion, below the dignity of history; and very un-

seasonable at the winding up of a speech made upon so interesting an occasion. However, this, I believe, is the only time he has indulged his imagination at the expence of his judgement.

up, and restrained their eagerness, saying, that the promises, made by the senate, were, indeed, advantageous to the people ; and he desired that great thanks might be returned to them for those concessions: But he said that he was afraid of what might happen in future times ; and that tyrannical men might, one day, (if an occasion offered) attempt to make the people feel their resentment for what they had done : And that the only security to those, who were afraid of their superiors, was, for the former to be convinced, that, if the others had the will to injure them, they should not have the power : For, as long as ill men had the power, they would never want the will. If, therefore, they could obtain this security, they should want nothing more. And Menenius having replied, and desired him to name the security he thought the people yet stood in need of ; the other said ; Give us leave to chuse, out of our own body, every year, a certain number of magistrates, who shall be invested with no other power, than to relieve those plebeians, to whom any injury, or violence is offered ; and to suffer none of them to be deprived of their rights. This favor we intreat, and beg you to add to Those you have, already, granted us, if our accommodation is not designed to end in words only, without effect.

LXXXVIII. When the people heard this, they gave great, and long acclamations to Brutus, and desired the deputies to grant this also. These, having withdrawn from the assembly, and conferred together, returned not long after. And, all being silent, Menenius presented himself, and said ;

“ This

“ This is a matter of great moment, and full of strange
 “ suspicions: And we are disquieted with fear, and anxiety,
 “ lest we should, by this, form two commonwealths in one
 “ city. However, as for ourselves, we do not oppose your
 “ desire even in this: But grant this to us, which is, also, for
 “ your own interest; Allow some of the deputies to go to the
 “ city, and inform the senate of these things: For, though
 “ we have a power from them to conclude an accommoda-
 “ tion in such a manner as we think fit, and can, at our
 “ own discretion, make such promises in their name, as we
 “ please, yet we do not think proper to take this upon our-
 “ selves: But, since a new matter has been, unexpectedly,
 “ proposed to us, we design to abrogate our own power,
 “ and refer it to the senate: However, we are persuaded the
 “ senate will be of the same opinion with us in this respect.
 “ I, therefore, shall stay here, and, with me, some of the
 “ deputies: And Valerius, with the rest, shall go to the
 “ senate.” This was resolved upon; and the persons, ap-
 pointed to inform the senate of what had happened, rode in
 all haste to Rome. The consuls having proposed the affair
 to the senators, Valerius was of opinion to grant this favor,
 also, to the people. On the other side, Appius, who, from
 the beginning, had opposed the accommodation, did not
 fail to oppose this demand also; crying out, calling the gods
 to witness, and foretelling what seeds of future evils they
 were sowing in the commonwealth. But he was not able to
 prevail with the majority of the senate, who, as I said, had
 resolved to put an end to the sedition. They passed a decree,
 by

by which they ratified all the promises, made by the deputies to the people; and granted the security they desired. The deputies, having transacted these things, returned to the camp the next day; and made known the resolutions of the senate. After which, Menenius advised the plebeians to send some persons to receive the assurances, which the senate was to give: And, pursuant to this, Lucius Junius Brutus, of whom I before made mention, Marcus Decius, and Spurius Icilius were sent: With these, one half of the deputies returned to the city; and Agrippa, with the rest, remained in the camp, being desired by the plebeians to draw up the law for the creation of their magistrates.

LXXXIX. The next day, Brutus, and those, who had been sent with him, having completed the agreement with the senate, by the intervention of the *Ειρηνοδίκαι*, called by the Romans, *Feciales*, returned to the camp: And the people dividing themselves into the *Φρατρίαι*, consisting of the citizens then in the camp, or, however they may be termed, which the Romans call, *Curiae*, they chose for their annual magistrates the following persons, Lucius Junius Brutus, and Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, who, to that time, had been their leaders: And, to these, they added Caius, and Publius Licinnius, and Spurius Icilius Ruga.⁴⁴ These five persons were the first, who received

⁴⁴ Οὗτοι δημαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτοι παρέλαβον οἱ πέντε ἄνδρες. ⁱ Livy does not seem to contradict our author concerning the number of the first tribunes so much as to doubt whether two, or five, were, at first, created.

ⁱ B. ii. c. 33.

However, there is great reason to believe, with Dionysius, that their number was, originally, five; because ^k Livy himself says that, when ten tribunes were created thirty six years after, two were chosen out of each

^k B. iii. c. 30.

the tribunitian power, with which they were invested on the fourth day before the ides of December, as it is practised

class; the last being not considered; *tricesimo sexto anno a primis tribunis plebis, decem creati sunt; bini ex singulis classibus*. It is, therefore, probable that the same rule was observed in the creation of the first tribunes, and that one was then chosen out of every class. I observe, not without some indignation, that all modern writers, whose works have fallen into my hands, treat the tribunes of the people, as incendiaries, and disturbers of the public peace; not considering that the establishment of the tribuneship was, not only, the source, but the support, of liberty; and that, if the Romans had not been a free people, they would have figured in the world as little as any of their neighbours, and would never have erected so immense a power, which liberty alone could raise, as the loss of that liberty subverted it. When I say this, I do not mean to justify the extravagance of every hot brained tribune; but only to shew that the liberty of the Romans was owing to this institution; and that the formed design of the senate, after the expulsion of the kings, and, particularly, after the death of the last, was to render the people as great slaves to aristocracy, as they had, before, been to monarchy; and not to free them from tyranny, but, only, to make them change their tyrants. This I shall shew, not from our author, whose history will supply the reader with numberless instances of what I have advanced; but from Livy, whose diligence in searching

into the ancient history of his country I wish I could commend as much as his impartiality in stating the subjects of dispute between the senate, and people, his just reflexions on those disputes, and his eloquence in expressing those reflexions. ¹ Livy, therefore, will tell us that the news of the death of the last Tarquin transported the senate with too luxurious a joy, the first effect of which was to injure the people, whom, till then, they had courted: *Eo nuncio ereēti patres, ereēta plebs; sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit lætitia: Plebi, cui ad eam diem summā ope inservitum erat, injuriæ a primoribus fieri coepere*. The people, in expelling their tyrant, designed to expel tyranny too; against the return of which, in another shape, they could find no security, after the senate had, so often, deceived them, but in the institution of their own magistrates. These ^m Cicero compares with the Lacedæmonian ephori, and thinks it was not without reason that the ephori were opposed to the kings at Sparta, and the tribunes to the consuls at Rome. *Quare nec ephori Lacedæmone sine causâ a Theopompo oppositi regibus; nec apud nos consulibus tribuni*. This was the opinion that great man entertained of the institution of the tribunes; which has been traduced with so much virulence by slavish writers, who, no doubt, understood government in general, and the Roman constitution in particular, much better than Cicero.

¹B. ii. c. 21. ^m De Legibus, B. iii. c. 7.

even to this time. The election being over, the deputies of the senate looked upon every thing, contained in their instructions, to have been performed : But Brutus, calling the plebeians together, advised them to render this magistracy sacred and inviolable ; and to establish the security of it both by a law, and an oath. This was approved of by all ; and the following law was drawn up by him, and his colleagues :
 “ Let none compel a tribune of the people, like a private
 “ person, to do any thing against his will : Let none whip
 “ him, or order another to whip him : Let none kill him,
 “ or order another to kill him : And, if any person shall
 “ act contrary to any one of these injunctions, let him be ac-
 “ cursed, and his goods consecrated to Ceres : And, if any
 “ one kills the person, who has committed these things, let
 “ him not be guilty of murder.” And to the end the people might not, even in future times, be at liberty to repeal this law, but that it might, for ever, remain unalterable, it was ordained that all the Romans should swear, by every thing sacred, that both they, and their posterity would, ever after, most assuredly preserve it. And this ⁴⁵prayer, and imprecation was added to the oath : That the heavenly, and infernal gods might be propitious to the observers of it, and

⁴⁵ *Ἀεα*. This is an unlucky word for us translators. It signifies both a *prayer*, and a *curse* ; and, the following sentence containing both, the word is no doubt exceeding proper in this place : But, what are Latin, French, and English translators to do, whose language cannot supply them with a

word of this double import ? Portus has said *Precatio*, and his follower, le Jay, *Prieres* ; Sylburgius, *Imprecatio*, and M. * * *, *Imprecation*. I have used both ; because it is as absurd to apply an imprecation to a prayer, as it is to apply a prayer to an imprecation.

chastise the transgressors of it, as persons guilty of the most execrable impiety. This gave birth to the custom established among the Romans of looking upon the persons of the tribunes of the people to be all-sacred: Which custom continues to this day.

XC. After they had voted these things, they erected an altar upon the summit of the hill, where they had incamped, which they named, in their own language, the altar of *Jupiter Terribilis*, from the terror with which, at that time, they were possessed: To whom they performed sacrifices; and, having consecrated the place, which had received them, they went down to the city with the deputies. After this, they, also, returned thanks to the gods worshipped in the city; and prevailed upon the patricians to pass a vote for the confirmation of their new magistracy: And, having obtained this also, they desired further that the senate would allow them to create, every year, two persons out of their own body, to act as ministers to the tribunes in every thing they should stand in need of; to determine such causes, as the others should refer to them; and to take care of the consecrated, and public places; and that the market be supplied with plenty of provisions. Having obtained this concession, also, from the senate, they chose those persons, whom they called the ministers, and the colleagues of the tribunes, and judges: However, they are, now, called, in their language, from one of their functions, *Aediles*, that is, ⁴⁶ *Superintendants of the holy edifices*;

⁴⁶ Ἱερῶν τοπῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. These were different from the curule aediles, who were not instituted till the year of

and still retain a power subordinate to other magistrates, which they were, before, possessed of : Many affairs of great moment are intrusted to them ; and, in most things, they resemble those magistrates, among the Greeks, called *Ἀγορανομοί*, *Superintendants of the markets*.

XCI. When affairs were settled, and the commonwealth was restored to its former state, an army was raised, by the generals, to be employed in foreign wars : In this the people engaged with great chearfulness ; and, in a short time, got every thing ready, that was necessary for the war. The consuls, having drawn lots for their administration, according to custom, Spurius Cassius, to whom the government of the city was allotted, kept with him as many of the forces, which had been raised, as were necessary, and gave the rest to his colleague. With these Postumus Cominius took the field, having with him a considerable number both of the Romans themselves, and of the Latin auxiliaries. And, designing to fall upon the Volsci first, he took by storm a city belonging to them, called Longula, notwithstanding the inhabitants shewed an appearance of bravery, and sent some forces into the field, in hopes of forcing the enemy to retire : But these being put to a shameful flight, before they had performed any remarkable action, the others did not behave themselves with the least courage in the

Rome 388 ; which year was remarkable for three things ; the first plebeian consul, the institution of the praetorship, and That of the curule aediles ;

" annus hic crit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis novis duobus magistratibus, praeturâ et curuli aedilitate.

" Livy, B. vii. c. 1.

assault :

assault: So that, the Romans, in one day, and without trouble, possessed themselves of their country; and also, took their city by storm, without much difficulty. The Roman general granted all the booty to the soldiers; and, having left a garrison there, he led his army against another city of the Volsci, called ⁴⁷ Polusca, not far distant from Longula; and, none daring to oppose him, he marched through the country with great ease, and assaulted the walls; when, some of the soldiers forcing open the gates, and others scaling the walls, they made themselves masters of this city also, the same day they attacked it. After the consul had taken the city, he caused a few of the inhabitants, who had been the authors of the revolt, to be put to death; and, having punished the rest by taking away their effects, and disarmed them, he obliged them to be subject to the Romans for the future.

XCII. He left, in this city also, a small part of the army, as a garrison; and, the next day, marched with the rest to ⁴⁷ Corioli, a city of very great note; and looked upon as the metropolis of the Volsci. In which city, there was a strong garrison; the walls were not easy to be scaled; and every thing necessary for a siege had been, long before, prepared by the inhabitants. The consul ordered an attack to be made upon the walls;

⁴⁷ Πολεσκα, το διασημα, etc. ° Cluver has shewn that we must read these words in this manner, instead of πολεις, καλα διασημα, as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts. This is confirmed by P Livy, who, in speaking

of the towns taken by Cominius this campaign, says; *inde Poluscam, item Volscorum, cepit.*

⁴⁸ Επι Κοριολαν. In Latin, *Corioli*. See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

° Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8. P B. ii. c. 33.

and, having continued the attack till late in the evening, he was repulsed with great loss. The next day, he got ready the ⁴⁹ battering rams with their coverings, and scaling ladders, and was preparing to give a general assault to the city; but, receiving intelligence that the Antiates designed to come with numerous forces to the assistance of the Coriolani, by reason of their affinity to them; and that they were, already, upon their march, he divided his army, and resolved, with one half of it, to assault the city, leaving the command of it to Titus Lartius; and, with the other, to stop the march of the auxiliaries. By this means, there were two actions the same day; and the Romans gained the victory in both; all of them having fought with great ardor: And one of them, in particular, shewed an incredible bravery, and performed actions, that exceed all relation: This person was a patrician, and of no obscure parents; his name Caius Marcius: He was a man of sobriety in his private life, and of a free spirit. The circumstances of both actions were these: Lartius, having marched out of the camp with his

⁴⁹ Κρις τε και γέρρα. Harpocration says that γέρρον signifies any kind of cover, whether made of skins, or of any other matter; *ἅπαν σκεπασμα, εἴτε δερμαίνον εἴη, εἴτε αλλης τινος ὕλης, γέρρον ελεγετο*. This is a general explication of the word: But I take γέρρον to signify, in this place, what the Romans called, *Testudo*; such a one as is described by ¹ Vitruvius; which was a small moveable house of carpenter's work, the roof of which was covered with the

hides of oxen. Under this roof, the battering ram was suspended, and played against the walls of a town. I doubt much whether *Mantelets*, in le Jay, or *Gabions*, in M. * * *, are proper translations of γέρρον; because neither of these are covered; and, though both may be a good defence against shot, which flies in a horizontal line, yet they cannot defend the men from any thing, that comes from above.

army by break of day, advanced to the walls of Corioli, and assailed the city in many places: On the other side, the Coriolani, elated with the expectation of succours from the Antiates, which they concluded would soon arrive, opened all their gates, and made a general sally upon the enemy. The Romans sustained their first attack, and wounded many of those, who charged them: After which, the numbers of the assailants encreasing, they were forced down a descent, and fled. Marcius, whom I before mentioned, seeing this, stood his ground with a few men, and sustained the attack of the whole body of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and the rest giving way, and flying to the city, he pursued them, killing all he could overtake; and called out, without intermission, to those of his own men, who fled, to face about, to take courage, and follow him: These, ashamed of their action, rallied, and pressed upon all before them, wounding, and pursuing them: In a short time, every man put to flight those he was engaged with, and pushed on to the walls of the city: And Marcius, exposing himself, now, with greater boldness, advanced still; and, coming to the gates, entered them together with those, who were flying before him: And many others also, forcing their way into the city in various places, great numbers were slain on both sides; some fighting in the streets, and others in the houses they were taking. The women, also, assisted the inhabitants, by throwing down tiles upon the enemy from the roofs. And every one, according to his strength, and power, bravely defended his country. However, they
did

did not long resist these terrors, but were obliged to surrender to the conquerors. The city being taken in this manner, most of the Romans employed themselves in plundering, and continued for a long time intent on the booty ; there being found in the city a large quantity of money, and a great number of slaves.

XCIII. But Marcius, who had first sustained the shock of the enemy, and distinguished himself above all the Romans, both in the attack of the city, and in the several actions, which had happened within the walls, gave still more illustrious proofs of his valor in the second battle against the Antiates : For he resolved to have a share in this action also : And, as soon as the city was taken, he took with him a small number of men, who were able to follow him ; and, running in all haste, found the two armies, already, drawn up, and going to engage. He was the first man, who informed the Romans that the city was taken ; and, as a proof of it, shewed them the smoke, which broke out, in great abundance, from the houses, that were on fire ; and, having obtained leave of the consul, he drew up his men opposite to the strongest body of the enemy. As soon as the signal for the battle was given, he charged first ; and, having killed many of those he encountered, he forced his way into the middle of their army. The Antiates durst, no longer, engage him hand to hand ; but, leaving their ranks, where he attacked, they surrounded him in a body ; and, retreating as he advanced upon them, assailed him with missile weapons. Postumus, being informed
of

of this, and fearing lest the man, thus left alone, might meet with some misfortune, sent some of the bravest youth to his relief: These, doubling their files, charged the enemy; and the first line not sustaining their charge, but flying before them, they pressed forward, and found Marcius covered with wounds, and many lying round him, some dead, and others expiring. After which, they joined their forces; and, led on by Marcius, attacked those of the enemy, who still kept their ranks, killing all, who made any resistance, and treating them like slaves. Many Romans gained great reputation by their behaviour in this action; but those, who defended Marcius, greater than the rest; and Marcius himself the greatest of all; who was, without any doubt, the chief cause of the victory. When it grew dark, the Romans retired to their camp, greatly exulting in the advantage they had gained, having killed many of the Antiates, and carrying with them a great number of prisoners.

XCIV. The next day, Postumus, having assembled the army, gave great commendations to Marcius; and crowned him with the crowns, usually, given to the person, who has shewn the greatest bravery, as rewards for his behaviour in both the actions: He presented him, also, with a war horse, adorned with all the ensigns belonging to That of a general; together with ten captives, such as he should chuse; and as much silver, as he himself should be able to carry; and many other valuable things, as the first-fruits of the booty. This being followed by great acclamations of the army, in token of their applause, and congratulation, Marcius advanced, and said, that
 he

he returned great thanks both to the consul, and to all present, for the honors they did him: However, that he should not accept them; but would be contented with the war horse for the sake of the illustrious ensigns; and with one captive, with whom he happened to have an intercourse of hospitality. The soldiers, who had, before, admired the man for his valor, now admired him still more for his contempt of riches, and for his moderation in such prosperity. From this action, he was surnamed Coriolanus; and became the most illustrious man of his age. This having been the event of the battle with the Antiates, the rest of the Volscian nation, together with all those, who had espoused their resentments, made peace with the Romans; and such as were, already, in arms, or preparing for war, laid aside the thoughts of it: All of whom Postumus treated with humanity; and, returning home, disbanded the army. Cassius, the other consul, who had been left at Rome, in the mean time consecrated the temple of Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine, which stands at the end of the great circus, and is built over the starting places; and which Aulus Postumius, the dictator, made a vow to dedicate to the gods, in the name of the commonwealth, when he was upon the point of engaging the army of the Latines; and the senate, after the victory, having decreed that this temple should be built, intirely, out of the spoils, the work was, then, finished.

XCV. At the same time, the treaties of peace, and friendship were renewed with all the Latin cities upon oath: The
reason

reason of which was, that they had not attempted to raise any commotions during the sedition; and had, not only, made public rejoicings for the return of the people, but had, also, shewn great readiness to assist the Romans in reducing those nations, which had revolted from them. The articles of these treaties were as follows: “ Let there be peace between
 “ the Romans, and all the Latin cities, as long as the heavens,
 “ and the earth shall remain in the same situation: Let
 “ them neither make war upon one another themselves,
 “ bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a safe passage to those,
 “ who shall make war upon either: Let them assist one
 “ another, when warred upon, with all their forces; and
 “ let both have an equal share of the spoils, and booty, taken
 “ in their common wars: Let suits, relating to private con-
 “ tracts, be determined in ten days among that people,
 “ where the contract was made: And let nothing be added
 “ to, or taken away from, these treaties, but by the joint
 “ consent both of the Romans, and of all the Latines.”
 These were the articles of the treaties entered into by the Romans, and the Latines, and confirmed by their oaths. The senate, also, decreed that sacrifices should be offered up to the gods, in thanksgiving for their reconciliation with the people, and added a third day to the ⁵⁰ Latin festivals: The first of which was appointed by Tarquinius, when the Romans overcame the Tyrrhenians: The second the people added, after they had freed the commonwealth by the expulsion of the kings: To which the third was, now,

⁵⁰ Λατῖναις ἑορταῖς. See the fifty eighth annotation on the fourth book.

added, on account of the return of the seceders. The superintendence, and care of the sacrifices, and games, performed during these festivals, was committed to the ministers of the tribunes of the people, who are, now, as I said, invested with the agoranomical, or aedilitian power; and they were honoured by the senate with a purple robe, an ivory chair, and the other ensigns, before, made use of by the kings.

XCVI. Not long after this festival, Menenius Agrippa, one of the consular senators, died: This person had overcome the Sabines, and triumphed in a most glorious manner for that victory: By his persuasion, the senate allowed the seceders to return; and the people, through the confidence they placed in him, laid down their arms: He was buried at the expence of the public; and his funeral was, of all others, the most honourable, and the most splendid. The fortunes of this person were not sufficient to defray the expence of a magnificent funeral, and interment: So that, the trustees of his children resolved, after consultation, to carry him out of the city, and bury him like one of the vulgar, without any expence. This the people would not suffer; but the tribunes having assembled them, and, with great commendations, displayed both the military, and political virtues of the man, his temperance, and the simplicity of his life; and, above all things, celebrated, with the highest praises, his abstinence from every method of amassing riches, they said it would be the most dishonourable thing imaginable, that such a man should be buried in an obscure, and ignoble manner, by reason of his poverty: And they
advised

advised the people to take the expence of his funeral upon themselves, and every man to contribute towards it in such a proportion as they should order. The people received this proposal with joy : And each citizen, presently, bringing in the proportion he was taxed at, the contribution amounted to a large sum. The senate, being informed of this, were ashamed of the thing, and resolved not to suffer the most illustrious person of all the Romans to be buried by a private contribution, but thought it, highly, reasonable, that the expence should be defrayed by the public, and committed the care of it to the quaestors. These, having given a very large sum of money for the exhibition of his funeral, decorated his body with the most sumptuous ornaments ; and, furnishing every thing else, that could tend to magnificence, interred him in a manner worthy of his virtue. Upon which, the people, in emulation of the senate, refused even to receive the sum they had contributed, which the quaestors offered to return, but presented it to the children of the deceased in compassion to their poverty, and to prevent them from engaging in any pursuits derogatory to their father's virtue. There was also, at this time, a census performed by the consuls : According to which, the number of the citizens was found to amount to above one hundred and ten thousand. And these were the actions of the Romans under the consuls of this year.

The end of the Sixth book.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

TITUS Geganius Macerinus, and Publius Minucius having entered upon their consulship, a great scarcity of corn was felt at Rome, occasioned, originally, by the secession: For the people seceded from the patricians about the autumnal equinox, at the beginning of seed time: And the husbandmen left the country upon this commotion; and, dividing themselves, those, who were easiest in their fortunes, joined the patricians; and their servants, the plebeians: From that time, they remained asunder, till the commonwealth was composed, and reunited, the reconciliation not being effected long before the winter solstice: And, during that interval, which is the proper season for sowing all sorts of winter corn, the country was destitute of people to cultivate the land, and remained so for a considerable time: So that, even when the husbandmen returned, it was not easy for them to repair this damage,
par-

particularly as they had been great sufferers both by the desertion of their slaves, and the loss of their cattle, with which they were to cultivate their land; and that few of them had made any provision, for the next year, of corn either for feed, or for their support. The senate, being informed of these things, sent ambassadors to the Tyrrhenians, and to the Campanians, and also to the Pometine plain, to buy up all the corn they could. ¹ Publius Valerius, and

ANNOTATIONS on the Seventh Book.

¹ Ποπλιος Ουαλεριος. Glareanus, and, after him, M. * * *, censure two points, mentioned by our author, concerning the Valerian family. The first relates to Marcus Valerius, who, they say, was slain at the battle near the lake Regillus, and, afterwards, created dictator. And the other, that Dionysius makes Publius, and Marcus Valerius, the sons of Poplicola, to have been killed at the same battle; and, here, introduces Publius, as one of the two ambassadors, who were sent to Sicily. The first of these objections is, easily, answered, and would not have been made, if they had read, as they ought to have done, Manius Valerius, and not Marcus, for the name of the dictator. Concerning which, I shall not repeat what ^a I have, already, said upon that occasion. As to the second, I do not think it, at all, probable that Poplicola should have had two sons, whose names were Publius, which is the expedient M. * * * has recourse to: I rather think that the name, or rather praenomen of his son, who was slain near the lake

Regillus, was not Publius, possibly Manius, like That of his uncle, who was, afterwards, dictator; which is the more probable, because his brother Marcus, who was killed at the same time, had the same name with his uncle, in whose defence he lost his life. As for the person, who was sent to Sicily, his name was Publius: He was consul in 279 with Caius Nautius, under the name of Publius Valerius Poplicola. However, as great mistakes are imputed to our author by Glareanus, and, after him, by M. * * *, in relation to the Valerian family; and, as no family, ever, produced a succession of greater, and better men, I shall beg leave of the reader, to lay before him a pedigree of it, as far, at least, as these remaining books of our author will carry it; by which, I hope, his great exactness, rather than his inaccuracy, will appear. The reader will find this pedigree of the Valerian family to be, totally, different from That given of it by Sigonius in his notes upon the third book of Livy.

^a See the twenty seventh annotation on the sixth book.

Lucius Geganius were sent to Sicily: Of whom, Valerius was a son of Poplicola, and Geganius, brother to one of the consuls. At that time, the cities of Sicily were governed by kings, the most illustrious of whom was ² Gelo, the son of

VOLUSUS.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

MARCUS VALERIUS. MANIUS VALERIUS.

PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA. MARCUS VALERIUS. MANIUS VALERIUS. LUCIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

LUCIUS VALERIUS POTITUS.

We know nothing more of Volusus, than that he was the father of Publius Valerius Poplicola, Marcus Valerius, and Manius Valerius. Of the first our author has said a great deal: ^b He was four times consul. ^c His brother Marcus was consul with Publius Postumius Tubertus, in the year 249, the fifth year after the expulsion of the kings, and ^d lost his life at the battle near the lake Regillus in 258. ^e His brother Manius was dictator in the year 260. Publius Valerius Poplicola, the eldest son of Publius Valerius Poplicola, was sent ^f ambassador to Sicily in 262, ^g was consul in 279 with Caius Nautilus; and, also, in ^h 294 with Caius Claudius Sabinus; and, during his consulship, lost his life at the attack of the capitol, then in the possession of Appius Herdonius. ⁱ His two brothers, Marcus, and Manius, as I would read his name, lost their lives in defending their uncle Marcus in 258. The son of this Publius Valerius Poplicola was ^k Lucius Valerius Potitus, who, with Marcus Horatius Barbatus,

made so noble a stand against the tyranny of the decemvirs in 305, and, after their abolition, was, ^l with him, chosen consul the same, or the following year. As for Marcus, the second brother of the first Poplicola, I find he had a son, called Lucius Valerius Poplicola, who, ^m being quaestor in 269, accused Spurius Cassius for aiming at tyranny, and was very instrumental in bringing him to punishment. He was ⁿ chosen consul in 271 with Marcus Fabius; and, also, ^o in 284, with Tiberius Aemilius. I cannot find any thing relating to the descent of Marcus Valerius, who was ^p consul with Spurius Virginus in 298.

² Γελων ὁ Δεινομενης νεωσι την Ιπποκρατες παιδων τυραννιδα παρεληφως. It is astonishing that both the French translators should have taken their notes upon this passage, word for word, from a Latin note of Casaubon, without taking the least notice of him. The latter has, justly, observed that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates, as our author makes him, if we read

^b B. v. c. 40. ^c Ib. c. 37. ^d B. vi. c. 12. ^e Ib. c. 39. ^f B. vii. c. 1. ^g B. ix. c. 28.
^h B. x. c. 9. ⁱ B. vi. c. 12. ^k B. xi. c. 4. ^l B. xi. c. 45. ^m B. viii. c. 77.
ⁿ B. viii. c. 87. ^o B. ix. c. 51. ^p B. x. c. 31.

Dinomenes, who had, lately, succeeded in the kingdom to the sons of Hippocrates, and not Dionysius the Syracusan,

τῶ ἀδελφῷ, as it stands in all the editions, and manuscripts. For which reason I have substituted *παίδων*, the very word made use of by Herodotus, in the room of τῶ ἀδελφῷ: Since it is not possible to imagine our author did not know that Gelo was not the brother of Hippocrates; particularly, since his favourite author, Herodotus, has shewn who Gelo was, and, by what means, he, first, made himself king of Gela, and, afterwards, of Syracuse. It is a misfortune that the whole five books between the fifth, and the eleventh, in which last Diodorus Siculus treats of the death of Gelo, are lost; otherwise, we should be much better informed than we are, now, of many things relating to Hippocrates, and Gelo. However, I shall lay before the reader a short account of both, not from Casaubon, but from Herodotus; and add to it the number of years Gelo reigned at Syracuse; and the time, when he died, from Diodorus Siculus. Cleander, king of Gela, being slain by Sabyllus, after a reign of seven years, his brother Hippocrates succeeded him. In his reign, Gelo, a descendant of Telines, priest of the infernal gods, having given ^a many instances of his conduct, and bravery, was made general of the horse; and Hippocrates being killed at the siege of Hybla, after a reign of seven years, and the inhabitants of Gela growing uneasy under the government of Euclides, and Cleander (or Cassander, ac-

ording to the Medicean manuscript) the sons of Hippocrates, Gelo, under the pretence of supporting these, overcame the inhabitants of Gela in battle, and made himself king of that city. Some time after this, he possessed himself of Syracuse also, by restoring the Gamori, as has been, already, ^r said: So far Herodotus. ^s Diodorus Siculus says that Gelo died in the archonship of Timosthenes, after he had reigned seven years at Syracuse. Timosthenes was archon at Athens in the third year of the seventy fifth Olympiad: So that, he must have begun his reign at Syracuse in the first year of the seventy fourth Olympiad, when Leosthratus was archon at Athens. From this, it appears that the two ambassadors, who went to Sicily to buy corn in the second year of the seventy second Olympiad, were sent thither six years before Gelo was king of Syracuse. This affords le Jay, who has mistaken Casaubon, matter of great censure, as he thinks, against our author, who does not say that Gelo was king of Syracuse, when the Roman ambassadors went to Sicily; on the contrary, he says, plainly, that he had then, lately, succeeded to the kingdom of the sons of Hippocrates: Now, these were not kings of Syracuse, but of Gela: Consequently, Gelo had then, lately, succeeded to the kingdom of Gela; *νεώτερον τὴν Ἰπποκράτους παίδων τυραννίδα παρέληφας*. Gelo succeeded to the kingdom of Hippocrates, not to Hippocrates.

^a In Polym. c. 154 and 155.

^r See the thirty sixth annot. on the sixth book.

^s B. xi. c. 38.

as Licinnius, and Gellius have written, and many other Roman historians, without examining the circumstances of the time with accuracy, as the thing itself shews, but, rashly, relating the first account, that offered itself: For the embassadors, appointed to go to Sicily, set sail for that island in the second year of the seventy second Olympiad, Hybrilides being, that year, archon at Athens, seventeen years after the expulsion of the kings, as these, and almost all other historians agree: Whereas Dionysius, the elder, having invaded the liberties of the Syracusans the eighty fifth year after this, possessed himself of the tyranny in the third year of the ninety third Olympiad, Callias being, then, archon at Athens, after Antigenes. Those, who write the histories of early times, and such as contain the transactions of many ages, may, indeed, be forgiven an error of a few years; but not a deviation from the truth of two, or three intire generations: However, it is probable that the first, who gave this fact a place in his account of those times, whom all the rest have followed, finding only this, in the ancient writings, that embassadors were sent, under these consuls, to Sicily to buy corn, and returned from thence with the present of corn,

If I shew this, I hope it will recommend the alteration I have made of *τὰ ἀδελφὰ*, into *παίδων*, to the approbation of the reader. † Herodotus says that the pretence of Gelo, when he took arms against the inhabitants of Gela, was to assist *the sons* of Hippocrates; *τοῖσι Ἰπποκράτους παῖσι*, because the former would, *no longer*, submit to

their domination, *καὶ βελομένων τῶν πολυήλειων κατήκοων* ΕΤΙ εἶναι τῷ ἐργῷ: They had, therefore, submitted to it. This is the force of the word *ἐτι*; which is so very significant, so often used by the best writers, and so often left out by their translators, that I would desire every gentleman, who reads those writers, to pay a particular regard to it.

† In Polym. c. 155.

which

which the tyrant had given them, never informed themselves further from the Greek historians, who was, at that time, tyrant of Sicily, but, without examination, and, as it happened, called him Dionysius.

II. The embassadors, therefore, who embarked for Sicily, having met with a storm at sea, and, being obliged to sail round the island, were a long time before they arrived at the king's court; and, having staid the winter there, returned to Italy in the spring, bringing with them a great quantity of provisions. But those, who had been sent to the Pometine plain, were very near being put to death by the Volsci, as spies, the Roman exiles having accused them of being such: And, having, with very great difficulty, been able to save their persons, for which they were obliged to the activity of their own guests, they returned to Rome with the loss of their money, and without having effected any thing. The same misfortune happened to those, who went to ³ Cumae in Italy: For many Roman exiles, who had fled with Tarquinius out of the last battle, residing in that city, they, at first, endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant to deliver up the embassadors to them, to the end they might put them to death: But, not succeeding in this, they desired they might detain their persons, as pledges, till they should receive, from the city that sent them, their fortunes, which, they said, had been, unjustly, confiscated by the Romans; and thought it reasonable that the tyrant

³ Κυμη Ιταλιωλις. Our author has added the last word to distinguish it from Κυμη in Aeolis in the lesser Asia.

See the thirty first annotation on the fifth book.

should be the judge in this cause. Aristodemus, the son of Aristocrates, was, at that time, tyrant of Cumae, a man of no obscure birth, who was called, ⁴ Μαλακος, *Effeminate*, by the citizens, which appellation came to be more known in time than his own name; either because, when a boy, he was effeminate, and suffered that treatment, which is appropriated to women, as some relate; or because he was of a mild nature, and of a disposition too soft to be incensed, as others write: I look upon it not to be unreasonable to suspend the relation of the Roman affairs for a short time, in order to give an account of the opportunities, by which he was encouraged to aim at the tyranny, and of the measures he pursued to obtain it; of the manner in which he governed, and of the catastrophe he met with.

III. In the sixty fourth Olympiad, when Miltiades was archon at Athens, the Tyrrhenians, who inhabited the country lying near the Ionian gulph, and were driven from

⁴ Ος εκαλειτο μαλακος ὑπο των αἰων. Casaubon has a note, also, upon this occasion, which the French translators have rendered in their language, like the other, without the least acknowledgement. In this note, "Plutarch is quoted for saying that Aristodemus was not called μαλακος for any ignominious reason, but that he was called so by the Barbarians, in whose language, that word signifies *a youth*. I wish Plutarch had told us who these Barbarians were, who gave him this name. They could not be his fellow-citizens of Cumae, because these were

Greeks; and, in their language, every one, who understands it, knows the signification of μαλακος. But Plutarch, presently after, gives us great reason to believe that this name was given him, by the citizens of Cumae, for his infamous vice: For he says that, after Aristodemus had prevailed upon the army to assist him in banishing the senate, and he had obtained the tyranny, he surpassed himself in that very vice, from which he, probably, derived his name: ην μὲν ἐν ταῖς περὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ἐλευθερὰς ἀδικαίαις αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν μοχθηροτάτος.

⁵ Γεναικ. ἀγῆ. p. 261.

thence,

thence, in process of time, by the Celtae, together with the Umbri, the Daunii, and many other Barbarians, endeavoured to subvert Cumae, a Greek city, situated in the country of the Opici, and built by the citizens of Eretria, and Chalcis, without being able to alledge any other just cause of their animosity, than the prosperity of the city : For Cumae was, at that time, celebrated throughout all Italy for its riches, power, and many other advantages, as possessing the most fertile part of the Campanian plain, and being mistress of the most convenient havens round the promontory ⁵ Misenum. The Barbarians, therefore, inticed by these advantages, marched against this city with an army, consisting of no less than five hundred thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. While they lay incamped not far from the city, a prodigy happened to them, of so wonderful a nature, that nothing like it is recorded to have fallen out at any time, or in any place, either among the Greeks, or Barbarians : For the rivers, that ran near their camp, one of which is called the ⁶ Volturnus, and the other, the Glanis, leaving their natural course, flowed back, and, for a long time,

⁵ Μισήνον. See the one hundred and eighty second annotation on the first book.

⁶ Ουλίκενος — Γλανίς. The first of these is the most considerable river of Campania, and, still, retains its name, being called, by the Italians, *Volturno*, and *Voltorno*. At the mouth of this river, and on the left of it, stood a town, which, from the river, was called *Vulturnum*, where *Castello à mar di*

Volturno, is, now, to be seen. The other river was called *Glanis*, *Clanis*, *Glanius*, and *Liternus*, now, *il Lago*. On the right of this river, and near the mouth of it, stood the city of *Liternum*, famous for the voluntary exile of the first Scipio Africanus, whose country house was here ; on the ruins of which, a watch tower, called *la Torre di Patria*, was, afterwards, erected.

^w Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 2.

continued to run, from their mouths, to their sources. The Cumaeans, being informed of this prodigy, were encouraged by it to fight the Barbarians, in confidence that Heaven designed to depress the elevated condition of the latter, and to raise their own, which then seemed low. And, having divided all their youth into three bodies, they appointed one of them to defend the city, another to guard the ships, and the third they drew up under the walls to receive the enemy : These consisted of six hundred horse, and of four thousand five hundred foot. And, though so few in number, they sustained the attack of so many myriads.

IV. When the Barbarians heard they were resolved to fight, they came on shouting, according to the custom of Barbarians, without order, the horse intermixed with the foot, in expectation of cutting them all in pieces. The place, where they engaged, lay before the city, being a narrow valley, surrounded with mountains, and lakes, which was a friend to the valor of the Cumaeans, and an enemy to the multitude of the Barbarians : For, being thrown down, and trampled upon by one another, particularly in the boggs near the lake, the greatest part of them were destroyed by their own people, without, even, engaging the army of the Greeks. By this means, their foot, consisting of such numbers, defeated itself; and, without performing any brave action, dispersed themselves every way, and fled. However, the horse engaged, and gave the Greeks great trouble : But, being unable to surround them, by reason of the narrowness of the ground, and the gods assisting the Greeks, in some measure,

measure, with lightning, rain, and thunder, the others were seized with fear, and ran away. In this action, all the Cumæan horse fought with remarkable bravery; and were allowed to have been the chief cause of the victory. But Aristodemus, surnamed Malacus, distinguished himself above all the rest: For, he alone sustained the attack of the enemy, and killed their general, and, with him, many other brave men. The war being at an end, the Cumæans, having offered sacrifices to the gods in thanksgiving for their victory, and buried, in a sumptuous manner, those, who had been slain in the battle, entered into great contests to whom they ought to give the first crown, as a reward for his superior bravery: For the impartial judges were desirous to bestow this honor upon Aristodemus, who was, also, supported by the favor of all the people. On the other side, the men in power desired to confer it upon Hippomedon, the general of the horse; and, in this, the whole senate concurred: The Cumæans were, at that time, governed by an aristocracy, and the people had not the disposal of many things. A sedition arising from this contest, the men of a more advanced age, being afraid lest this emulation should proceed to arms, and murders, prevailed on both the parties to consent that each of the pretenders should receive an equal share of the honors. From this beginning, Aristodemus Malacus became a leader of the people; and, having acquired a faculty of speaking upon political subjects, he seduced them by his harangues, improved their condition by popular laws, discovered the depredations of the men in power,

power, and relieved many of the poor with his own money. By this means, he became both odious, and formidable, to the leading men of the aristocracy.

V. The twentieth year after the ingagement with the Barbarians, embassadors from the Aricini came to the Cumaeans with the ensigns of suppliants, to beg their assistance against the Tyrrhenians, who made war upon them : For, as ⁷ I related in a former book, Porfena, king of the Tyrrhenians, having made peace with the Romans, sent his son Aruns with one half of the army, at his desire, to acquire a sovereignty for himself. His son was, then, besieging the Aricini, whom he had forced to fly to their city for refuge, and expected to take it, soon, by famine. When these embassadors arrived, the leading men of the aristocracy, hating Aristodemus, and fearing he might do some prejudice to the established government, thought they had the fairest of all opportunities to get rid of him, under a specious pretence : And, having prevailed upon the people to send two thousand men to the relief of the Aricini, and appointed Aristodemus to be their general, as a man famous for his military achievements, they, after that, took such measures, as gave them room to expect that he would either be destroyed in battle by the Tyrrhenians, or perish at sea : For, being empowered by the senate to raise the forces, that were to be sent as auxiliaries, they employed no men of family, or reputation ; but, chusing out the poorest, and the most profligate of the common people, from whom they

2. Ως εν τοις προ τῆς δεδηλωκα λόγους. See the thirty sixth chapter of the fifth book.

were

were under continual apprehension of some innovations, they, with these, made up the complement of men, who were to be sent upon this expedition ; and having brought out of the docks ten old ships, the worst failors they had, and appointed the poorest of all the Cumaeans to command them, they embarked the forces on board these ships, threatening with death every one, who should desert the service.

VI. Upon which, Aristodemus, having only said that he was not ignorant of the design of his enemies, who were sending him, in appearance, to the assistance of the Aricini, but, in reality, to manifest destruction, accepted the command, and, immediately, set sail with the embassadors of the Aricini ; and, having performed the voyage with great difficulty, and danger, he arrived on the coast near to Aricia ; and, leaving a sufficient number of men to guard the ships, he marched, the first night, from the sea, to that city, which was not far distant, and, unexpectedly, appeared the next morning early within sight of the inhabitants : Then, incamping near the city, and having prevailed upon the citizens, who had fled to Aricia, to come out into the field, he, presently, invited the Tyrrhenians to an engagement. And, a sharp battle ensuing, the Aricini, after a very short resistance, all gave way, and, again, fled to the city : But Aristodemus, with a small body of Cumaeans, who were chosen men, sustained the united shock of the enemy ; and, having killed the general of the Tyrrhenians with his own own hand, he put these foreigners to flight, and gained the most glorious of all victories. After he had performed these things,

things, and been honoured with many presents by the Aricini, he sailed away immediately, desiring to be himself the messenger to the Cumaeans of his own victory. He was followed by a great number of merchant ships belonging to the Aricini, laden with the spoils, and prisoners, taken from the Tyrrhenians. When they were arrived near Cumae, he brought his ships to the shore; and, assembling his army, inveighed, vehemently, against the chief men of the city, and gave great commendations to those soldiers, who had distinguished themselves in the late engagement; and, having given money to every one of them, and divided the presents he had received from the Aricini among them all, he desired they would remember these favors, when they returned home; and, if he should be threatened with any danger from the oligarchy, that every one of them would assist him to the utmost of his power. All the soldiers acknowledged themselves to be under great obligations to him, not only, for their unexpected preservation, for which they were indebted to him, but, also, for their not returning home with empty hands; and promised to sacrifice their own lives, sooner than to abandon him to his enemies: Upon which, he commended their zeal, and dismissed the assembly. After this, he called into his tent those among them, who were the most profligate, and the most daring in their own persons; and, having corrupted them with presents, fair words, and hopes, the seducers of all men, he engaged them to assist him in subverting the established government.

VII. After he had secured the concurrence, and assistance of these men, and acquainted every one with the part he was to act, he set at liberty all the prisoners he had brought, without ransom, in order to gain their affection also, and sailed into the ports of Cumae, his ships carrying the ensigns of victory. When the soldiers disembarked, they were met by their fathers, mothers, the rest of their relations, their children and wives, who, embracing them with tears, and kisses, saluted each of them with the most tender appellations: And all the other citizens, receiving the general with joy, and applause, conducted him to his house. The chief men of the city, particularly those, who had given him the command, and concerted the other measures for his destruction, were grieved at this, and full of apprehensions for their future safety. After a few days were passed, in which Aristodemus employed himself in performing his vows to the gods, and in waiting for the merchant ships, that were not yet arrived, when the time was come, he said he desired to give the senate an account of the circumstances of the battle, and shew them the spoils. The senators assembling in great numbers, he presented himself, and made a speech to them, in which he related every thing, which had passed in the engagement. While he was speaking, his accomplices in the conspiracy rushed into the senate, in a body, with swords under their garments, and killed all the partisans of the aristocracy. Upon this, all, who were in the forum, except those, privy to the conspiracy, saved themselves by flight; some

running into their houses, and others out of the city : In the mean time, the conspirators possessed themselves of the citadel, and the docks, and the other strong places of the city. The following night, he released out of prison all under sentence of death, who were many ; and, arming them, together with his friends, among whom were the Tyrrhenian prisoners, he formed of all these a guard for the security of his person. When it was day, he assembled the people ; and, after many invectives against the citizens, who had been put to death by his orders, he said that, having often fought his life, they had been justly punished by him, and that he was come to give liberty, equality, and many other advantages to all the rest of the citizens.

VIII. Having said this, and filled all the people with wonderful hopes, he established two institutions, which are, of all others, the most destructive, and the prologues to every tyranny, a division of lands, and an abolition of debts ; and promised, that he would take upon himself the care of both these things, if he were appointed general with absolute power, till the public tranquillity should be secured, and they had established a democracy. The populace, and, particularly, the most profligate part of it, joyfully receiving a proposal, which exposed the fortunes of other men to their rapine, Aristodemus invested himself with the absolute command, and proposed another measure, by which he deceived them, and deprived them all of their liberty : For, pretending to suspect that the rich would raise disturbances, and insurrections against the common people, on account of
of

of the division of lands, and the abolition of debts, he said the only means he could think of to prevent a civil war, and the slaughter of citizens, and to guard against these miseries before they happened, was, for all of them to bring their arms out of their houses, and to consecrate them to the gods, that they might make use of them against the invasions of a foreign enemy, whenever there should be a necessity for it, and not against one another; and that, in the mean time, they would be, properly, disposed of, when placed in the temples of the gods. They being prevailed upon to agree to this also, he disarmed all the Cumaeans the same day, and, the following days, he searched their houses; where he put to death many worthy citizens, pretending they had not delivered up all their arms to be consecrated to the gods: After which, he strengthened his tyranny by three sorts of guards; the first consisted of the meanest, and the most abandoned of the citizens, by whose means he had destroyed the aristocracy; the second, of the most impious slaves, whom he himself had manumitted for having killed their masters; and the third, of the most savage Barbarians, hired by him as mercenary troops: These did not amount to less than two thousand, and were far better soldiers than any of the rest. He removed the statues of those he had put to death, from all places, both sacred and profane, and placed his own in their room; and, seizing their houses, and their estates, and the rest of their fortunes, he reserved for himself the gold, and silver, and every thing else, that was not too mean for the dignity of a tyrant, and

divided the remainder among the instruments of his usurpation: But the greatest part of these presents, and the most valuable he gave to the slaves, who had killed their masters: However, these insisted, also, to marry their wives, and daughters.

IX. At first, he made no account of the male children of those, who had been put to death; but afterwards, either by the direction of some oracle, or from the reflexion he might, naturally, make, that, in them, no small danger was breeding up against him, he resolved to murder them all in one day: But, as all the men, to whom their mothers were married after the death of their former husbands, and by whom the children themselves were bringing up, begged, earnestly, of him to spare them, he was willing to grant them this favor also; and, contrary to his resolution, did not put them to death: However, to prevent their entering into any conspiracy against the tyranny, he took this precaution; he ordered them all to depart the city, and live in the country dispersed here and there, and to be instructed in no science, or discipline becoming the children of freemen; but to tend flocks, and perform other works of agriculture; threatening with death every one of them, who should be found in the city. Upon which, these children, being turned out of the houses of their ancestors, were brought up in the country like slaves, and served the murderers of their fathers. And, to the end that no generous, or manly spirit might spring up in the rest of the citizens, he resolved to effeminate, by education, the whole race of the youth, then
bringing

bringing up in the city; and, with that view, he suppressed the schools, and the exercise of arms; and changed the manner of living, before in use among the youth: For, he ordered the boys to wear their hair long, like girls, to^s dye it yellow, to curl it, and fasten those curls to cauls of net-work, and to wear imbroidered vests, that reached down to their feet, and, over these, thin, and soft mantles, and to pass their lives in the shade: And, when they went to the schools, where dancing, playing on the flute, and such kinds of musical allurements were taught, their governesses attended them with umbrellos and fans, washed them with their own hands, when they bathed, and supplied them with combs, alabaſter pots full of precious ointments, and looking-glasses. By this education, he continued to enervate the youth, till they had completed their twentieth year; and, from that time, suffered them to be considered as men. Having by these, and many other methods, abused, and insulted the Cumaeans, without refraining from any kind of lust, or cruelty, when he thought himself secure in the possession of the tyranny, being now grown old, he was punished to the satisfaction both of gods, and men, and extirpated with all his family.

^s Εξαιθίζομεναι. I am afraid Casaubon is mistaken in interpreting this word ανθρι πατρίομεναι: For I cannot find it used in that sense in any author. But I find εξανθίζω taken in the same sense with ξανθίζω, against which Casaubon cautions his readers. However, the Greek scholiast makes the following observation upon these words of

Aristophanes, * αἱ καθ' ἑμὲ ἐξηθισμένοι τινες δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐξανθίζειν λαμβανουσιν αὐτὴ τὴν ἀπλὴν ξανθίζειν, καὶ ἐστὶ ξανθὸν ποιεῖν. For this reason, I do not think it necessary, with Stephens, to substitute ξαιθίζομεναι in the room of ἐξανθίζομεναι. ^y Julius Pollux, in speaking of those, whose hair was dyed yellow, or black, says, ξανθίζεσθαι τὴν κομὴν, καὶ μελαινέσθαι.

* Δυσίς. v. 43.

^y B. ii. Segm. 35.

X. The persons, who rose against him, and freed their country from the tyranny, were the sons of the citizens he had murdered: All of whom he had, at first, resolved to put to death in one day; but, being prevailed upon by the intreaties of his life guards, to whom he had given their mothers in marriage, he changed his resolution, as I said, and ordered them to live in the country. A few years after, as he was making a progress through the villages, he saw a great number of these youths, who made a brave appearance; and, fearing they might concert an insurrection against him, he resolved to prevent it, by putting them all to death, before any one of them should be aware of it: And, assembling his friends, he considered with them by what means, they might, with the greatest ease, and expedition, be, privately, put to death. The youths, being apprized of this, either by the information of some person, who was acquainted with the design, or suspecting it from well-grounded conjectures, fled to the mountains, taking with them the iron instruments they used in husbandry. They were, presently, joined by the Cumæan exiles, who resided in Capua; the most considerable of whom, and those, who brought with them the greatest number of Campanians, their guests, were the sons of Hippomedon, who had been general of the horse in the Tyrrhenian war: These came well armed themselves, and brought with them arms for the youths, and also, a good body of Campanian mercenaries, and of their own friends, which they had raised. When they were all joined, they came down from the
moun-

mountains, and plundered the lands of their enemies; inticed the slaves from their masters; released the prisoners everywhere, and armed them; and the effects, and cattle they could not carry off, they either burnt, or killed. While the tyrant was at a loss to resolve in what manner he should make war upon them, because they neither made their attempts openly, nor staid long in the same places, but measured their incursions, either from the coming on of the night, to the break of day, or, from thence, to the return of the night; and, after he had, often, sent out forces to the relief of the country in vain, one of the fugitives, sent by the rest as a deserter, his body being torne with whips, came to him; and, after suing for impunity, promised the tyrant to conduct the troops he should think fit to send with him, to the place, where the fugitives proposed to incamp the following night. The tyrant, being induced to trust this man, who asked nothing, and offered his own person as an hostage, sent those of his commanders, whom he, chiefly, confided in, with a great number of horse, and the band of mercenaries, with orders to bring all the fugitives, if possible, if not, the greatest part of them, to him in chains. The pretended deserter led the army, during the whole night, through untrodden paths, and desert woods, where they suffered exceedingly, to those parts, that were farthest from the city.

XI. In the mean time, the revolvers, and the fugitives, who lay in ambuscade on the hills, with which the lake
Avernus

⁹ Avernus is surrounded, not far from Cumae, being informed by the signals, made by their scouts, that the tyrant's army was marched out of the city, sent thither about sixty the most resolute among them, dressed in leather doublets, with faggots of brush wood upon their shoulders: These found means to get into the city about the close of the evening, like labourers, some at one gate, and some at another, without being taken notice of: When they were there, they drew out the swords they had concealed in the faggots, and all met in the same place. Marching from thence, in a body, to the gates, that led to the lake Avernus, they killed the guards, while they were asleep; and their own army being, by this time, arrived near the walls, they opened the gates, and received them all into the city; and, in doing this also, they were not discovered: For, that night, there happened to be a public festival, and all the citizens were drinking, and employed in other diversions, which gave the others an opportunity of marching through all the streets, that led to the tyrant's palace, without being disturbed: Neither did they find, even at the gates, any

⁹ Αορνου. This was the Greek name for the *Avernus lacus*. The reason of this Greek appellation is, thus, given by ² Virgil;

*Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter penmis; talis sese balitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Aornum.*

¹ The pestiferous quality of the air,

stagnating over this lake, which was so ² noxious to birds, was owing to the hills covered with wood, that surrounded it, as all authors agree; and as it appeared, when Agrippa, by the order of Augustus, cut down these woods: For, after that, the air lost its ill quality. This lake, now, called, ^b *il lago d'Averno*, and *il lago di Trepergole*, lies, nearly, east of Cumae.

² Aeneid. B. vi. v. 239.

^a Strabo, B. v. p. 375.

^b Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iv. c. 2.

number of guards upon duty; but, here also, some were asleep, and others drunk, whom they killed without any difficulty; and, rushing into the palace in a body, they found all the rest inebriated both in body, and mind, with drunkenness, and stabbed them like sheep: And, having seized Aristodemus himself, with his sons, and the rest of his relations, they tore their bodies with whips, and tortures, during a great part of the night; and, after they had inflicted on them all kinds of punishments, they put them to death. Having extirpated the whole family of the tyrant, so as to leave neither children, wives, nor any one related to them, and spent the whole night in finding out all the instruments of the tyranny, as soon as it was day, they proceeded to the forum: Then, calling the people together, they laid down their arms, and restored the ancient government.

XII. Before this Aristodemus, who was, at that time, in the fourteenth year of his tyranny over the Cumaeans, the Romans, who had been banished with Tarquinius, presented themselves, and desired him to sit in judgement against their country. The Roman ambassadors opposed this for some time, alledging that they were not come to enter into this contest, nor furnished with any other powers than those they had received from the senate, which did not extend to a defence of the commonwealth: But, when this made no impression, and they saw the tyrant, through the earnestness, and solicitations of the exiles, inclined to the other side, they desired time to prepare for their defence; and, having

deposited a sum of money, as a pledge for their appearance, while the suit was depending, and they were, no longer, guarded, they fled. Upon which, the tyrant seized their domestics, their sumpter horses, and the money they had brought with them to purchase corn. These several embassadors, therefore, having been treated in the manner I have mentioned, returned without effecting any thing. But those, who had been sent to Tyrrhenia, bought up a quantity of millet, and spelt in that country, and brought it to Rome in boats. This supply maintained the Romans for a short time: But, when consumed, left them in the same want as before. And there was no sort of food mankind were, ever, reduced to through necessity, which they did not attempt to eat. By which it happened that not a few of them, as well by want, as by the mischief arising from unaccustomed food, were thrown into diseases; or, by being neglected by reason of their poverty, were, intirely, unable to help themselves. When the Volsci, who had been lately overcome, heard this, they solicited one another, by private embassies, to enter into a war against the Romans, upon a supposition, that, if any one attacked them, while they were distressed both by war, and famine, they would be unable to resist. But the benevolence of the gods, who were, always, careful not to suffer the Romans to be subdued by their enemies, shewed her power upon this occasion, also, in a most conspicuous manner: For, so great a pestilence seized, at once, the inhabitants of the Volscian cities, that the like to it had never been heard of in any other parts, either among the
Barbarians,

Barbarians, or Greeks, and destroyed them without distinction of age, condition, or sex, or of strong, or weak constitutions. Velitrae, a considerable city of the Volsci, of large extent, and, till then, very populous, was an instance of the greatness of this calamity ; of whose inhabitants the plague left but one part out of ten, and carried off all the rest. At last, those, who survived this misfortune, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to inform them of their desolation, and to deliver up their city to them : For they had, even before that time, received a colony from Rome ; for which reason, they, now, desired a second to be sent to them.

XIII. When the Romans were informed of these things, they compassionated their misfortune ; and thought themselves obliged to retain no resentment against their enemies, when under so severe an affliction ; since the gods had, sufficiently, punished them for the designs they had formed against their commonwealth. As to the city of Velitrae, they thought proper to receive it, and to send a numerous colony thither, in consideration of the many advantages, that would result to them from that measure : For the place itself, when strongly garrisoned, seemed very proper to check, and obstruct the designs of those, who might be disposed to innovate, or raise commotions : And it was expected that the scarcity of provisions, under which the city, then, laboured, would be far less sensible, if any considerable number of the citizens were removed. But, above all other considerations, the fresh sedition, which was, then, breaking out, before the former was quite appeased, induced them

to order the colony to be sent to Velitrae : For the people began, again, to be inflamed, as before, and to be exasperated against the patricians : And many severe reflexions were thrown out against them, some accusing them of neglect, and indolence, in not having, long, foreseen the scarcity of corn, and taken the necessary precautions to avert that calamity ; and others giving out that this scarcity was occasioned by their contrivance, and flowed from their resentment, and a desire to distress the people, in remembrance of their secession : For these reasons, the colony was, presently, sent ; ¹⁰ three persons being appointed by the senate to be the leaders of it. At first, the people were pleased that lands were to be allotted to some of their number, who, by that means, would be freed from the famine, and inhabit a fertile country : But, afterwards, when they considered that the pestilence had raged violently in the city, that was to receive them, and destroyed the inhabitants, and gave room to fear that it would treat the colony in the same manner, they, by degrees, entertained contrary sentiments : So that, not many offered themselves to partake of the colony, but fewer, by many, than the senate had decreed : And these, already, blamed themselves for having taken an imprudent resolution, and declined going out. However, they were

¹⁰ Τριων ανδρων. These were called, by the Romans, *Triumviri Agrarii*, or *Triumviri coloniae deducendae*. These triumvirs, le Jay says, were created by the people, in the *Comitia tributa*. *Les triumvirs se créoient dans une assemblée du peuple par tribus*. Here is a double error. In the first place, our author says, ex-

pressly, that these triumvirs were created by the senate : And secondly, there were, as yet, no *tributa comitia* ; the trial of Coriolanus having given occasion to the tribunes of the people to institute these comitia. The reasons of which will be explained by our author in the fifty ninth chapter of this book.

taken

taken into it, and so were the others, who did not, willingly, join them ; the senate having ordered that all the Romans should draw lots for completing the colony ; and that all those, upon whom the lot fell, should be punished in a severe, and inexorable manner, if they did not go. This colony, therefore, was sent to Velitrae by a specious compulsion. And, not many days after, another colony was sent to ¹¹ Norba, which is no inconsiderable city of the Latines.

XIV. However the design of the patricians, as far as it related to the appeasing of the sedition, was, intirely, disappointed : For the people, who were left at home, were, now, more exasperated than before, and clamoured, violently, against the senators : They assembled, at first, in small numbers, and held meetings with their friends ; but, afterwards, as the famine encreased, they met in a body ; and, running into the forum, called upon the tribunes. And these having assembled the people, Spurius Icilius, who was, then, at the head of the college of the tribunes, rose up, and, not only, used many invectives against the senate himself, inflaming, by all possible means, the envy of the people against them, but, also, called upon others to deliver their sentiments in public ; and, particularly, upon Sicinnius, and Brutus, who were then ediles (calling each of them by their name) and had been the authors of the first secession of the people ; and, having introduced the tribunitian power, had,

¹¹ Εἰς Νορβαν πόλιν. ^c *Norba*, now of the Latines, after Latium extended called, *Norma*, and *Norme*, was a city eastward as far as the Liris.

^c Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8.

first,

first, been invested with it. These, having, long before, prepared the most malicious speeches, rose up, and enlarged upon those points, that were grateful to the generality of the people, alledging that the want of corn was occasioned by the contrivance, and treachery of the rich, against whose will the people had acquired their liberty by the secession. And they shewed that the rich had not, in the least degree, an equal share of this calamity with the poor; the former having provisions, privately, hoarded up; and, wanting no money to purchase Those, that were imported, they laughed at the famine: Whereas the plebeians were in want of both. They added, that they had sent the colony, which was destined to breathe a pestilential air, to a manifest, and much worse destruction; and, exaggerating, with all their power, the terror of these things, asked, What end there was to be of their miseries? They put them in mind of the stripes they had, formerly, received from the rich, and laid open many other things of this nature with great freedom. And Brutus closed his speech with this threat, that, if they would follow his advice, he would, soon, compel those, who had kindled this mischief, to extinguish it. After which, the assembly was dismissed.

XV. The next day, the consuls, being terrified with these new commotions, and looking upon the popularity of Brutus to threaten the commonwealth with some great evil, assembled the senate: Where many, and various things were proposed, both by the consuls themselves, and by the rest of the ancient senators: Some being of opinion that they ought
to

to court the people by all possible expressions of kindness, and by promises of effectual relief, and to moderate the heat of their leaders by communicating their counsels with them, and by inviting them to deliberate, jointly with themselves, on the public utility : But others advised not to yield, or relax, in any thing, to an imperious, and ignorant multitude, and to the bold, and insufferable madness of the flatterers of the people ; but to clear themselves of their accusations, by assuring the plebeians, that the patricians were, in no respect, the occasion of what had happened ; and that they would take all possible care to remedy this evil ; and, also, to reprimand the disturbers of the people, and to let them know, that, if they did not desist from inflaming the sedition, they should be brought to condign punishment. Appius was at the head of those, who were of this opinion, which carried it, after very great contests among the senators : So that, even the people, hearing the clamor at a great distance, ran, in disorder, to the senate, and the whole city was alarmed. After this, the consuls, going into the forum, called the people together (the day being almost spent) and were going to inform them of the resolutions of the senate : But the tribunes opposed it. Upon which, they neither spoke in their turns, nor observed any decency in their debate : For they cried out together, and endeavoured to ¹² exclude one another from the assembly : So that, it was not

¹² Εξέκλειον. I cannot find this word used in the sense, which all the translators have given to it : that is *obstreperant*. The only signification I have,

ever, observed it to be taken in is That of *excludent*, which, for that reason, I think myself obliged to adhere to.

easy for those, who were present, to understand what they meant.

XVI. The consuls thought it reasonable that, as they had the superior power, they should have the sole command in the city : On the other side, the tribunes insisted that the assembly of the people was their peculiar sphere, as the senate was That of the consuls ; and that, whatever the people had the authority to judge, and determine, was subject to their power alone. The people supported these by their acclamations ; and, at the same time, were prepared (if necessary) to attack their opposers : On the other side, the patricians, gathering round the consuls, encouraged them ; and a violent contest ensued, each side insisting upon not yielding to the other, as if, by this single defeat, the claim of each was, for the future, to be given up. The sun, now, declining, the rest of the people ran out of their houses to the forum ; and, if the night had not put an end to the contest, they had proceeded to blows, and throwing of stones. But, to prevent this, Brutus presented himself, and desired the consuls to give him leave to speak, promising to appease the tumult : And they, looking upon this as a yielding to them, because, when the tribunes were present, that patron of the people had not asked this favor of them, gave him leave. And all being silent, Brutus made no speech, but, only, asked the consuls the following question ; Do you remember, said he, that, when we put an end to the sedition by an accommodation, this right was granted to us, that, when the tribunes should assemble the people upon any account whatever,

ever, the patricians should not be present at the assembly, or create any disturbance there? We remember it, answered Geganius. Then, Brutus added, “Why, therefore, do you oppose us, and not suffer the tribunes to say what they please?” To this Geganius replied; “Because the tribunes did not assemble the people, but the consuls: If, therefore, the people had been assembled by them, we should have neither opposed, nor inquired into what they were doing; but, since we ourselves have assembled them, we do not hinder the tribunes from speaking, but complain that we ourselves are hindered by them.” Then, Brutus said; “We have conquered, citizens; and our adversaries have yielded every thing to us we desired. Now, therefore, depart, and cease to contend: And I promise you that, to-morrow, I will shew you your strength. And you, tribunes, yield the forum to them, for the present: You will not, always, yield it, when you know how great a power your magistracy is possessed of: This you will be informed of shortly; and I myself engage to make it appear to you; and, at the same time, to humble the pride of these men: And, if you find I have imposed upon you, treat me as you think fit.”

XVII. None having opposed this, both parties left the assembly; but not with the like impressions: For the poor were of opinion that Brutus had found out something extraordinary, and that he had not, rashly, made a promise of that nature. On the other side, the patricians despised the levity of the man, and thought the boldness of his promises would go no farther than words: They imagined

that no other power had been granted by the senate to the tribunes, than That of relieving the plebeians, when oppressed. However, this inattention to the importance of the affair did not, equally, possess all the senators, and, least of all, Those of a more advanced age, who were upon their guard, lest the madness of this man might occasion some irreparable mischief. The following night, Brutus, having communicated his thoughts to the tribunes, and prepared a good number of the plebeians to support him, went with them to the forum ; and, before sun-rise, they possessed themselves of the temple of Vulcan, where the assemblies of the people were, usually, held, and the tribunes called the citizens together : And the forum being crowded (for greater multitudes appeared upon this occasion, than had ever been known before) Icilius, the tribune, rose up, and made a long speech against the patricians, putting the people in mind of all they had suffered from them : After which, he told them that, the day before, he had been hindered by them from speaking, and deprived of the power of his magistracy. “ What other power, says he, shall we have after this, if we “ are not allowed even That of speaking ? How shall we “ be able to relieve any of you, when oppressed by them, “ if we are deprived of the authority of assembling you ? “ For all actions are governed by words ; and it is manifest “ that those, who are not allowed to say what they think, “ will not be allowed to execute what they please. Resume, “ therefore, the power you have given us, says he, unless “ you design to secure that power ; or enact a law to prevent “ all

“ all opposition to us for the future.” Having said this, the people cried out to him with great acclamations, to bring in the law : Which Icilius, who had it ready drawn up, read to them ; and, immediately, put it to the vote : For the affair seemed to admit of no delay, lest some opposition might be made to it by the consuls. The law was as follows : “ When a tribune is speaking to the people, let no
 “ man oppose, or interrupt, him : Whoever shall act con-
 “ trary to this, let him, if required, give sureties to the tri-
 “ bunes for the payment of the fine they shall impose upon
 “ him : If he refuses to give sureties, let him be punished
 “ with death, and his goods be consecrated : And let the con-
 “ tests, relating to these fines, be determined by the people.” After the tribunes had taken their votes in favor of this law, they dismissed the assembly : And the people departed full of joy, and gave great thanks to Brutus, whom they looked upon as the inventor of the law.

XVIII. After this, there happened many contests upon various subjects between the tribunes, and the consuls ; and neither did the people esteem valid what the senate had decreed, nor the senate approve of what the people had determined : But both of them persisted in their opposition to, and suspicions of, one another. However, their hatred did not break out into any irreparable mischief, as it often happens in the like disorders. For the poor did not attack the houses of the rich, where they might expect to find provisions laid up, nor attempt to rob the markets ; but submitted to buy small quantities of victuals at a great price ; and, when they wanted

money, they fed patiently on roots, and herbs: Neither did the rich, in confidence of their own strength, and of the strength of their clients, who were very numerous, offer violence to the weaker sort; and aim at making themselves masters of the city, by driving out some of the poor, and killing others: But, like fathers, who treat their sons with the greatest prudence, they continued to bear their errors with a ¹³ disposition full of benevolence, and sollicitude for their happiness. While Rome was in this situation, the neighbouring cities invited such of the Romans as desired it, to live among them, alluring them by a communication of the privileges of their cities, and the hopes of other good usage; some, from the best of motives, friendship, and compassion for their misfortune; but the greatest part, through envy of their former prosperity. And very great numbers removed with their whole families; some of whom returned, when the affairs of the city were composed; and others remained where they were.

XIX. The consuls, seeing these things, thought fit to raise forces, in which the senate concurred, and to march with them out of the city. Their design was favoured by the frequent incursions, and depredations of their enemies, by

¹³ Εὐνοχσῆ καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ τῇ οἰσῇ. I should have imagined these two epithets might have taught the translators that οἰσῇ, in this place, does not signify *Anger*. Yet Sylburgius, and the two French translators, have given it that sense. Portus has avoided the mistake. Οἰσῇ is used by our author, upon this

occasion, in the same signification, in which ^d Thucydides uses the word, when Pericles says to the Athenians; Καίπερ εἶδας τὰς ἀνθρώπους ὃν τῇ αὐτῇ ΟΡΓῇ ἀναπειθομένους τε πολεμεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς πρᾶσσοις: Where the Greek scholiast explains οἰσῇ, by διανοίᾳ, τροπῇ, σκοπῇ.

^d B. i. c. 140:

which

which their country was laid waste ; and they, also, considered the other advantages, that would result from sending an army into the field ; that those, who were left, being fewer in number, would enjoy a greater plenty of provisions ; that the army, by supporting themselves in the enemy's country, would live in greater abundance ; and that the sedition would be appeased, as long as the expedition lasted : But, above all, it seemed, that if the patricians, and plebeians served together, an equal share both of good, and ill fortune, in all the dangers of the war, would, effectually, confirm their reconciliation. But the people did not obey them, nor willingly, as before, offer themselves to lift in the service : And the consuls did not think fit to enforce the law against those, who were unwilling to serve. But some patrician volunteers, together with their clients, were enlisted : And, when they marched out of the city, they were joined by a small number of the people. This army was commanded by Caius Marcius, who had taken the city of Corioli, and distinguished himself above all others in the battle against the Antiates. The greatest part of the plebeians, who assisted in this expedition, seeing him take the field, were induced to it from affection, and others, from the hopes of success : For this man was, already, famous, and the enemy, greatly, afraid of him. This army, having marched as far as the city of Antium, made themselves masters, not only, of a great deal of corn they found in the fields, but, likewise, of a great number of slaves, and cattle ; and, after a short time, returned better supplied, than before, with all the
neces-

necessaries of life : So that, those, who had declined the service, were full of confusion, and of resentment against their demagogues, by whose means they looked upon themselves to have been deprived of the same felicity. Thus Geganius, and Minucius, the consuls of this year, after great, and various storms, in which they were, often, in danger of subverting the commonwealth, occasioned no misfortune to it; but preserved it intire, by acting, upon every occasion, in such a manner, that their prudence was more conspicuous than their good fortune.

XX. The following consuls, Marcus Minucius Augurinus, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, who were both invested with this magistracy for the second time, being not unskilled either in military affairs, or in speaking, took great care to supply the city with plenty both of corn, and of all other provisions, looking upon the union of the people with the senate to depend upon that abundance. However, they had not the good fortune to obtain both these ends at the same time; but the satiety of these advantages was attended with the insolence of those, who had the benefit of them. Upon which occasion, Rome was, again, exposed to the greatest danger, when it was least expected: For the embassadors, sent to buy corn, brought all they had purchased, both in the maritime, and inland markets, to the city for the use of the public: And the merchants also, who used to import corn, flocked thither from all parts: Of whom the commonwealth bought their lading with the public money, and preserved it carefully. At the same time, Geganius, and
Valerius,

Valerius, who had, before, been sent embassadors to Sicily, arrived with many merchant ships, in which they brought fifty thousand ¹⁴ Sicilian bushels of wheat; one half of which was purchased at a very low price, and the rest the king had made the Romans a present of, and sent it at his own expence. When it was known at Rome that the ships were arrived from Sicily laden with corn, the patricians deliberated, a long time, concerning the disposal of it: For those among them, who were most humane, and the greatest favourers of the people, reflecting on the public necessity, advised them to distribute the corn, given them by the king, among all the plebeians; and to sell That, which had been purchased with the public money, to them at a low price; shewing that, by these favors, more than by any other means, the animosity of the poor against the rich would be softened. On the other side, those, who were of a more haughty disposition, and more zealous for the oligarchy, were of opinion that they ought to employ all their endeavours, and every method, to oppress the plebeians; and these advised to sell the corn to them at the highest price possible; to the end they might, through necessity, become more modest, and more observant of the rules prescribed by their constitution.

XXI. One of these oligarchical patricians was that Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, who did not, like the rest,

¹⁴ Μεδιμνων Σικελικων. Suidas, from Harpocration, says that the μεδιμνος contained forty eight choenix's, that is, according to Arbuthnot, four pecks, and six pints, English measure: This

was the μεδιμνος Αττικος. But there was another μεδιμνος, called γεωρικος, which, I believe, was the same with the μεδιμνος Σικελικος: This contained six Roman *Modii*, that is, six English pecks.

deliver

deliver his opinion with secrecy, and caution, but with so much openness, and boldness, that many, even of the plebeians, heard him. Besides his complaints against them, which were of a public nature, he had, lately, received some personal provocations, that seemed to justify his hatred of the plebeians: For, having offered himself as a candidate for the consulship at the last election, and being supported by the patricians, the people opposed him, and would not suffer that magistracy to be conferred on him: To which they were induced by their apprehensions, lest a man of his reputation, and boldness, might attempt some innovation to the subversion of the tribuneship; and they were the more afraid of him, because the whole body of the patricians promoted his interest with a zeal they had, never before, shewn for any other candidate. The man, therefore, being exasperated with this ignominy, and, at the same time, desirous to restore the government to its ¹⁵ ancient form, he, not only, endeavoured openly, as I said, to subvert the power of the people himself, but, also, sought to engage the rest of the patricians in the same design. He was supported by a strong faction of young men of great birth, and of the greatest fortunes, and by many dependants, engaged by the booty they had gained under him in the wars. Elevated with these advantages, he exulted, became conspicuous, and arrived to the greatest degree of

¹⁵ Εξ αρχης. I should rather read αναβλεψειεν εξ αρχης; which two synonymous adverbs have the same sense with *εξ αρχης*, adverbially, for *παλιν*, to which it is, often, joined by Aristophanes: As he says in *Plutus*; ^c *ει παλιν* together a few lines before.

^c γ. 867.

splendor.

splendor. But all this could not preserve him from a fatal catastrophe : For the senate being assembled upon this occasion, and the elder senators having, according to custom, first delivered their opinions, of whom there were not many, who, openly, declared against the people, when it came to the turn of the younger senators to speak, Marcius asked leave of the consuls to say what he thought proper ; and, meeting with great encouragement, and attention, he made the following invective against the people.

XXII. “ Fathers, I am confident that almost all of you,
 “ when you consider the advantages, which the people gained
 “ by the accommodation, are sensible that they did not revolt
 “ through necessity, and want, but were induced to it by
 “ the unjustifiable hope of destroying your aristocracy, and
 “ of making themselves masters of the commonwealth :
 “ Since they were not satisfied with abolishing the faith of
 “ contracts, and the laws made to secure that faith, without
 “ carrying their views any farther ; but they introduced a
 “ new magistracy with a design to subvert That of the con-
 “ suls, which magistracy they made sacred and inviolable
 “ by law ; and have now, unobserved by you, fathers, ac-
 “ quired a tyrannical power by the law, lately, enacted : For,
 “ when the leaders of the people, deriving, from the great
 “ power they are invested with, the specious pretence of
 “ relieving the plebeians, when oppressed, ¹⁶ruin, and destroy

¹⁶ Ἀγῶσι καὶ ἀεγῶσι. This military expression is, sometimes, applied to civil affairs, as we find it here. The Romans, who enriched their language with many Greek turns, transplanted this, also, into their own idiom. An in-

stance of which we see in Cicero's letter to Octavius, which, if not genuine, contains, at least, many of his expressions ; there we find, *cum agere, rapere, compulsum, ad nullam rem, vel se hinc subactum ad imperium ejus, vel provinciam.*

“ whom they please by virtue of that power, and that no
“ man, whether a private person, or a magistrate, dares
“ oppose their violence for fear of this law, which, at once,
“ destroys the liberty both of your words and actions, by
“ imposing the punishment of death on all those, who speak
“ the language of freemen, what other name ought to be
“ given by all men of sense to this domination, but That,
“ which is the true one, and which you will all own to be
“ so, a tyranny? And, what is the difference whether we
“ suffer the tyranny of one man, or of a whole people?
“ For the effect of both is the same. The best thing,
“ therefore, we could have done was, not to have suffered,
“ even, the seed of this power to have been sown, but rather
“ to have undergone every thing, as Appius, the best of
“ men, who foresaw these mischiefs from afar, advised:
“ But, since that was not done, we ought, now at least,
“ unanimously to pluck it up by the roots, and cast it out
“ of the city, while it is yet weak, and easy to be destroyed.
“ Neither shall we be the first, or the only persons, to
“ whom the same thing has happened; but many, and
“ frequent have been the instances of men, who, being re-
“ duced, by involuntary necessity, to commit errors in things
“ of the greatest consequence, though unable to give a check
“ to evils in their infancy, have endeavoured to prevent
“ their growth: And the repentance of those, who begin
“ late to grow wise, though inferior to foresight, yet, when
“ seen in another light, appears not less valuable in effacing
“ an original error, by preventing its consequences.

XXIII. “ But, if any of you look upon the actions of
 “ the people to be outrageous, and that they ought to be
 “ hindered from running into farther excesses, but are afraid
 “ lest they should seem first to violate the agreement, and
 “ transgress their oaths, let them know that they are not
 “ the aggressors, when they repel an injury, nor violate the
 “ agreement in doing this, but chastise the violaters of it;
 “ and that they will be guiltless in respect to the gods, and
 “ act with justice, while they consult their own interest.
 “ And let this be a strong argument to convince you, that
 “ not yourselves, but the plebeians first began to violate the
 “ agreement, and the treaty, by not observing the condi-
 “ tions, upon which they obtained their return: For they
 “ desired the tribunitian power, not to oppress the senate,
 “ but to secure themselves from their oppression: And they,
 “ no longer, employ this power in the things they ought,
 “ or within the terms they obtained it, but to the corrup-
 “ tion, and confusion of the established government. You
 “ remember the late assembly of the people, and the ha-
 “ rangues there made by their demagogues; what arrogance
 “ and indecency they shewed; and, now, how these dan-
 “ gerous men are elated, since they have discovered that
 “ the whole strength of the commonwealth consists in votes,
 “ of which, as the people exceed us in numbers, they are
 “ sure to have a majority. What, therefore, remains for us
 “ to do, since they have begun to violate the treaty, and
 “ the law, but to repel the attacks of the aggressors, justly
 “ to deprive them of what they are, now, unjustly, possessed

“ of, and put a stop to their ambitious views for the
 “ future? While we return thanks to the gods, for not
 “ having suffered them, when they had gained an uncon-
 “ stitutional advantage, to act, after that, with modesty, but
 “ for having inspired them with this impudence, and these
 “ various aims, by which you are reduced to a necessity of
 “ endeavouring both to recover the rights you have lost,
 “ and to preserve Those, that remain, with all the care they
 “ deserve.

XXIV. “ The present opportunity is, of all others, the
 “ most favourable, if, now at least, you will begin to grow
 “ wise, when the greatest part of the people are reduced to
 “ the utmost extremity by the famine, and the rest cannot,
 “ long, hold out through the want of money, if corn is
 “ scarce, and they are forced to give a great price for it;
 “ by which means, the most profligate, and those, who were
 “ never pleased with the aristocracy, will be forced to leave
 “ the city, and the more modest, to behave themselves with
 “ decency, without giving you any farther trouble. Place a
 “ guard, therefore, upon the corn, and abate nothing of the
 “ price; but pass an order that it shall, now, be sold at as
 “ high a price, as ever; for which you have just reasons,
 “ and plausible pretences, such as the ungrateful clamor of
 “ the people, as if the scarcity of corn was contrived by you,
 “ when it was occasioned by their own revolt, and the de-
 “ solation of the country, which they ravaged with the same
 “ fierceness, as if it had belonged to an enemy; to which
 “ may be added the money, paid out of the treasury to the
 “ persons

“ persons sent to purchase corn; and many other instances,
 “ in which you have been wronged by them: By this means
 “ also, we shall know at last, what grievous punishment it
 “ is they design to inflict upon us, if we refuse to gratify
 “ the people in every thing, as their demagogues threatened,
 “ in order to frighten us. But, if you let slip this opportu-
 “ nity also, you will, often, wish for such another. And, if
 “ the people hear that you desired to subvert their authority,
 “ but desisted through fear, they will bear much harder
 “ upon you, and look upon that desire to proceed from
 “ enmity, and your want of courage from your want of
 “ power.”

XXV. After this speech of Marcius, the opinions of the senators were divided; and a great tumult arose among them: For those, who, from the beginning, had opposed the plebeians, and submitted to the accommodation against their will, among whom were almost all the youth, and the richest, and most ambitious of the elder senators, who resented the impudence of the people, some from the loss they had sustained in their contracts, and others, from being rejected when they sued for honors, applauded Marcius, as a man of spirit, and a lover of his country, whose advice was of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. On the other side, the senators of popular principles, who set no greater value on ¹⁷ honors, and riches, than they deserved,

¹⁷ Καὶ τὴν τιμὴν. These words I have taken the liberty to substitute in the room of τὸν τῆσπον, which Sylburgius saw could not have a place here; for

which reason, he changed it to κέλευν, meaning the applause of the senate. Casaubon would read καὶ τὸν τῆσπον, and connect these words with τὰς ἀξιοφειδίας.

and looked upon nothing to be more necessary than peace, were offended at his speech, and rejected his advice : These desired they would not think of overcoming their inferiors by violence, but by humanity ; and that they would not esteem moderation, as unbecoming, but necessary ; particularly, when exerted towards their fellow-citizens from a principle of benevolence : And they shewed that his advice was madness, not freedom of speech, nor liberty. But these were few ; and, being unsupported, were overborne by the violence of the others. The tribunes, seeing this (for they were present in the senate, being called in by the consuls) cried out, and were in a great agitation, calling Marcius the pest, and bane of his country, for having uttered malicious words against the people ; and, unless the patricians prevented his design of kindling a civil war in the city, by punishing him either with death, or banishment, they threatened to do it themselves. These words of the tribunes having increased the tumult, particularly on the part of the younger senators, who bore their threats with impatience, Marcius, animated by their resentment, now attacked the tribunes with greater arrogance, and boldness, saying to them ;
 “ If you do not cease to disturb the commonwealth, and
 “ to inflame the poor by your harangues, I shall, no longer,
 “ oppose you with words, but with actions.”

I can approve of neither of these alterations. The reason, that induced me to read *την τιμην*, is this ; our author has told us that *οι πλυσιωῖται, και φιλοῖμοι-ταῖς* applauded Marcius : Will it not,

then, be a very natural antithesis, if we say that *οἱ την τιμην και τον πλεον & περα τε δεοντος εξελιμνηκοτες* rejected his advice ?

XXVI. The senate being, now, in a flame, and the tribunes, finding that those, who desired to take away the power granted to the people, were superior in number to the senators, who advised to adhere to the agreement, ran out of the senate, crying out, and calling upon the gods, who were witnesses to their oaths: After which, they assembled the people; and, having acquainted them with the speech made by Marcius in the senate, they summoned him to make his defence. But he, paying no regard to them, and repulsing the officers, by whom he was summoned, with abusive words, the tribunes grew the more enraged; and, taking with them the ediles, and many other citizens, ran to seize him. Marcius happened to be, yet, standing before the senate house, attended by a great number of the patricians, and by the rest of his faction. When the tribunes saw him, they ordered the ediles to apprehend him; and, if he refused to follow them, to bring him away by force. The ediles, at that time, were Lucius Junius Brutus, and Spurius Icilius Ruga: These advanced with a design to seize him. On the other side, the patricians, looking upon it as an insufferable thing, that any one of their body should be, forcibly, carried away by the tribunes, before he was tried, placed themselves before Marcius; and, striking all, who approached him, drove them away. The news of this action being spread through the whole city, all ran out of their houses; the magistrates, and the men of fortune, with a design to assist the plebeians in protecting Marcius, and to recover the ancient form of government; and those of low
con-

condition, and narrow circumstances, with a view to assist the tribunes, and to obey their orders; and that modesty, which had, hitherto, withheld them from daring to commit any excesses against one another, was, then, banished: However, their contest did not, that day, break out into any irreparable mischief; but, in deference to the advice, and exhortations of the consuls, they deferred the decision of it to the day after.

XXVII. The next day, the tribunes came first to the forum; and, assembling the people, they, successively, made many invectives against the patricians, as against men, who had violated their treaties, and transgressed the oaths, by which they had promised the people to forget all, that was passed; and, to shew that they were not, sincerely, reconciled to the plebeians, they alledged the scarcity of corn, which they had contrived, the two colonies they had sent out, and many other things they had practised with a view to lessen the number of the people: After that, they inveighed, violently, against Marcius, repeating the words he had spoken in the senate, and told them that, when he was summoned to make his defence before the people, he had, not only, not vouchsafed to come, but had, also, with blows, driven away the ciles, who were sent to him. They called upon the senators of the greatest dignity to give their testimony of what passed in the senate; and, to prove the insult offered to the ciles, upon all the plebeians, who were, then, present in the forum. Having said this, they gave leave to the patricians to make their defence, if they thought proper; and, for that purpose, kept the people together,
till

till the senate should be dismissed : For it happened that the senate were, at that time, consulting upon this very affair, and considering whether they should clear themselves to the people of the crimes they were accused of, or remain quiet : And the majority inclining to humane, rather than to imperious, measures, the consuls dismissed the senate, and came to the forum, with a design both to justify the patricians in regard to the accusations brought against their whole order, and to intreat the people not to come to any severe resolution against Marcius : And Minucius, the senior consul, spoke in the following manner :

XXVIII. “ Our defence, in relation to the scarcity of
 “ corn, is very short, citizens, and we shall call no other
 “ witnesses to prove the truth of what we alledge, than
 “ yourselves : For, even, you yourselves know that the land
 “ bore no corn, because it was not sown ; and you have
 “ no occasion to be informed by others, from what cause
 “ the several devastations of the country have proceeded,
 “ and by what means, at last, the greatest, and most fruitful
 “ part of the land came to want all sorts of grain, slaves,
 “ and cattle ; partly, because it was laid waste by the enemy,
 “ and partly, because it is incapable of supplying you, who
 “ are so numerous, and have no other resource : So that,
 “ concluding the famine was not occasioned by what your
 “ demagogues charge us with, but by what you yourselves
 “ are sensible of, cease to attribute this misfortune to our
 “ contrivance, and to be angry with us, when we do you
 “ no injury. As to the colonies, there was a necessity for
 Vol. III. C c “ sending

“ sending them out, since it was the unanimous opinion of
“ you all to garrison places, that will be of use in time of war :
“ And, being sent, when the occasion was so very urging,
“ they have proved of great advantage both to those, who
“ went out, and to you, who remain at home : For the
“ former will, by this means, enjoy there a greater plenty of
“ all necessaries, and those, who remain here, will suffer the
“ less from the scarcity of provisions. And the equality of
“ fortune, to which we patricians submitted like you, in
“ sending out the colony by lot, deserves no censure.

XXIX. “ What, therefore, can provoke the demagogues
“ to find fault with us for those things, in which both our
“ opinions, and our fortunes are the same, whether they are
“ hurtful, as they say, or advantageous, as we think : As to
“ the accusations, with which they charge us, in relation to
“ what passed in the last assembly of the senate, that we did
“ not think fit to moderate the price of corn ; that we were
“ forming designs to abolish the tribunitian power ; that
“ we, still, resented your secession, and were desirous, by
“ every method, to distress the plebeians ; these, and all
“ such accusations we shall, soon, clear ourselves of by our
“ actions ; by hurting you in no degree ; by confirming, even
“ now, the tribunitian power upon the same terms we, then,
“ granted it to you, and by selling the corn at the price you
“ shall all of you appoint. Have patience therefore ; and,
“ if all these things are not performed, then accuse us. But,
“ if you will, carefully, examine our contests, you will find
“ that we patricians have greater reason to accuse the people,
“ than

“ than you to complain of the senate : For you wrong us,
 “ citizens ; and be not offended at being told of it ; since,
 “ without waiting the event of our counsels, you think fit to
 “ find fault with them already. But, who knows not that
 “ it is the easiest of all things for a man to confound, and
 “ banish harmony from a city, by charging others with de-
 “ signs, of which the proof being in suspense, and not yet
 “ manifest, is no guard to the accused against suffering some
 “ prejudice, but rather a pretence to the accuser to justify
 “ his accusation ? And, not only, your leaders deserve censure
 “ for accusing, and calumniating the senate, but you your-
 “ selves deserve it no less for giving credit to them, and
 “ resenting injuries, before you feel them : For, if the in-
 “ juries you were afraid of were future, your resentment
 “ ought to have been future also : Whereas, it, now, ap-
 “ pears that you have acted with greater haste, than prudence,
 “ and placed your safety in your malice.

XXX. “ Concerning the crimes, with which the tri-
 “ bunes have charged the senate in general, I think what I
 “ have said sufficient. But, since they calumniate every one
 “ of us, in particular, for what we said there, and com-
 “ plain that we divide the city, and are, now, endeavour-
 “ ing to put to death, or banish, Caius Marcius, a man,
 “ who loves his country, and who spoke of the public affairs
 “ with freedom, I design to treat this subject, also, with all
 “ the regard, that is due to justice ; and do you consider
 “ if what I shall say is founded on moderation, and truth.
 “ When you were treating of your reconciliation with the

“ senate, citizens, you thought it enough for you to be dis-
“ charged of your debts ; and you desired leave to chuse ma-
“ gistrates out of your own body, to protect the poor from
“ oppression : Both these things you obtained, for which you
“ thought yourselves under great obligations to us : But, to
“ abolish the consular power, to render ineffectual the authority
“ of the senate in presiding over the commonwealth, or to sub-
“ vert the established government, you neither, then, desired,
“ nor will you, ever, desire : What, therefore, provokes you
“ to attempt, now, to confound all these things ? Or, by
“ what right do you seek to deprive us of our honors ?
“ For, if you deter the senators from speaking their senti-
“ ments with freedom, what moderation is to be expected
“ from the language of your leaders ? Or, by what law, will
“ they pretend to punish any of the patricians with death,
“ or banishment ? For, neither the old laws, nor the agree-
“ ments, lately, made with the senate, give you this power.
“ But, to transgress the bounds prescribed by the laws, and
“ to render violence superior to justice, is, no longer, popu-
“ lar, but, if you desire to hear the truth, tyrannical. For
“ my part, I should advise you neither to give up any one
“ of the advantages you have obtained from the senate, nor
“ to claim any you did not desire, when you were treating
“ of a reconciliation with them.

XXXI. “ But, in order to make it still, more plainly,
“ appear to you that your demagogues desire a thing incon-
“ sistent both with moderation, and justice, and that their
“ aims are illegal and impracticable, transfer this question
“ from

“ from the senate to yourselves, and consider it in this light :
 “ Imagine the senators accused your magistrates of using,
 “ in your assembly, malicious expressions against the senate,
 “ of endeavouring to subvert the established aristocracy,
 “ and of raising a sedition in the city (all which they may
 “ assert with truth, for they are guilty of these things) and,
 “ which is the most heinous crime of all, that they aim at
 “ a greater power, than was granted to them, in attempting
 “ to put one of our order to death without a trial : And,
 “ then, imagine the senate resolved that the persons, guilty
 “ of these crimes, should be put to death with impunity :
 “ How would you bear this arrogance of the senate ? And
 “ what would you say ? Would you not be out of patience,
 “ and complain you were, severely, treated, if any one should
 “ deprive you of the freedom of speech, and of your liberty,
 “ by threatening with the severest punishment those, who
 “ spoke, freely, in favor of the people ? This you must
 “ grant. And, do you think it reasonable that others should
 “ bear what you yourselves would not submit to ? Do these
 “ sentiments of yours become citizens, and flow from mo-
 “ deration ? Do you not, by insisting on such things, justify
 “ the accusations you are charged with, and shew that those,
 “ who advise us not to suffer your lawless domination to
 “ gain new strength, consult the good of the common-
 “ wealth ? For my part, I think so. But, if you desire to
 “ confute these accusations by a contrary behaviour, follow
 “ my advice, moderate your sentiments, and bear the speech,
 “ with which you are offended, like citizens, and with
 “ temper.

“ temper. And, if you do this, you will gain a double ad-
 “ vantage; you will appear good men, and your enemies
 “ will repent.

XXXII. “ Having, now, justified ourselves in a convincing
 “ manner, as we think, we advise you to run into no excess;
 “ we have no design to reproach you with the benefits,
 “ and favors, we have conferred on you, as well formerly,
 “ as at your return, but only to moderate your anger;
 “ which benefits we are willing to forget, but you ought to
 “ remember. However, we are under a necessity of men-
 “ tioning them at this time, when we desire that, in return
 “ for the many great favors we have bestowed upon you at
 “ your request, you will grant us this, neither to put to
 “ death, nor banish a man, who loves his country, and
 “ excels all others in the art of war: For it will be no small
 “ loss to us, as you well know, citizens, if we deprive the
 “ commonwealth of such valor. You ought, therefore,
 “ particularly on his account, to relent, when you call to
 “ mind how many of you he has saved in the wars; and,
 “ instead of retaining any resentment for his unguarded
 “ words, to remember his glorious actions: For his words
 “ have done you no mischief; but his actions have done you
 “ great service: However, if you are irreconcilable to this
 “ man, at the intercession of us at least, and of the senate,
 “ forgive him; be, at last, sincerely reconciled to us, and
 “ restore unanimity to the commonwealth: Whereas, if
 “ you yield not to our persuasions, be assured that, on our
 “ part, we shall not yield to your violence; but this trial of
 “ the

“ the people’s affection will prove to all the source either of
 “ a sincere friendship, and of still greater kindness, or of civil
 “ war, and irreparable evils.”

XXXIII. After Minucius had spoken in this manner, the tribunes, seeing the people moved with the moderation of his speech, and the humanity of his promises, were offended, and displeased; particularly, Caius Sicinnius Bellutus, the same person, who had prevailed upon the poor to secede from the patricians, and been appointed by them to be their general, while they were in arms; a man, the most inveterate against the aristocracy, and, for that reason, raised by the citizens to dignity; and, being invested with the tribunitian power for the second time, he, least of all the demagogues, thought it his interest that the commonwealth should be united, and restored to its former state: For he was so far from expecting to enjoy the same honors, and power under an aristocracy, as he was a bad man in his nature, obscurely educated, and had, never, distinguished himself either in war, or in peace, that he knew he should, even, be exposed to the greatest danger for having occasioned the sedition, and many other evils to the commonwealth. After he had considered, therefore, what he was to say, and do, and consulted with his colleagues, and they concurred with him, he rose up; and, having, shortly, lamented the misfortunes of the people, he commended the consuls for vouchsafing to give them an account of their actions, without despising their low condition; and, likewise, said he returned thanks to the patricians for taking some care, at last, of the preservation
 of

of the poor ; and that he should, still more willingly, join with all his fellow-citizens in publishing this, if they would confirm their words by their actions.

XXXIV. Having said this, and thereby seemed moderate in his ¹⁸ disposition, and inclining to an accommodation, he turned to Marcius, who stood near the consuls, and said ;
 “ And you, valiant man, why do you not clear yourself to
 “ your fellow-citizens, of what you said in the senate ?
 “ Rather, why do you not make supplication to them, and
 “ deprecate their anger, to the end they may punish you
 “ with less rigor ? For I would not advise you to deny the
 “ fact, as so many are acquainted with it, or to have re-
 “ course to shameless apologies, as you are Marcius, and
 “ have a spirit above That of a private man : Unless you
 “ think that it becomes the consuls, and the patricians, to
 “ intercede for you to the people, but that it does not be-
 “ come you to do the same thing for yourself.” This he
 said, well knowing that a man of his great spirit would never submit to be his own accuser, and to deprecate his punishment, as if he had transgressed ; or, contrary to his character, have recourse to lamentations, and intreaties ; but, that he would either not vouchsafe to make any defence at all, or, preserving his inbred haughtiness, make no submissions to the people, nor speak to them with moderation : Which happened accordingly : For there being a general silence, and almost all the plebeians, earnestly, desiring to acquit him,

¹⁸ O. J. v. See the thirteenth annotation on this book. M. * * * has, again, mistaken the sense of this word, and said, *plus modéré dans sa colère*.

if he had availed himself of the present opportunity, he spoke to them in so haughty a manner, and shewed so great a contempt of them, that he did not deny a single thing he had said in the senate against the people; nor, as if he had repented of what he had said, endeavour to raise their compassion, or deprecate their anger. He would not, even, allow them to be his judges in any case, as having no lawful authority: But, if any one thought fit to accuse him before the consuls, or to require an account either of his words, or his actions in a place appointed by law, he was ready to submit to his trial. He said that he presented himself to the people, since they themselves had summoned him, with a design, not only, to reprimand them for the illegal proceedings, and excesses they had been guilty of, as well during their revolt, as after their return; but, also, to advise them, now at least, to put a stop to, and restrain, their unwarrantable desires. After which, he inveighed against them all with great severity, and boldness; and, particularly, against the tribunes. In his speech, there was no prudent respect, becoming a citizen, who informs the people; no modest fear, opposing itself to the resentment of the powerful, such as might be expected from a private person under a general displeasure; but the ungovernable fury of an enemy, insulting the subdued with impunity, and a severe contempt of their sufferings.

XXXV. For these reasons, while he was yet speaking, there arose a great tumult, the people, frequently, changing their opinion, as it happens in assemblies of different

sentiments, and different inclinations ; some being pleased with his speech, and others offended at it. And, when he had done speaking, the clamor, and tumult encreased : For the patricians, calling him the bravest of men, commended him for his liberty of speech, and said he was the only free man of their whole number, who neither feared the attacks of a numerous enemy, nor flattered the insolent, and illegal attempts of his fellow-citizens. On the other side, the plebeians, impatient of his reproaches, called him haughty and severe, and the greatest of all their enemies : And some of them were, already, disposed to have put him to death by an act of violence, which they could, easily, have accomplished. In this they were assisted, and abetted by the demagogues ; and Sicinnius, in particular, gave a loose to their passion. At last, therefore, after he had used many invectives against him, and inflamed the minds of the plebeians by ministring, largely, to their fury, he closed his accusation with saying, “ That the college of the tribunes
“ condemned him to death for insulting the ediles, whom
“ he had, the day before, driven away with blows, when
“ they were ordered by the tribunes to bring him before
“ them : For they alledged that the insult, committed by
“ him against their ministers, could be levelled at no
“ other persons, but at those, who had given those
“ orders.” Having said this, he commanded him to be carried to the hill, that overlooks the forum : This is an exceeding high precipice, from whence they used to throw down those, who were condemned to die. The ediles,
there-

therefore, advanced in order to lay hold of him; but the patricians, crying out with a loud voice, rushed upon them in a body: Upon which, the plebeians fell upon the patricians; and great indecency of action, and mutual insults passed between them, both sides pushing, and laying hold of one another. However, the authors of this tumult were compelled to be quiet, and to act with more temper by the consuls, who forced their way into the midst of the contending parties, and ordered their lictors to quell the multitude: So great a respect did the men of those times bear to this magistracy, and so much did they honour the royal dignity. Upon which, Sicinnius, being perplexed, and disturbed, was afraid of obliging his adversaries to repel force with force; but disdained to desist from his attempt, after he had, once, engaged in it; and, finding himself unable to pursue his resolution, he considered, long, what he had to do.

XXXVI. Lucius Junius Brutus, that popular orator, who had contrived the terms of the accommodation, a man of great sagacity in every thing, but, particularly, in finding expedients in difficulties, seeing him in this perplexity, came to him; and, taking him aside, advised him not to persist in a warm, and illegal undertaking, when he saw, not only, the whole body of the patricians in a flame, and ready, if the consuls called upon them, to run to arms, but, also, that part of the people, which was most able to defend their cause, hesitating, and not, willingly, receiving his proposal to put the most illustrious person of the city to death, and that without

a trial. He, therefore, advised him to yield for the present, and not to engage with the consuls, lest he should be the cause of some greater mischief; but to bring the man to a trial upon a day appointed; to take the votes of the citizens in their tribes, and to act pursuant to the determination of the majority; saying that his present attempt was tyrannical and violent, tending to constitute the same person both his accuser, and judge, and, also, the ordainer of the degree of his punishment: But that it was agreeable to the spirit of all civil government, that a criminal should have liberty to make his defence according to the laws, and suffer such punishment as the majority of his judges should determine. Sicinnius yielded to these arguments, finding he could take no better resolution; and, presenting himself to the people, said, “ You see, citizens, the eagerness of the patricians for
“ murder, and violence, which induces them to prefer one
“ man, who wrongs the whole commonwealth, to you all.
“ However, we ought not to resemble them, and run head-
“ long to our ruin, either in attacking them, or in defend-
“ ing ourselves from their attacks. But, since some people
“ make use of a specious pretence, and screen him from
“ punishment by supporting the law, which allows no
“ citizen to be put to death without a trial, let us grant
“ them the benefit of this law, though we ourselves have
“ not been treated by them either in a legal, or just manner;
“ and make it appear that we chuse to overcome our fellow-
“ citizens, who injure us, in lenity, rather than in violence.
“ Do you, therefore, depart, and wait for the approaching
“ time.

“ time. In the mean while, we will prepare every thing
 “ that is necessary; and, having appointed a day for Marcius
 “ to make his defence, we will manage the trial, and you
 “ shall be his judges. And, when you are, legally, possessed
 “ of the right of giving your votes, inflict such punishment
 “ on him, as you shall find he deserves. So much for this.
 “ As to the sale, and distribution of the corn, if these men,
 “ and the senate do not take some care that this affair be
 “ ordered in the most equitable manner, we shall take That
 “ care upon ourselves.” Having said this, he dismissed the
 assembly.

XXXVII. The consuls, presently, assembled the senate,
 and considered with them, at leisure, by what means the
 present disturbance might be appeased: And the first reso-
 lution they came to, was to court the plebeians, by selling
 the provisions to them at a very cheap, and low price: In
 the next place, to endeavour to prevail upon their leaders
 to desist from their purpose in favor of the senate, and not
 to bring Marcius to his trial; and, if they could not prevail,
 to put it off to the longest time possible, till the resentment
 of the people should grow languid. Having come to these
 resolutions, they laid their decree, relating to the provisions,
 before the people, by whom it was confirmed with a gene-
 ral applause. This was the substance of the decree: “ That
 “ the prices of such provisions, as are necessary for the daily
 “ support of the people, be the lowest they were, ever,
 “ at before the civil commotion.” As to their application
 to the tribunes in favor of Marcius, the effect of it was this:
 They

They could not, by any intreaties, prevail upon them to remit him absolutely: However, they obtained of them a delay for as long a time as they desired. And they themselves contrived another delay, by laying hold on the following occasion: It happened that the embassadors, sent from Sicily by the king, as they were returning home by sea after landing the present of corn he had given to the people, were taken by some pirates, sent out by the Antiates, while they lay at anchor not far from their ports, who ordered their ships to be brought in; and, not only, made the same advantage of their effects, as if they had belonged to an enemy, but, also, secured their persons. The consuls, being informed of this, resolved to march against the Antiates; since, upon sending embassadors to them, they refused to do them any sort of justice: And, having raised an army consisting of all their youth, and procured a decree of the senate for the suspension of all private, and public suits, as long as they should continue in arms, they both took the field. However, this war did not last near so long, as they expected: For the Antiates, hearing the Romans were marching against them with all their forces, made not the least resistance; but, having recourse to prayers, and intreaties, they restored both the persons of the Sicilian embassadors, whom they had taken, and their effects also: So that, the Romans were under a necessity of returning to the city.

XXXVIII. The army being disbanded, Sicinnius, the tribune, assembled the people, and acquainted them with the day he had appointed for the trial of Marcius; at the same time,

time, he exhorted the citizens, who lived at Rome, to come every one, and take cognizance of this cause ; and those also, who resided in the country, to leave their business, and attend that day, since their liberty, and the preservation of the whole commonwealth depended upon their votes. He summoned Marcius, also, to appear, and make his defence, assuring him that he should be deprived of no advantage the law allowed him. In the mean time, the consuls, after they had consulted the senate, resolved not to suffer the people to possess themselves of so great a power. They had found out a just, and legal method of opposition, by which they expected to defeat all the designs of their adversaries. After this, they invited the leaders of the people to a conference, at which their friends assisted, when Minucius spoke as follows : “ It is our opinion, tribunes, “ that we ought to use all our endeavours to banish sedition “ from the city, and not to contend with the people in any “ thing ; particularly, when we see you fly from violent “ methods, to Those, that are founded on justice, and rea- “ son. But, however commendable we think your resolu- “ tions, we are of opinion that the senate ought to lead the “ way by making a previous order, as it has, always, been “ practised among us : For, you yourselves can testify that, “ from the time our ancestors founded this city, the senate “ have, always, been possessed of this privilege, and ¹⁹ that the

¹⁹ Καὶ εἶπεν πρῶτον ὁ δῆμος ὅτι μὴ to contradict what our ^f author has, πρὸς ἀλευσθῆναι ἢ βλάβη, ὅτι ἐπεκρίνεν, ὅτι before, told us, viz. that the resolu- ἐπέφηφισεν. This seems, at first sight, tions of the people were, originally,

^f B. ii. c. 14.

“ people

“ people never determined, nor voted any thing without a
 “ previous order of the senate, not only now, but, even,
 “ under the kings, who laid before the people the resolu-
 “ tions of the senate, and received their concurrence. Do
 “ not, therefore, deprive us of this right, nor abolish this

laid before the senate for their approbation. In order to reconcile these two assertions, I shall not have recourse to a grammatical criticism upon the words *επεχειν*, and *επεψηφισεν*, which, in reality, signify a confirmatory judgement: For this would be to get over the difficulty by making our author talk nonsense; since, if a previous order of the senate was not passed, it would be impossible for the people to confirm that order. The only way I can think of to solve the difficulty is this: I look upon it that the people, in their *curiata*, and *centuriata comitia*, could not take cognizance of any thing, till it was laid before them by the magistrates, as the consuls, or the tribunes of the people, after their institution: Neither could the magistrates lay any thing, regularly, before the people, without a previous order of the senate, signified by these words, *ferrent ad plebem*. This previous order I take to be what the Greek writers call *προβουλευμα*, which was not so much a declaration of the sense of the senate upon the question, as an empowering the people to take cognizance of it: And, after the people had declared their approbation of the matter proposed to them, their resolution was carried up to the senate for their concurrence; which I think

they might, legally, refuse, if they thought fit: My reason for it is, that, in the year of Rome 388, the senate, and people, after a great contest, entered into a kind of compromise, the terms of which were, that two *curule ediles* should be chosen among the former, and that, in return, the senate should confirm all the resolutions the people should, that year, pass in their *comitia*: For so I understand these words of ^e Livy, *Patres auctores omnibus ejus anni comitiis fierent*: And that they are to be taken in this sense, I think, ^a I have, already, proved. If, therefore, the senate, in consideration of an advantage to themselves, agreed to ratify all the resolutions of the people for that year, it is plain they had a power of rejecting them before that time, and after the expiration of it. However, this negative voice of the senate was subject to restrictions; and the people had, constitutionally, a sovereign power in three very essential ⁱ points, in which the senate could not controul them: These were the election of magistrates, the enacting, or repealing laws, and the declaring war, or making peace. Upon these occasions, they spoke with an authority, that became their sovereign power; *Volumus, et jubemus*.

^e B. vi. c. 42.

^a See the 122^d annotation on the second book.

ⁱ Dionysius, B. iv. c. 20.

“ ancient,

“ ancient, and well grounded custom; but inform the
 “ senate that you desire a just, and reasonable thing; and,
 “ whatever they shall resolve upon, do you refer That to
 “ the determination of the people.”

XXXIX. While the consuls were saying this, Sicinnius grew impatient at their discourse, and would leave nothing to the decision of the senate: But his colleagues, pursuant to the advice of Lucius, consented that the senate should make the previous order, after they themselves had made a just request, which the consuls could not deny: For they desired that the senators would allow liberty of speech as well to those, who were concerned for the people, as to those, who supported the same interest, or desired to oppose it; and that, after they had heard all parties, they would, then, decree what they thought just and advantageous to the public: That the senators should all give their opinions, as in a court of justice, after taking the oath appointed by law; and the question be determined by a majority of votes. The tribunes having consented that the senate should make the previous order, as the consuls desired, the conference ended. The next day, the senate met, when the consuls acquainted them with the terms of the agreement they had made with the tribunes, and called upon the latter to offer what they had to say. Upon which, Lucius, who had consented that the senate should make the previous order, presented himself, and spoke in the following manner.

XL. “ You are not ignorant, fathers, of the consequence
“ of our application to you, for which, as well as for
“ yielding to your previous order, we shall be accused be-
“ fore the people upon such grounds, as we are no strangers
“ to, by a person, who is possessed of the same power with
“ ourselves; and who did not think that we ought to ask
“ That of you, which the law gives us, or to receive a
“ right, as a favor. And, if we are tried for this, we are
“ sensible we shall run no small hazard, but be condemned
“ as deserters, and traitors, and suffer the worst of punish-
“ ments. But, though sensible of these things, we have re-
“ solved to apply to you, in confidence of our right, and of
“ the oaths, under the obligation of which you will deliver
“ your opinions. We are, indeed, inconsiderable men to
“ treat of such important subjects, and of much less conse-
“ quence than they require; but the subjects we shall treat
“ of, are not inconsiderable. Attend, therefore, to these;
“ and, if they shall appear just and advantageous to the
“ public (and I may add, even, necessary) allow us, volun-
“ tarily, to obtain them.

XLI. “ I shall first speak to the point of right. After
“ you had expelled the kings by our assistance, fathers, and
“ settled our present constitution, which we find no fault
“ with, you observed that the plebeians had, always, the
“ disadvantage in their suits, whenever they had any dif-
“ ference with the patricians, which, frequently, happened;
“ and passed a law, by the advice of Publius Valerius, one of
“ the consuls, by which it was made lawful for the plebeians,
“ when

“ when oppressed by the patricians, to appeal to the people:
 “ And, by the means of this law, more than by any other
 “ measure, you both preserved the union of the common-
 “ wealth, and repulsed the attacks of the kings. It is in virtue
 “ of this law, that we cite Caius Marcius to appear before
 “ the people, on account of the injustice, and oppression we
 “ say he has been guilty of towards them all, and call upon
 “ him to make his defence before them. And, in this case,
 “ a previous order of the senate is not necessary: For, with
 “ regard to those things, which are left at large by the laws,
 “ you have a right to make a previous order, and the people
 “ to confirm it: But, when there is an inviolable law, though
 “ you should make no previous order, that law must be
 “ observed: For it cannot be said that, to private persons,
 “ when aggrieved by any judgement, this appeal to the people
 “ is allowed, but not to their tribunes. Supported, there-
 “ fore, by this concession of the law; and, for that reason,
 “ exposed to the danger of submitting to your determina-
 “ tion, we come before you. Nor less supported are we by
 “ this unwritten, and unenacted law of nature, when we
 “ request of you, fathers, that the condition of the people
 “ may be neither better, nor worse than your own, at least
 “ in point of right; since they have assisted you in carrying
 “ on many considerable wars; have shewn the greatest zeal
 “ in putting an end to those wars, and have had no small
 “ share in enabling the commonwealth to receive laws from
 “ none, but to give laws to others. Now, the most effectual
 “ means you can take, fathers, to put us in no worse a con-
 E e 2 “ dition

“ dition than yourselves in point of right, will be, to prevent
 “ the illegal attempts of men against our persons, and liberties,
 “ by placing before their eyes the terror of a condemnation.
 “ We look upon it as our duty to confer magistracies, pre-
 “ cedence, and honors upon those among you, who are
 “ distinguished by their virtue; but, at the same time, we
 “ think it reasonable that to suffer no injury, and to receive
 “ justice adequate to the wrong sustained, should be equal
 “ and common to all those, who live under the same go-
 “ vernment. As, therefore, we give up to you the things,
 “ that are illustrious and great, so we mean not to depart
 “ from Those, that are equal and common. This is enough
 “ concerning the point of right, though many other argu-
 “ ments might be used to support it.

XLII. “ Suffer us, now, to shew you, in few words, that
 “ the demands of the people will be, even, advantageous to
 “ the public: For, if any one should ask you what you look
 “ upon to be the greatest mischief a commonwealth can
 “ labour under, and the cause of the swiftest of all destructions,
 “ would you not say it is discord? I own, I think so. Who
 “ is there among you, then, so weak, so perverse, and so
 “ immoderate an enemy to equality, as not to know, that,
 “ if the people are allowed to exercise their jurisdiction in
 “ causes, of which the law gives them cognizance, we shall
 “ live in harmony? But, if you should determine otherwise,
 “ and resolve to deprive us of our liberty (for you will,
 “ really, deprive us of liberty, if you deprive us of justice,
 “ and law) you will drive us, again, into sedition, and a
 “ civil

“ civil war : For, if justice, and law are banished from a
 “ commonwealth, sedition, and war will enter there. It is
 “ no wonder, indeed, if those, who have never experienced
 “ the calamities of a civil war, are neither affected with past
 “ misfortunes, nor take early precautions to prevent the
 “ future : But, to those, who, like you, when exposed to
 “ the smallest dangers, thought themselves happy to find
 “ relief by seasonable concessions, what specious, or reason-
 “ able excuse is left, if they fall, again, under the same mis-
 “ fortunes ? Who is there, who would not accuse you of
 “ great folly, and madness, when he considers that, very
 “ lately, you submitted to many things against your incli-
 “ nation, some of which, possibly, were neither very hon-
 “ ourable, nor very advantageous, in order to appease a
 “ sedition of the people ; and now, when neither your
 “ private fortunes, your reputation, nor any other public
 “ interest is, in any degree, concerned, you resolve to ex-
 “ asperate the plebeians again, in order to oblige their
 “ enemies ? This you will not do, if you are wise. But I
 “ would, willingly, ask you, what motive, then, induced
 “ you to consent to our return upon the terms we desired :
 “ Were you influenced by your foresight of what was most
 “ eligible, or by your submission to what was most necessary ?
 “ For, if you thought those concessions to be of the greatest
 “ advantage to the commonwealth at that time, why do
 “ you not adhere to them at present ? And, if they were
 “ necessary, and every other measure impracticable, or if
 “ they flowed from true reasoning directed to the public
 “ good,

“ good, why do you complain of having made them?
“ Possibly you ought not to have granted them, at first, if
“ you could have avoided it ; but, since you have granted
“ them, you ought, no longer, to find fault with your own
“ concessions.

XLIII. “ For my part, fathers, I think you acted with
“ the greatest prudence in regard to the accommodation,
“ to which you are obliged to yield, in order to observe the
“ terms of it : for you have given us the gods as sureties for
“ the performance of the agreement, by loading with many
“ grievous imprecations both those, who should violate any
“ part of it, and their posterity for ever. But I do not
“ think it necessary to trouble you with saying any more in
“ order to convince you that our demands are just in them-
“ selves, and advantageous to you ; and such as, when you
“ consider your oaths, you will all be conscious that you
“ are under the greatest necessity of consenting to. Learn
“ now, fathers, or rather call to mind, the grievous outrages
“ we have suffered from this man, which have made it a
“ point of no small importance to us not to be either com-
“ pelled by fear, or deluded by artifice, to relinquish this
“ contest, which nothing but the greatest necessity could
“ have prevailed upon us to undertake : For I shall advance
“ nothing you are not all acquainted with ; and I beg, at
“ the same time, that you will apply what I say to your-
“ selves. If any of our plebians had attempted to say, or
“ do such things against your order in an assembly of the
“ people, as Marcius has dared to advance to this place,
“ what

“ what resentment would you have been fired with against
 “ him?

XLIV. “ For Marcius was the first man among you, who
 “ endeavoured to dissolve the unalterable, and almost ada-
 “ mantine bonds of our agreement, entered into not quite
 “ four years since, which neither you, who swore to the ob-
 “ servance of it, nor your posterity can violate without a
 “ crime, as long as this city shall be inhabited: This agree-
 “ ment he did not seek, privately, to undermine, or cover
 “ his design by the secrecy of the place, but, openly, de-
 “ clared his opinion here, in the hearing of you all, that you
 “ ought, no longer, to allow us the exercise of the tribuni-
 “ tian power, but to abolish the first, and only guardian
 “ of our liberty, in confidence of which we consented to
 “ the accommodation: Neither did his presumption stop
 “ here; but, traducing the liberty of the poor with the
 “ name of insolence, and equality with That of tyranny, he
 “ advised you to deprive us of both. Call to mind, fathers,
 “ the most wicked of all his suggestions at that time, when
 “ he declared this to be the proper season for you to revive
 “ your resentment against the plebeians for their former offen-
 “ ces; and advised you, while they were distressed for want
 “ of money, and had, long, been streightened in their ne-
 “ cessary subsistence, to leave the whole to him, and to
 “ find means that the same scarcity might continue: For
 “ it was not to be expected, he said, that, being poor, and
 “ obliged to pay an excessive price for a small quantity of
 “ corn, we could, long, hold out; but that some of us
 “ would

“ would leave the city, and those who staid, be destroyed
“ by the most miserable of all deaths. But he was so infa-
“ tuated, and deprived of his reason in giving you this ad-
“ vice, as not to be able to see even this, among many other
“ mischiefs, of which the advice he gave the senate to break
“ through the accommodation, was productive, that such a
“ number of poor, when deprived of necessary subsistence,
“ would be compelled to fall upon the authors of their
“ calamity, without distinguishing their friends. So that,
“ if you had been so mad, as to pursue his advice, it must,
“ infallibly, have ended in this alternative, either the
“ whole body of the people must have perished, or That of
“ the patricians been destroyed: For we should not have
“ suffered ourselves to be banished, or put to death in
“ so slavish a manner; but, having called upon the gods,
“ and genius’s to be witnesses to our sufferings, be assured,
“ we should have filled the forum, and the streets with
“ dead bodies; and, having made a lake of civil blood,
“ we should, in that condition, have received our destined
“ fate. Of such impious actions, fathers, was he the pro-
“ moter, and such things did he think fit to make the
“ subject of his harangue.

XLV. “ Neither can it be said that the words of Marcius
“ tended, indeed, to divide the city, but that his actions
“ had no such tendency: For, being surrounded with a
“ body of men, ready to obey him in any thing, he refused
“ to appear before our magistrates, when called upon, and
“ struck our officers, when, by our orders, they endeavoured
“ to

“ to bring him away ; and, at last, did not, even, refrain
 “ from offering violence to our own persons. The conse-
 “ quence of which will be, that, as far as in him lies, we
 “ shall bear the specious name of an inviolable magistracy,
 “ given in ridicule, but perform no part of the functions
 “ appropriated to that magistracy. For how shall we give
 “ relief to others, who complain they are injured, when we
 “ ourselves cannot enjoy security ? When, therefore, we,
 “ who are poor, have been, thus, insulted by one man, not
 “ yet a tyrant, but aiming at tyranny ; when we have, al-
 “ ready, suffered many outrages ; and, if the major part of
 “ you, fathers, had not prevented it, were near suffering
 “ more, have we not reason to resent this, and to expect
 “ some relief, not without the hope of your espousing our
 “ resentment, when we call him to a fair, and legal trial,
 “ fathers, in which the whole body of the people, in their
 “ tribes, after every man, who desires to speak, has been heard,
 “ will give their suffrages on oath ? Go thither, Marcius,
 “ and, what you designed to say here, say it before all your
 “ fellow-citizens, for your justification ; alledge that, with
 “ the best intention, you gave the best advice to these se-
 “ nators ; or that, even, your advice, if followed, would
 “ have been advantageous to the commonwealth ; that it is
 “ inconsistent with justice that those, who deliver their opinions
 “ in this place, should give an account of their words ; that
 “ it was not with a premeditated, or a treacherous design,
 “ but, through passion, that you offered this abominable
 “ advice ; or fly to any other defence you can : Descend,

“ unhappy man, from that overbearing, and tyrannical
“ haughtiness, to a popular behaviour; become, at last,
“ like other men; assume the appearance of a person, who
“ has erred, and deprecates anger; an appearance calculated
“ to express humility, and excite compassion; such a one,
“ as calamities require; and seek not your preservation by
“ offering violence to those you have injured; but by
“ submitting to their pleasure. Let the conduct of these
“ worthy men be an example of moderation to you, which
“ if you imitate, your fellow-citizens will have no cause to
“ complain of you. Though supported by such numbers,
“ as you see here present, and adorned with so many military,
“ and civil accomplishments, which I could not, easily,
“ enumerate, though I should take up a great deal of
“ time; yet these respectable, these great persons came to
“ no cruel, no haughty resolutions against us, who are in-
“ considerable, and obscure men; but they themselves, even
“ first, proposed a treaty, and invited us to an accommo-
“ dation, when Fortune had divided us; and consented to
“ such conditions, as we desired, not to such, as they thought
“ most advantageous to themselves; and these last jealousies
“ we had entertained against them on account of the distri-
“ bution of corn, they took great pains to remove.

XLVI. “ I omit other things: But, in favor of yourself,
“ and, to deprecate the punishment due to your madness,
“ what intercessions did they not employ with all the ple-
“ beians both in their public, and private capacity? Since
“ the consuls, and the senate, who have the government of
“ so

“ so considerable a city, have thought it no dishonor to
 “ them, Marcius, to submit to the judgement of the people,
 “ in relation to what they were charged with, will it be any
 “ to you to submit to the same tribunal? All these have
 “ thought it no disgrace to intreat the people to acquit you,
 “ and do you think the same thing a disgrace to yourself?
 “ However, this is not enough for a man of your spirit;
 “ but, as if you had performed some great achievement,
 “ you appear with an exalted mien, and magnify your actions,
 “ resolving to abate nothing of your pride; I might add
 “ your reviling also, accusing, and threatening the people.
 “ And, do you not resent his arrogance, fathers, for setting
 “ a greater value upon himself alone, than, even, all of you
 “ set upon yourselves? And yet it is his duty, though you
 “ should be unanimous in your votes to engage in a war for
 “ his sake, to be satisfied with this proof of your benevolence,
 “ and zeal, and not to accept a private favor at the expence
 “ of the public; but to submit to make his defence, even
 “ to be condemned, if that should happen to be his case,
 “ and to suffer any punishment: For such would be the
 “ behaviour of a good citizen, and of one, who practises virtue
 “ in his actions, rather than in his words. But, what course
 “ of life, what designs does the violence, which this man
 “ now makes use of, discover? Does it not discover a design
 “ to violate oaths, to break through solemn engagements,
 “ to abolish treaties, to make war upon the people, to abuse
 “ the persons of magistrates, and to refuse to give an account
 “ of any one of these actions; but, untried, undefended,
 F f 2 “ courting

“ courting no man, fearing no man, and, disdaining an
 “ equality with any one citizen among so many, to walk
 “ about with impunity? Are not these the indications of a
 “ tyrannical disposition? They are, in my opinion: And
 “ yet this man is encouraged, and applauded by some of
 “ your own order, who are possessed with an implacable
 “ hatred against the plebeians, and cannot see that the birth
 “ of this evil threatens the most dignified citizens, not less
 “ than those of an inferior rank; but imagine that, when
 “ their natural adversaries are enslaved, they themselves shall
 “ be secure: But this is not so in reality, O men of mistaken
 “ notions! For you may learn from the experience Marcius
 “ exhibits to you, and by time, by foreign, and domestic
 “ examples, that tyranny, ²⁰ fostered against the people, is
 “ fostered against the whole commonwealth; at present,
 “ indeed, it begins with us; but, after it has gained strength,
 “ it will not spare even you.”

XLVII. After Lucius had spoken in this manner, and the rest of the tribunes had supported him by adding what

²⁰ *Μοχλευομενη*. I do not think it sufficient to translate this word; I think it, also, necessary to explain it. *Μοχος* signifies *a young plant*; it signifies also *a young boy*, and *the young of every kind*. When Agamemnon is going to set sail from Aulis to Troy, ^k he says to Clytemnestra,

Χρη δε σε λαβεισαν τοιδε ΜΟΣΧΟΝ νεαγενη
 Στειχειν προς οικους.

Here *μοχος* signifies his son Orestes, then, very young. If *μοχλευομενη* is

taken in the first sense I have given to *μοχος*, I own I can see no analogy between tyranny, and a young plant; but, if the word is taken in the other sense, the comparison between encouraging tyranny, and nursing up, for example, a lion's whelp, will be very natural. I am the more inclined to think that ^lour author had this in his view, because he makes Brutus say something very like it, when he speaks of Tarquin's sons; *ινα δε μαθητε οεις σκυλακας υμιν η Ταρκυνια τυραννις υποδρεφει*.

^k Eurip. Iphi. in Aul. v. 1623.

^l B. iv. c. 81.

they

they thought he had omitted, and it was time for the senators to deliver their opinions, first the most ancient, and the most dignified of the consular senators, being called upon by the consuls in their customary order, rose up ; and, after them, those who were inferior to them in both these respects ; and, last of all, the youngest senators, who made no speech (for that would have been looked upon as a want of modesty in the Romans of those times, and no young man thought himself wiser than those of an advanced age) but assented to the opinions delivered by the consular senators. There had been an order that all the senators present should give their votes upon oath, as in a court of justice. Then Appius Claudius, whom I mentioned before, as the greatest enemy to the plebeians of all the patricians, and who could, never, relish the agreement they had entered into with the people, opposed the passing of the previous order in the following speech.

XLVIII. “ I have wished, and, often, prayed to the gods
 “ that I might be mistaken in the opinion I entertained
 “ concerning the accommodation with the people, when I
 “ thought that the return of the fugitives would be neither
 “ honourable, just, nor advantageous to you ; and, during
 “ the whole course of that transaction, whenever any thing
 “ relating to this subject was proposed to our consideration,
 “ I was the first, and, at last, the only person, after the rest
 “ had deserted me, who opposed it ; and I, also, wished
 “ that you, fathers, who entertained better hopes, and,
 “ cheerfully, came into every concession both just, and
 “ unjust

“ unjust in favor of the people, might appear to have acted
“ with greater prudence than myself. But, since your
“ affairs have taken a turn contrary to my wishes, and
“ prayers, but not contrary to my expectations, and that
“ your favors have been returned with envy, and hatred, I
“ shall forbear to censure you for your past errors, and to
“ give you a fruitless uneasiness (which is a very easy
“ task, and a very common practice) as a thing altogether
“ unseasonable at this juncture : However, I shall endeavour
“ to suggest to you the means of correcting such of your past
“ errors, as are not, absolutely, incurable, and of acting in
“ the affairs, now, before you with greater prudence. I am
“ not ignorant that I shall appear to some of you to have
“ lost my senses, and to court destruction, in delivering my
“ opinion, freely, concerning these things, when I consider
“ how great dangers a liberty of speech is exposed to, and
“ reflect on the calamities of Marcius, who is, this minute,
“ in danger of losing his life for no other reason. But my
“ opinion is, that I ought not to be more anxious for the
“ security of my own person, than for the advantage of the
“ public : For the former has, long since, been dedicated to
“ the perils, that attend your cause, fathers, and devoted to
“ contests in defence of the commonwealth. So that, what-
“ ever Heaven pleases to ordain, I shall suffer it, resolutely,
“ with all of you, or with a few, or, if necessary, alone.
“ But, while I have life, no fear shall deter me from speak-
“ ing what I think.

XLIX. “ In the first place, I desire you will, now at
 “ last, be convinced of this, that the body of the people are
 “ disaffected, and enemies to the present establishment, and
 “ that all the concessions you have, through softness, made to
 “ them are, not only, thrown away, but have exposed you to
 “ contempt, as granted by you through necessity, and not
 “ flowing from good will, and choice : For I desire you to
 “ consider that this people, when, revolting from you, they
 “ took arms, and had the boldness to declare open war
 “ against you, had received no injury, but pretended their
 “ inability to pay their creditors: And, after you had granted
 “ them an abolition of their debts, and an impunity for the
 “ crimes they had committed in their revolt, they declared
 “ they would make no farther demands : Upon which
 “ occasion, ²¹ the greatest part of you, though not all, misled
 “ by these counsellors (which I wish had, never, happened)

²¹ Εἰώσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὑμῶν. I have followed Casaubon in restoring this passage with the addition of two words to connect it with That, which goes before. This addition Casaubon thinks necessary, though he added nothing himself. I have, therefore, said τοῖς δὴ ; which the reader will, I hope, think a sufficient connexion. In this manner, therefore, I would read the passage, and, according to this, I have translated it ; τοῖς δὴ ἐγνώσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὑμῶν (εἰ γὰρ δὴ πάντες) παρακροῦντες ὑποτῶν συμβουλῶν (ὡς μὴ πότε ὠφελόν) ἀκυρώσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ πίσει τιθείας νόμους. I have, also, added δε after ἤλαπυσε, in the next paragraph, which is, visibly, wanting. I shall not repeat any of the authorities made use

of by Casaubon to justify this expression, ὡς μὴ πότε ὠφελόν, because every person, who has read the best Greek authors, particularly the poets, must have met with it frequently. The Latin, and, consequently, the French translators, have made strange work with this period. By supposing, with Gelenius, that καίπερ ought to be prefixed to εἰώσαν, which Hudson, also, approves of, the former have made our author say that the senate voted an abolition of debts, and an amnesty, notwithstanding the majority were of opinion, καίπερ οἱ πολλοὶ εἰώσαν, that neither of them were proper to be enacted.

“ came

“ came to a resolution to abrogate the laws calculated to
 “ support public faith, and to grant an amnesty for all the
 “ outrages they had been guilty of. However, they were
 “ not satisfied with this favor, the obtaining of which alone
 “ they said was the aim of their revolt, but, presently,
 “ desired another still greater, and more illegal ; they desired
 “ leave to be granted them to chuse tribunes out of their
 “ own body every year, making our power the pretence of
 “ this demand, to the end, truly, that some relief, and refuge
 “ might lie open to the poorer citizens, who were injured,
 “ and oppressed ; but, in reality, with an insidious design
 “ against our constitution, and a view to change it to a
 “ democracy. This magistracy, also, the counsellors, I
 “ before mentioned, prevailed upon you to introduce into
 “ the commonwealth ; the introduction of which must ruin
 “ the state, and create envy to the senate in particular ;
 “ while I, if you remember, exclaimed against it, and called
 “ both gods, and men to witness that you would bring into
 “ the commonwealth an everlasting civil war, and foretold
 “ every thing, that has, since, befallen you.

L. “ What then did this grateful people do, after you had
 “ granted them this magistracy also ? They retained no
 “ gratitude for so great a favor, nor received it with respect,
 “ and modesty ; but as if they had extorted it from your
 “ dread of their power, and from your consternation. After
 “ that, they said this magistracy ought to be declared sacred
 “ and inviolable, and secured by oaths, desiring that a
 “ greater honor might be annexed to it than you yourselves,
 “ ever,

“ ever, conferred upon the consuls: This, also, you sub-
 “ mitted to; and, standing by the victims, you cursed both
 “ yourselves, and your posterity, if you violated the oath
 “ you, then, took. What did they do, when they had ob-
 “ tained this also? Instead of acknowledging the favor, and
 “ maintaining the form of government delivered down to
 “ them from their ancestors, they began from these advan-
 “ tages, and made these illegal successes the steps to future
 “ enterprises, and, not only, bring in laws without a pre-
 “ vious order of the senate, but enact them without your
 “ concurrence: They pay no regard to the decrees you
 “ publish, and accuse the consuls of male administration;
 “ and, if, by chance, any thing happens contrary to the
 “ agreement you made with them (as there are many things,
 “ which human reason cannot provide against) they attribute
 “ it not to chance, as I said, but to a premeditated design
 “ in you: And, while they pretend that snares are laid for
 “ them by you, and that they are afraid you should either
 “ deprive them of their liberty, or expel them their country,
 “ they themselves are, continually, forming the same designs
 “ against you; and they, plainly, shew that they guard
 “ against the mischief, they say, they apprehend, by no
 “ other means, than by first inflicting it: This they have,
 “ often, made apparent, even before, and upon many oc-
 “ casions, which I must not mention at present; but, par-
 “ ticularly, by their treatment of Marcius, a lover of his
 “ country, a man of no obscure birth, and who himself is
 “ inferior to none of us in courage; whom they accused of

“ forming designs against them, and of giving evil advice
“ in this place, and attempted to put to death without a
“ trial : And, if the consuls, and those of the best sentiments
“ among you had not assembled in a body, and restrained
“ their illegal attempts, you had been deprived, in one
“ day, of every thing your ancestors acquired for you
“ with many labors, and of every thing you yourselves,
“ after as many contests, are possessed of, your dignity, your
“ sovereignty, and your liberty : While those among you,
“ who had more spirit, and would not have been con-
“ tented with life alone, unless they could have lived to
“ enjoy those advantages, would either then, or, soon after,
“ have lost their lives rather than have been deprived of
“ them : For, if Marcius had been suffered to be seized in
“ so shameful, and dastardly a manner, as in a solitude,
“ what could have hindered me also, after him, and all of
“ you, who ever had opposed, or were like to oppose, the
“ unwarrantable attempts of the people, from being torne
“ in pieces by our enemies? For they would not have been
“ satisfied with taking off us two only, neither would they,
“ after they had gone so far, have stopped in their career of
“ wickedness, if any conjecture can be formed of their
“ future behaviour by That which is passed ; but, having
“ begun with us, they would have rushed, like a torrent,
“ upon all their adversaries, and upon all those, who did
“ not submit to them, and would have borne them down,
“ and overwhelmed them, without sparing birth, virtue,
“ or age.

LI. “ These, fathers, are the grateful returns, which the
 “ people have, already, made, and, if you had not opposed
 “ them, would have made, for the many signal benefits they
 “ have received from you. Now consider, also, in what man-
 “ ner they behaved themselves, after you had, upon this occa-
 “ sion, acted with so much resolution, and prudence, to the
 “ end you may learn from thence how you ought to treat
 “ them. As soon, therefore, as they found you resolved, no
 “ longer, to bear their insolence, but were prepared to attack
 “ them, they were struck with terror, and soon recovering
 “ themselves, as from a fit of drunkenness, or madness, they
 “ descended from violence, and had recourse to law; and,
 “ appointing a day, they cited Marcius then to appear, and
 “ take his trial, in which they themselves were to be the
 “ accusers, the witnesses, and the judges, and to determine
 “ the degree of the punishment: And, when you opposed
 “ this also, because you thought that he was called upon not
 “ to be tried, but to be punished, the people, who know
 “ they have, upon no occasion, an absolute power, but only
 “ That of ratifying your previous orders by their suffrages,
 “ now abate of the arrogance they were, before, possessed
 “ with, and are come to request that you will grant them
 “ this favor also. Reflect, therefore, upon these things; learn,
 “ at last, and know that all the favors you have, hitherto,
 “ granted them, with greater weakness than prudence, have
 “ brought calamities, and mischiefs upon you; and that every
 “ vigorous opposition you have given to their illegal, and
 “ violent proceedings, has turned to your advantage. What
 “ advice,

“ advice, therefore, do I give you now you are sensible of
“ these things? And what opinion do I deliver upon the
“ present question? It is this; that, whatever favors, and
“ concessions you made to the people at the time of your
“ reconciliation, however you came to make those con-
“ cessions, you adhere to them as valid; and violate
“ none of the articles you, then, granted to them; not
“ because they are honourable in themselves, and worthy
“ the dignity of the commonwealth; how should they?
“ But because they are necessary, and without remedy. As
“ to any thing beyond this, which they may endeavour to
“ extort from you against your will by violence, and illegal
“ means, I advise you not to grant, or allow it; but all of
“ you in general, and every one in particular, to oppose
“ them both by your words, and actions: For, if a person
“ has committed one error, either through delusion, or ne-
“ cessity, ought he, for that reason, to act in the like manner
“ in every thing else; on the contrary, he ought to remem-
“ ber that error, and to consider by what means his future
“ conduct may not resemble his former. These are the
“ resolutions I think you ought all of you in general to take;
“ and I advise you to be prepared against the unwarrantable
“ desires of power in the people.

LII. “ That this affair, which is the subject of your
“ present consideration, is, also, of the same cast with their
“ other unjust, and illegal attempts, and not, as the tribune
“ endeavoured to prove in order to deceive you, a just, and
“ reasonable request, let those among you, now, learn, who
“ are

“ are, not yet, convinced of it. The law, therefore, relating
 “ to popular judgements, upon which Lucius laid the greatest
 “ stress, was not enacted against the patricians, but for the
 “ security of such plebeians, as are oppressed, as the law itself,
 “ plainly, shews; the terms of which admit of no doubt :
 “ And you yourselves, who are, perfectly, acquainted with
 “ the sense of this law, with great unanimity, always, declare
 “ it to be so. And this is, clearly, evinced by time, the best
 “ interpreter of every ambiguous law, nineteen years being,
 “ now, passed since this was enacted ; during all which,
 “ Lucius cannot produce one instance of a trial, either
 “ public, or private, attempted against any patrician in virtue
 “ of this law: But, if he will say he can, let him produce it,
 “ and the debate is at an end. As to the late agreement
 “ you entered into with the people, it is necessary you should
 “ be informed of its tenor; since the tribune has shewn
 “ himself an ill interpreter of it: This agreement compre-
 “ hends these two concessions; that the plebeians be dis-
 “ charged of their debts, and that this magistracy be, an-
 “ nually, created for the relief of the oppressed, and the
 “ prevention of injustice, and for no other purpose whatever.
 “ But, let the present conduct of the people themselves be
 “ the greatest proof to you that, neither the law before
 “ mentioned, nor the agreement, have given them the power
 “ of trying a patrician : For they ask this power of you now,
 “ as not being, before, intitled to it : And no man would
 “ condescend to receive That from others as a favor, to
 “ which he has a right by law. And how can this, fathers,
 “ be

“ be an unwritten law of nature (for in this light, also,
“ Lucius desired us to consider it) that the people shall try
“ all causes, in which the plebeians are concerned, whether
“ the actions are brought against them by the patricians;
“ or, by them, against the latter : And that the patricians,
“ whether plaintiffs, or defendants in any suit with the
“ plebeians, shall have no power to determine these contests ;
“ but that the advantage, in both cases, be given to the
“ people, and we have no share in either ? If Marcius, or
“ any other patrician, whosoever he be, has injured the
“ people, and deserves either death, or banishment, let him
“ be punished for the injury he has done them ; but let him
“ not be tried by them, but in this place, as the law directs.
“ Unless you are pleased to say, Lucius, that the people will
“ act the part of an impartial judge, and shew no favor to
“ themselves, when they give their votes against an enemy ;
“ and that these, if they are suffered to vote in his case, will
“ shew more favor to the guilty man, than to the common-
“ wealth, that suffers by his guilt, when, by their sentence,
“ they are sure to draw upon themselves a curse, the infamy
“ of perjury, the detestation of mankind, and the anger of
“ the gods, and to live in expectation of misery. It is un-
“ worthy of you, citizens, to entertain these thoughts of the
“ senate, to whom you own you resign honors, magistracies,
“ and the greatest dignities in the commonwealth, on ac-
“ count of their virtue, and say you think yourselves much
“ obliged to them for the zeal they expressed for your return :
“ These things are not consistent ; neither is it reasonable that
“ you

“ you should fear those you commend, and intrust the same
 “ persons with things of the greatest moment, while you
 “ suspect them in Those of less consequence. Why do you
 “ not rather all agree to trust them with every thing, or to
 “ suspect them in every thing? You think them capable of
 “ making a previous order with justice, but not of judging
 “ in consequence of that order. I had many other things
 “ to say concerning the point of right, fathers, but let this
 “ suffice.

LIII. “ But, since Lucius, in order to convince us of the
 “ utility of this measure, has shewn how advantageous a
 “ thing union is, and how destructive, sedition; and that,
 “ if we cultivate the people, we shall live together in har-
 “ mony; but, if we hinder them from banishing, or mur-
 “ dering any of the patricians they think fit, we shall be
 “ involved in a civil war; though I have many things to
 “ say upon this head, I shall content myself with very few.
 “ And first, I cannot help admiring the vanity of Lucius
 “ (not to call it folly) for thinking himself a better judge of
 “ the interest of the state, though just come into the ad-
 “ ministration of the public affairs, than we, who are grown
 “ old in it, and have raised the commonwealth, from being
 “ inconsiderable, to the greatness she, now, enjoys: And, in
 “ the next place, for imagining he could persuade you to
 “ deliver up any man to his enemies to be punished: and,
 “ particularly, your fellow-citizen, a person of no small
 “ distinction, or merit; but one, whom you yourselves look
 “ upon as famous for his military exploits, most exemplary
 “ in

“ in his private life, and inferior to none in his abilities for
“ civil affairs. And these things he has dared to advance,
“ when he knows you, always, shew the greatest respect to
“ supplicants, and do not, even, exclude your enemies, who
“ fly hither for refuge, from this instance of your huma-
“ nity. If you knew we practised the contrary of all these,
“ Lucius; entertained impious sentiments concerning the
“ gods; were guilty of injustice towards men; what action
“ more infamous than this could you have advised us to
“ submit to, by which we must incur the hatred both of
“ gods, and men, and be, utterly, and, totally, destroyed?
“ We want not your advice, Lucius, either in delivering up
“ any of our citizens, or in any other affair we have to
“ transact; neither do we, who, at this age, have had so
“ long an experience both of good and bad fortune, think we
“ ought to be directed, in forming a judgement of our own
“ interest, by the prudence of young men, who are not of
“ our own body; nor do we fear the threats, with which you
“ endeavour to terrify us, which are not, now, employed by
“ you for the first time; but, having experienced them
“ many times, and urged by many persons, we shall treat
“ them with our usual mildness, and bear them with in-
“ trepidity: And, if you carry your threats into execution,
“ we shall defend ourselves with the assistance both of the
“ gods, who are, always, enemies to the aggressors in an
“ unjust war, and of men, no small number of whom will
“ support our cause: For, all the Latines, to whom we,
“ lately, granted the rights of Roman citizens, will declare
“ for

“ for us, and fight for this city, as for a country, now, their
 “ own ; and the many flourishing colonies we have planted,
 “ zealous for the preservation of their mother city, will fly
 “ to her defence. And, if you reduce us to the necessity of
 “ embracing every kind of assistance, we will submit, Lucius,
 “ to invite even our slaves to liberty ; our enemies to friend-
 “ ship ; and all mankind to a share in our hopes of victory ;
 “ and then ingage you : But, O Jupiter, and all ye gods,
 “ who guard this city, may there be no occasion for any
 “ thing of this kind ; may these terrible threats go no far-
 “ ther than words, and produce no disagreeable effect ! ”

LIV. Thus Appius spoke ; when Manius Valerius, who was the greatest friend to the people of all the senators, and had shewn the greatest zeal for the accommodation, upon this occasion also, openly, espoused their interest ; and made a studied speech, in which he censured those senators, who would not suffer the commonwealth to remain united, but sought to divide the plebeians from the patricians ; and, for trifling causes, to rekindle the fire of a civil war : He, then, commended those, who looked upon the only advantage in question to be ²² That of the public, and thought every consideration should give way to an union of all the citizens ; and told them that, if the people obtained the power they desired of trying this man, and received this favor, also, from the consent of the senate, they would, possibly, not even proceed to extremities ; but, satisfied

²². Το κοινον. Instead of striking out και, with Portus, I have substituted το in its place ; and am apt to think that,

if he had seen the Vatican manuscript, which has εν το συμφερον, he would have done the same.

with having him in their power, would treat him with lenity, rather than severity : However, if the tribunes should, by all means, insist on their proceeding to judgement, and put it in their power to give their votes, they would acquit him, as well from their respect to the person himself, then in danger, whose many brave actions they might remember, as to return the favor of the senate, who had granted them this power, and had opposed them in nothing, that was reasonable: And he advised the consuls, and all the senators, together with the rest of the patricians, to be present, in a body, at the trial, and to assist Marcius in making his defence, and intreat the people to come to no severe resolution against him (for he assured them that the presence of these would be of no small weight to facilitate his acquittal) and that they should assist him, not only, in their own persons, but that each of them should engage their own clients, and assemble their friends; and, if they thought that any of the plebeians were attached to them from the obligations they had received from them, they should solicit these, and desire they would shew their gratitude for former favors, when they came to give their votes. He told them, also, there would be many among the people, who were lovers of their country, enemies to all injustice, and men of worth; and still more, who would be moved with the vicissitude of human affairs, and know how to compassionate men of dignity, when humbled by fortune. But the greatest part of his discourse was addressed to Marcius himself, in which he joined an exhortation to a remonstrance, and
intreaty

intreaty to necessity : For he begged of him, since he was accused of dividing the people from the senate, and, also, charged with being tyrannical by reason of his haughty behaviour, and that all men were afraid lest, through his means, cause should be given for sedition, and for all the irreparable mischiefs, which flow from civil wars, that he would not verify, and give a sanction to, these accusations against himself, by persevering in his invidious behaviour, but change it to an humble deportment ; submit his person to the power of those, who complained of being injured, and not decline to clear himself of an unjust charge by a just defence : For these measures, he told him, were the most safe with regard to his preservation ; and, with regard to the glory he aimed at, the most illustrious, and of the same tenor with the great actions he had, already, performed : Whereas, if he should act with greater pride, than moderation, and desire the senate to expose themselves to every danger for his sake, he shewed him that he would be the cause either of an unhappy defeat, or of an opprobrious victory to those, who had suffered themselves to be persuaded by him. And, upon this occasion, he laid himself out in lamentations, and enumerated the most considerable, and the most obvious misfortunes, to which commonwealths are exposed through dissensions.

LV. These things having been uttered with many real, not feigned, and affected tears, by a man, eminent for the dignity both of his age, and virtue, the senate was moved with his discourse ; which he observing, proceeded with

greater confidence: “ But, says he, if any of you, fathers,
 “ are alarmed with an apprehension that you will introduce
 “ a pernicious custom into the commonwealth, if you grant
 “ the people a power of giving their suffrages against the
 “ patricians, and entertain an opinion that the tribunitian
 “ power, if considerably strengthened, will prove of no
 “ advantage, let them learn that their opinion is erroneous,
 “ and their imagination contrary to sound reasoning: For,
 “ if any measure can tend to preserve this commonwealth,
 “ to assure both her liberty, and power, and to establish a
 “ perpetual union, and harmony in all things, the most
 “ effectual will be to give the people a share in the govern-
 “ ment: And the most advantageous thing to us will be,
 “ not to have a simple, and unmixed form of government,
 “ neither ²³ a monarchy, an oligarchy, nor a democracy,

²³ Πολιτειαν ακρατον, μη MONARCHIAN, μη ολιγαρχιαν, μη δημοκρατιαν. I am very much surprised that none of the learned men, who have bestowed their pains upon Dionysius, saw the necessity of adding μοιραρχιαν, which is omitted in all the editions, and manuscripts. Without this addition, our author's language is not Greek, and his reasoning is imperfect. The first of these assertions will appear, when it is considered that, after he has mentioned these different forms of government, he says, μικρον εξ ΑΙΤΑΣΩΝ τυτων καλῶσασιν; whereas, if he had spoken but of two, he would have said, εξ αμφοτερων τυτων. Again, instead of τυτων ΕΚΑΣΤΟΝ των πολιτευματων, he would have said εκατερον, if he had, before, mentioned but two sorts of govern-

ment. I shall, now, desire the reader to consider the context. Our author, in the next paragraph, shews by what means the excesses of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy may be corrected, and begins with monarchy. This I must think very absurd, if he had not, before, mentioned it. But he goes on, and says, the Romans had taken all possible care that the monarchical power should not degenerate into tyranny, by investing two persons with it, instead of one, and by confining the exercise of it to a year; and, then, proceeds to the properest methods of preserving both the senate from a luxurious abuse of power, and the people from licentiousness. This recapitulation I think, plainly proves that, in describing the different forms of

“ but

“ but a constitution tempered with all of them : For each
 “ of these forms, when simple, very easily deviates into
 “ abuse, and excess ; but, when all of them are, equally,
 “ mixed, that part, which happens to innovate, and to ex-
 “ ceed the customary bounds, is, always, restrained by an-
 “ other, that is sober, and adheres to the established order.
 “ Thus monarchy, when it becomes cruel and insolent, and
 “ begins to pursue tyrannical measures, is subverted by an
 “ oligarchy consisting of good men : And an oligarchy,
 “ composed of the best men, which is your form of govern-
 “ ment, when, elated with riches, and dependants, it pays
 “ no regard to justice, or to any other virtue, is destroyed
 “ by a wise people : And, in a democracy, when the people,
 “ from being modest in their deportment, and observant of
 “ the laws, begin to run into disorders, and excesses, they
 “ are forced to return to their duty by the power, with
 “ which, upon those occasions, the best man of the com-
 “ monwealth is invested. You, fathers, have used all pos-
 “ sible precautions to prevent monarchical power from de-
 “ generating into tyranny : For, instead of a single person,
 “ you have invested two with the supreme power ; and,
 “ though you committed this magistracy to them not for

government at first, he did not omit monarchy. Upon the whole, if the reader pleases to cast his eye upon the sixth book of ^m Polybius, he will there find the same reasoning upon the three forms of government, from which reasoning our author, probably, de-

rived this true political system ; that every one of them, when simple, and unmixed, which the former calls, very properly, *ἀπλὴν καὶ μονοειδῆ*, is faulty ; and that the only perfect form is That, which consists in an union of *all three*.

^m P. 459.

“ an indefinite time, but only for a year, you, neverthe-
 “ less, appointed three hundred patricians, the most re-
 “ spectable both for their virtue, and their age, of whom
 “ this senate is composed, to watch over their conduct: But
 “ you do not seem, hitherto, to have appointed any to
 “ watch over your own, and to keep you within proper
 “ bounds. As for yourselves, I am, as yet, under no appre-
 “ hensions lest you should suffer your minds to be corrupted
 “ by great, and accumulated prosperity, who have, lately,
 “ delivered your country from a long tyranny; and, through
 “ continual, and lasting wars, have not, as yet, had leisure
 “ to grow insolent, and luxurious; but, with regard to your
 “ successors, when I consider how great alterations length
 “ of time brings with it, I am afraid lest the men of power
 “ in the senate should innovate, and, silently, transform our
 “ constitution to a monarchical tyranny.

LVI. “ Whereas, if you admit the people to a share in
 “ the government, no mischief can spring from the senate;
 “ but the man, who aims at greater power than the rest of
 “ his fellow-citizens, and has formed a faction in the senate
 “ of all, who are willing to partake of his counsels, and his
 “ crimes (for those, who deliberate concerning public affairs,
 “ ought to foresee every thing, that is probable) this great,
 “ this awful person, I say, when called upon by the tri-
 “ bunes to appear before the people, must give an account
 “ both of his actions, and thoughts to this people, incon-
 “ siderable as they are, and so much his inferiors; and,
 “ if found guilty, suffer the punishment he deserves. And,
 “ left

“ left the people themselves, when vested with so great a
 “ power, should grow wanton ; and, seduced by the worst
 “ of demagogues, become dangerous to the best citizens
 “ (for the multitude, generally, give birth to tyranny) some
 “ person of consummate prudence, created dictator by your-
 “ selves, will guard against this evil, and not allow them to
 “ run into excess ; and, being invested with absolute power,
 “ and subject to no account, will cut off the infected part
 “ of the commonwealth, and not suffer That, which is not
 “ yet infected, to be vitiated ; reform the laws ; excite the
 “ citizens to virtue, and appoint such magistrates, as he
 “ thinks will govern with the greatest prudence ; and, hav-
 “ ing effected these things within the space of six months,
 “ he will, again, become a private man, without receiving
 “ any other reward for these actions, than That of being
 “ honoured for having performed them. Induced, therefore,
 “ by these considerations, and convinced that this is the
 “ most perfect form of government, debar the people from
 “ nothing ; but, as you have granted them a power of
 “ choosing the annual magistrates, who are to preside over
 “ the commonwealth ; of confirming, and repealing, laws ;
 “ of declaring war, and making peace ; which are the
 “ greatest, and the most important affairs, that come under
 “ the consideration of our government, not one of which you
 “ have submitted to the absolute determination of the se-
 “ nate, allow them, in like manner, the power of trying
 “ offenders, particularly such, as are accused of crimes
 “ against the state, of raising a sedition, of aiming at ty-
 “ ranny

“ ranny, of concerting measures with our enemies to betray
 “ the commonwealth, or of any other crimes of the like
 “ nature : For, the more formidable you render the trans-
 “ gression of the laws, and the alteration of discipline, by
 “ appointing many inspectors, and many guards over the
 “ insolent, and the ambitious, the more will your constitu-
 “ tion be improved.”

LVII. After he had said this, and other things to the
 same purpose, he ended. And the rest of the senators, who
 rose up after him, except a few, concurred with him in
 opinion. When the previous order of the senate was to be
 drawn up, Marcius desired leave to speak, and said : “ You
 “ all know, fathers, in what manner I have acted with re-
 “ gard to the commonwealth ; that my zeal for your in-
 “ terest has brought me into this danger, and that your
 “ behaviour to me upon this occasion is contrary to my
 “ expectation ; and you will, still, be more convinced of
 “ this, when my affair is determined. However, since the
 “ opinion of Valerius prevails, may these measures prove of
 “ advantage to you, and may I form a wrong judgement of
 “ future events. But, that you, who are to draw up the
 “ previous order, may know upon what terms you are going
 “ to deliver me up to the people ; and that I myself may,
 “ also, know for what I am to be tried, I desire you will
 “ order the tribunes to declare, in your presence, what the
 “ crime is they design to accuse me of, and what kind of
 “ title they will give to the cause.”

LVIII.

LVIII. He said this from an opinion that he was to be tried for the words he had spoken in the senate ; and, also, from a desire that the tribunes might acknowledge they designed to ground their accusation on them. But the tribunes, after consulting together, declared they accused him of aiming at tyranny ; and ordered him to prepare himself to make his defence against that charge : For they were unwilling to confine their accusation to one article, and That, neither strong in itself, nor acceptable to the senate ; but chose rather to leave to themselves a latitude of accusing him of what they should think fit : By which means, they expected to deprive Marcius of the assistance of the senators. Upon which, Marcius said ; “ If this is the crime I am to be tried
 “ for, I submit myself to the judgement of the plebeians,
 “ and let the previous order be drawn up without opposi-
 “ tion.” The greatest part of the senators were well pleased that he was to be tried upon this charge, for two reasons ; the first, that, from thenceforward, it would not be criminal for any person to deliver his sentiments, freely, in the senate ; and the other, that Marcius, whose course of life had, always, been modest and irreprehensible, would, easily, clear himself of that accusation. After this, the previous order for the trial was drawn up ; and Marcius had time given him to prepare for his defence till the third market day : For the Romans had, then, markets, as they now have, every ninth day ; and, upon these days, the plebeians resorted to the city from all parts of the country, and exchanged the product of their lands for what they wanted ; decided their contests

in a judicial way, and, by their votes, gave their sanction to those public affairs, which either the laws submitted, or the senate referred, to their determination : And, as the greatest part of them were employed in labor, and poor, they passed the interval, consisting of²⁴ seven days, in the country. As soon, therefore, as the tribunes received the previous order of the senate, they went to the forum ; and, calling the people together, gave great commendations to the senate ; and, having read the order, they appointed the day for the trial, at which they desired all the citizens to be present, as affairs of the greatest moment would, then, be submitted to their deliberation.

LIX. When these transactions came to be divulged, the plebeians, and patricians appeared against one another with great zeal, and opposition ; the former desiring

²⁴ *Ἐπὶ ἡμέρας*. Casaubon, and, after him, M. * * *, say that either our author, or the transcriber, has, by mistake, said *ἔπὶ α*, instead of *οὐλῶ*, which, they say, is the true reading. In this I cannot agree with them ; because, as the *Nundinae*, among the Romans, were held every ninth day, it is plain there could be but seven days between each. And, that the Romans understood it so themselves, I shall prove from undoubted authority. ^a Varro, in speaking of the encouragement given to agriculture in the early days of the commonwealth, says ; *Itaque (maiores nostri) annum ita diviserunt, ut nonis modo diebus urbanas res usurparent, reliquis septem ut rura colerent*. The

nundinal letters were the eight first letters of the alphabet ; and, in whatever year, the A was the first nundinae, every nundinae in that year fell upon an A ; and, going round from A to A, it is plain that there were no more than seven intervening letters. The dominical letters, being the seven first letters of the alphabet, were, with many other things, borrowed from the old Romans by the Christians ; and, in whatever year, the first Sunday falls upon an A, every Sunday in that year will, also, fall upon an A ; and it is equally plain, that, from A to A, there are no more than six intervening days.

^a B. ii. De Re Pecuaría. In the preface.

to chastise the most arrogant of all men; and the latter to prevent the champion of the aristocracy from falling a victim to his enemies; both parties looking upon their preservation, and their liberty to depend upon the event of this trial. When the third market day was come, there was such a concourse of people from the country, as had, never before, been known, who got possession of the forum by break of day. The tribunes, then, caused the people to assemble in their tribes, having, beforehand, divided the forum with ropes, and appointed a separate stand for each tribe. And this was the ²⁵ first time the people of Rome were ever

²⁵ Καὶ τοῦτε πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ῥωμαίοις ἐκκλησία ἡ φυλετική. Our author shews the difference between the *comitia centuriata*, and *tributa*, so fully, together with the reasons, which induced the tribunes to insist upon the latter, that it would be to very little purpose to add any thing to what he has said upon this subject; particularly, since ° I have treated it at large upon another occasion. I shall, therefore, only say that, by the institution of the *comitia tributa*, the people were restored to a right they had, ever, enjoyed from the foundation of their city, till they were deprived of it by Servius Tullius, when he introduced the *comitia centuriata*; which, however reasonable in other respects, were, most certainly, injurious to the people, as to their right of voting: For, till then, the only *comitia* were the *curiata*, in which the vote of every Roman citizen was of equal importance: The majority of the *curiae* carried every question; and the ma-

jority of single votes determined the vote of every *curia*. Whereas, in the *comitia centuriata*, the first class, which consisted alone of eighty centuries of foot, and eighteen of horse, all composed of the richest subjects of the commonwealth, made a majority of three: Consequently, if they all agreed, it was to no purpose to take the votes of the remaining ninety five centuries: By which method of voting, the following classes were seldom, and the inferior classes, scarce ever, called upon to give their votes. As to the *comitia tributa*, the citizens voted in these, as they did in the *comitia curiata*: The majority of tribes was conclusive; and the vote of every tribe was known by the majority of single votes in that tribe. By this detail, it appears that, by the institution of the *tributa comitia*, the people gained no new right; but were, only, restored to a right their ancestors had, before, enjoyed.

° See the 122^l annotation on the second book.

assembled in their tribes to give their votes. This the patricians, violently, opposed, and insisted on their assembling the people in their centuries, according to the established custom : For, before that time, when the people were to give their votes upon any point referred to them by the senate, the consuls assembled them in their centuries, after they had offered up the sacrifices appointed by law ; and, to this day, some of these are performed : Then the people assembled in the field of Mars, before the city, drawn up under their centurions, and their ensigns, as in war : They did not give their votes promiscuously, but each in their respective centuries, when called upon by the consuls : And there being, in all, one hundred and ninety three centuries, and these distributed into six classes, that class was first called, and gave its vote, which consisted of those citizens, whose fortunes were of the greatest value upon the register, and who stood in the foremost rank in battle : In this were comprised eighteen centuries of horse, and eighty of foot : The class, that voted in the second place, was composed of those of inferior fortunes, whose post, in actions, was in the second rank, and who were armed in a different, and lighter manner, than those in the first rank ; all these formed twenty centuries, and to them were added two centuries of carpenters, and armourers, and other artificers employed in making warlike engines : Those who were called to vote in the third class, completed twenty centuries ; these had smaller fortunes, than those of the second class, and were posted behind them, and not armed like those of the second rank : The next
“ called,

called, were inferior in fortune to the last, and had a safer post in battle, and their armour was more calculated for expedition: These, also, were divided into twenty centuries; and to them were added two centuries of blowers on the horn, and trumpeters: The class, which was called in the fifth place, consisted of such, as had very small fortunes; and whose arms were javelins, and slings: These had no certain post, when the army was drawn up; but, being light armed men, and prepared for expedition, they attended the heavy armed men, and were distributed into thirty centuries: The poorest of the citizens, who were not less numerous than all the rest, voted last, and made but one century: These were exempt from serving in the army, and from the taxes paid by the rest of the citizens in proportion to their possessions; and, for both these reasons, their suffrages were of the least weight. If, therefore, ninety seven of the first centuries, which consisted of the horse, and of such of the foot, as stood in the first rank in time of action, were of the same opinion, the poll was at an end, and the remaining ninety six centuries were not called to give their votes: But, if it were otherwise, the second class, composed of twenty two centuries, was called, and, then the third; and so on, till ninety seven centuries were of the same opinion: Generally the points in dispute, were determined by the votes of the first classes: So that, it was needless to take Those of the last. And it seldom happened that a point was so doubtful, as to make it necessary to have recourse to the votes of the poorest citizens, of whom the last class was

com-

composed : But, if the first hundred and ninety two centuries were, equally, divided, the last vote, added to either side, was in the nature of a final determination, and turned the scale. The advocates, therefore, of Marcius desired that this kind of assembly, founded on the possessions of the citizens, might be called, from an expectation that he might, possibly, be acquitted, upon the first call, by the ninety eight centuries ; if not, at least upon the second, or third. On the other side, the tribunes, suspecting this, thought it their interest to call an assembly of the people in their tribes, and to empower that kind of assembly to decide this cause ; to the end, that neither the poor might be in a worse condition, than the rich ; nor the light armed men be placed in a less honourable station, than the heavy armed ; nor the body of the people, by being thrown off to the last calls, stand excluded from an equality of suffrage : But that, all the citizens might be equal in their votes, and equal in their ranks, and, at one call, give their votes in their tribes. The claim of the tribunes seemed to be the best founded ; because they contended that the tribunal of the people ought to be a popular, not an oligarchical, tribunal, and that the cognizance of crimes committed against the commonwealth ought to be common to all.

LX. The tribunes having obtained this, also, from the patricians, though not without difficulty, when it was time for the trial to begin, Minucius, one of the consuls, was the first person, who ascended the rostrum, and spoke in the manner the senate had directed him : And first, he put the
people

people in mind of all the benefits they had received from the patricians; then he desired that, in return for so many good offices, the people would grant them one favor, which they were under a necessity of requesting, as it would tend to the good of the commonwealth. After this, he displayed the advantages of concord, and peace, shewing the great happiness, which each of them brought to every government; and inveighed against discord, and civil wars, by which, he told them, many cities had been destroyed, with all their inhabitants, and whole nations extirpated: He exhorted them not to indulge their resentment so far, as to prefer destructive, to salutary, counsels, but, with calm reason, to contemplate future events, nor to take the worst of their fellow-citizens for their advisers in affairs of the greatest importance; but those they esteemed the best, from whom they knew their country had received many advantages both in peace, and war, and whom, as if their natures were changed, they would not think it reasonable to distrust. However, the single aim of his whole discourse was to persuade them to pass no vote against Marcius; but to acquit the man, for his own sake, particularly when they remembered in what manner he had acted with regard to the commonwealth, and how many battles he had gained in fighting for her liberty, and sovereignty; and that they would act neither with piety, justice, nor a due regard to themselves, if they resented his unguarded words, and were ungrateful to his glorious actions: This, he told them, was the proper season for them to acquit him, when he himself was come
to

to yield up his person to his adversaries, and was ready to acquiesce in whatever they should think fit to determine: But, if it was impossible for them to be reconciled to him, and they, still, continued severe and inexorable, he desired them to consider that the senate, consisting of three hundred, all the best men of the city, were come to intercede for him, and begged of them to feel some compassion, and relent; and not, for the sake of punishing one enemy, to reject the intercession of so many friends; but to disregard the chastisement of a single man, in favor of so many worthy persons. Having said this, and many things to the same purpose, he ended his speech with this suggestion; that, if they acquitted the man by their votes, it would be looked upon that they acquitted him because they thought him not guilty of any crime towards the people; but, if they put a stop to the proceedings, they would appear to have gratified his intercessors.

LXI. When Minucius had done speaking, Sicinnius, the tribune, presented himself, and said, that he would neither betray the liberty of the plebeians himself, nor, willingly, suffer others to betray it: But, if the patricians, really, consented that the man should be tried by the plebeians, he would take their votes, and do nothing more. After this, Minucius advancing, said: “ Since, tribunes, you desire, at
“ all events, that the people should give their votes con-
“ cerning this man, confine yourselves to the charge you
“ have brought against him; and, as you have alledged that
“ he aims at tyranny, shew this, and bring your evidence to
“ prove it; but neither mention, nor charge him with, the
“ words

“ words you accuse him of having spoken in the senate
 “ against the people : For the senate have, by their votes,
 “ acquitted him of this accusation, and thought proper that
 “ he should appear before the people, upon the terms con-
 “ tained in their order.” After which, he read the previous
 order ; and, having said this, and conjured them to adhere
 to it, he descended from the rostrum. Sicinnius was the
 first of the tribunes, who opened the charge, which he did
 in a studied, and elaborate speech, attributing every thing
 the man had, ever, said, or done against the interest of the
 people to a formed design of tyranny. When he had done
 speaking, the most eloquent of the tribunes pursued the
 accusation.

LXII. After this, Marcius made his defence ; and, begin-
 ning from his first entrance into the world, he enumerated all
 the campaigns he had made in the service of his country ; the
 crowns he had received from the generals as rewards of victory ;
 the prisoners he had taken, and the citizens he had saved in
 battle : And, upon every occasion, he produced these rewards,
 cited the generals, as witnesses, and called upon the citizens
 he had saved, by name : These presented themselves with la-
 mentations, and intreated their fellow-citizens not to destroy,
 as an enemy, the man, to whom they owed their preservation,
 begging one life in return for many, and offering themselves,
 in his room, to be treated by them as they thought fit.
 The greatest part of these were plebeians, and men, ex-
 tremely, useful to the commonwealth : Their aspect, and
 intreaties raised such a sense of shame in the people, that

they melted into commiseration, and tears. Then Marcius, rending his garment, shewed his breast full of wounds, and every other part of his body covered with scars, and asked them if they thought that to preserve many in war, and to destroy the preserved in time of peace, were actions of the same man ; and, if any one, who forms a design of tyranny, ever expels the common people from a city, by whom tyranny is, chiefly, abetted, and nourished. While he was yet speaking, those among the people, who were inclined to moderation, and lovers of merit, cried out to acquit the man ; and were ashamed that one, who had, so often, despised his own life to preserve them all, should, even, have been brought to his trial upon such an imputation : But those, who were by nature envious, enemies to virtue, and easy to be led into any kind of sedition, were sorry they were going to acquit him, but found they could do no otherwise, since they saw no manifest proof of his having aimed at tyranny, which was the point, upon which they were to give their votes.

LXIII. This being observed by Lucius, who had spoken in the senate, and prevailed on them to pass the previous order for the trial, he rose up ; and, having commanded silence, said ; “ Since, citizens, the patricians have acquitted
“ Marcius of the words he spoke in the senate, and of the
“ violent, and overbearing actions, that flowed from them,
“ and do not, even, suffer us to accuse him of either, hear
“ what an action, independent of those words, this valiant
“ man has been guilty of, how insolent and tyrannical ;
“ and learn of what nature that law is, which he, though a
“ private

“ private person, has violated: You all know this law or-
 “ dains that the spoils, taken by us from the enemy by our
 “ valor, shall belong to the public, and that it is so far from
 “ being in the power of any private person to dispose of
 “ them, that even the general himself has not this power; but
 “ the quaestor, receiving them, sells them, and brings the
 “ money into the public treasury. And this law no one
 “ has, yet, found fault with, since we have inhabited this
 “ city, so far from violating it: Marcius is the only man,
 “ who has despised the authority of this law; he alone has
 “ thought fit to appropriate to himself those spoils, citizens,
 “ that belong to us in common; this he did last year; his
 “ crime is of no long date: For, when you made an incur-
 “ sion into the territory of the Antiates, and took many
 “ prisoners, many cattle, and a great quantity of corn, to-
 “ gether with many other effects, he neither produced these
 “ before the quaestor, nor sold them himself, and brought
 “ the money into the treasury; but distributed, and lavished
 “ the whole booty among his own friends. This action I
 “ aver to be a proof of his aiming at tyranny. How should
 “ it be otherwise, when he applied the public money to the
 “ gratification of his flatterers, his guards, and the accom-
 “ plices in the tyranny he meditated? And this I maintain
 “ to be an open violation of the law. Let Marcius, then,
 “ stand up, and prove one of these two things, either that
 “ he did not distribute the spoils he took from the enemy’s
 “ country among his own friends, or that, in doing so, he
 “ did not violate the laws: Neither of which will he be able

“ to prove before you : For you yourselves are acquainted
“ with both ; you know the law, you know the fact ; and,
“ if you acquit him, your resolution must be looked upon
“ as contrary both to justice, and your oaths. Away then,
“ Marcius, with your crowns, your rewards of valor, your
“ wounds, and all the rest of your ostentation ; and answer
“ to these points : For I still give you liberty to do it.”

LXIV. This accusation caused a great alteration to the other side : For those among the people, who were most moderate, and earnest for the acquittal of Marcius, upon hearing these things, grew more remiss ; and all the ill-disposed, who were the greatest part, desiring to destroy him at all events, were still the more encouraged to his ruin, by laying hold of this strong, and manifest proof : For the distribution of the spoils was fact, but done with no ill intention, nor to promote a design of tyranny, as Lucius alledged against him ; but from the best motive, and to redress the miseries of the public : For the sedition, then, continuing, and the people being divided from the patricians, their enemies, despising them, infested their country, and plundered it without intermission ; and, whenever the senate thought fit to order an army to be sent out to its relief, not one of the plebeians would serve in it, but rejoiced at the desolation, and suffered it to continue ; and the forces of the patricians alone were not sufficient to defend the country. Marcius, observing this, promised the consuls, that he would march against the enemy with an army of volunteers, if they would give him the command of it, and, soon, take revenge
on

on them. Marcius, being authoris'd in the manner he had desired, assembled his clients, and friends, and such of the citizens, as were willing to share the advantages expected from the general's fortune in war, and his vâlor: When he thought the forces he had assembled equal to the propos'd expedition, he led them against the enemy, who had no intelligence of his design: And, entering their country, which was well stor'd with every thing valuable, he possess'd himself of a vast booty, all which he distributed among his soldiers, to the end that those, who had assist'd him in this expedition, by receiving the fruit of their labor, might, chearfully, ingage in the service upon other occasions; and that the others, who had declined it, seeing what advantages they had lost through their sedition, might act with greater prudence, when other expeditions were propos'd. This was the intention of the man in that affair; but to the jealous, and invidious multitude, this action, when considered by itself, appeared a kind of flattery of the people, and a corruption tending to tyranny. So that, the forum was full of clamor, and tumult; and, as the charge appeared uncommon and unexpected, neither Marcius himself, the consul, nor any other person, could make any defence to it. When nothing further was said in his favor, the tribunes called upon the tribes to give their votes, and confin'd the punishment of Marcius to perpetual banishment; fearing, I imagine, lest, if they had extended it to death, he should have been acquitted. After they had all voted, upon counting the suffrages, the difference did not appear considerable:

For

For there being, at that time, ²⁶ twenty two tribes, that voted, nine of them acquitted Marcius: So that, if two

^{26.} Μίας γὰρ καὶ εἰκοσιτρεῖς φυλῶν ἔσων.
There is, I believe, no passage in this, or in any other author, upon which the commentators have bestowed more pains to less purpose: Which I am not at all surpris'd at, since, as the text, now, stands in all the editions, and manuscripts, it is not possible to reconcile it to figures, which are of greater authority than any editions, and manuscripts whatsoever. But, before I give my own opinion upon this passage, I shall lay before the reader the different expedients different commentators have had recourse to; in order to convince him that, as the text, now, stands, it is impossible to be explained. Our author says that Marcius was acquitted by nine tribes; and that, if two more tribes had voted for him, he would have been acquitted by reason of the equality of votes, as the law required. Now, the number of twenty one tribes, as it stands in the text, will not agree either with the fact, as our author states it, or with the consequence he draws from that fact: For, if nine tribes of the twenty one acquitted Marcius, twelve must have condemned him; take two from the twelve, which condemned him, and add them to the nine, that acquitted him, according to the supposition of our author, the consequence will be, that eleven will acquit him, and ten condemn him; in which case, he will not be acquitted by an equality of votes, as our author, also, supposes, but by a majority of one vote. The

number of twenty one, therefore, will not answer these purposes, nor any other number but twenty two; out of which, if we take the nine votes, that were for him, there will be found thirteen against him: From this number, take two, and add them to the first nine, and there will be found eleven for him, and as many against him; by virtue of which equality, he must have been acquitted, as the law required. It may be said this solution is very easy; but that, in order to come at it, I must alter the text from twenty one to twenty two tribes. This I own: But, at the same time, I desire the reader to consider, that, as the reasoning of our author depends upon numbers, it must be explained by numbers; and no other possible number can support it, but That, which I have mentioned. Every one, who has examined Greek manuscripts, must know that nothing is so common, as to find mistakes committed by transcribers in relation to numbers; and how easy was it for them to write α , instead of β ? ^p Manucius, in order to solve the difficulty of the text, which all the commentators have adhered to, imagines that there were, at that time, thirty one tribes at Rome, of which only twenty one voted in the affair of Coriolanus. This supposition is, entirely, gratuitous, and founded on no authority: However, M. * * * has adopted it. Le Jay, indeed, rejects this imagination of Manucius, but substitutes another in its room, which

^p De Comit. Rom. c. 2.

more had voted in his favor, he would have been acquitted by reason of the equality of votes, as the law required.

is as little founded on the Greek language, and the Roman laws, as the other is on the Roman history. He supposes that *ισοψηφία* signifies, in the Greek authors, not only, an equal number of votes, but an equal force, an equal authority in the suffrages, although the number of them be not equal; *pas seulement un nombre égal de voix et de suffrages, mais une égale force, une égale autorité dans les suffrages; quoyque le nombre n'en soit pas égal.* From this position, for which he neither has, nor pretends to have, any authority, he concludes that, as Marcius had nine tribes in his favor, if two other tribes had come to their support, the law would have saved him; because the law gave to the eleven tribes, as he says, that would, then, have acquitted him, an authority equal to That of the twelve tribes, that condemned him. Note, that le Jay has, all along, contended, and endeavoured to prove, that there were only twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried; and, now, he makes them twenty three. But he goes on, and says that the law, here mentioned by Dionysius, did not allow a criminal to be condemned, who had but one vote more against him, than for him. Here, le Jay assumes a higher character; and, as in the capacity of a critic, he gave a signification to a word, which it, never, had before; so now, in That of a legislator, he has enacted a law, which, never before existed. I should not have employed so much time in

relating, much less in refuting, such absurdities, if his brother jesuits, the journalists of Trevoux, had not dignified these very absurdities with the title of *subtil reflexions*. The only objection, that can be made to the alteration I contend for, is, that there were no more than twenty one tribes in being, when Coriolanus was tried. This supposition, I know, is embraced by several men of learning; notwithstanding which, I cannot, after the most scrupulous examination of this question, find any foundation for it. It is a subject, which is far from being cleared up with the certainty requisite to enable any one to form a judgement either way. But, that I may conceal nothing from the reader's view, I shall state every thing I can find relative to this question. In the first place, ^r our author tells us that Servius Tullius (for I think it to no purpose to go back to the divisions of the people made by Romulus) divided the city of Rome into four local tribes, called the *Palatina*, *Suburana*, *Collina*, and *Esquilina*; and that ^s he, also, divided the whole country into a certain number of tribes, which he does not specify; but quotes Fabius for saying it was divided into twenty six, and Venonius for alledging that it was divided into thirty one tribes. It is plain that he follows neither; since he says that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which happened so many years after, there were no more than twenty one, or, as I say, twenty two tribes. We are, therefore, at a loss to

^r See the preface.

^r B. iv. c. 14.

^s Id. ib. c. 15.

LXV. This was the first citation of a patrician to the tribunal of the people : And, from this time, it became customary

know how many rustic tribes Servius Tullius instituted. Neither do we hear any more of tribes, till the year of Rome 259, when ^c Livy says there were twenty one tribes at Rome ; *Romæ tribus una et viginti factæ*, as Sigonius reads it, though all the other editions have *una et triginta*, as it was, also, in the epitome of the same book, till he himself altered it in his edition of Livy ; and I find, by his note upon this passage, that the chief reason of his altering it, was, because Dionysius says that, at the trial of Coriolanus, which was but four years after, there were present twenty one tribes. This is begging the question, against which I contend. And, in his ^u book, *de antiquo jure civium Romanorum*, he thinks the two tribes *Crustumina*, and *Ocriculana* were added at the time Livy means. That they were Roman tribes, I do not in the least doubt, but rather believe them to have been two of the rustic tribes instituted by Servius Tullius ; because the towns, from which they took their names, had, before that time, been conquered by the Romans. After this, that is, after the year 259, we find, by Livy, that many tribes were instituted at different times, no less than twelve, and two more, in the epitome of his nineteenth book ; that is, the *Velina*, and *Quirina*. If this was in Livy himself, and not in the epitome, it would weaken, though not destroy, what I have said ; because the consequence would be that, by supposing Coriolanus to have been

tried by twenty two tribes, I make thirty six tribes in all ; whereas, it is well known, that their number, never, exceeded thirty five. But it is certain, and must be allowed that the epitome of Livy was not written by Livy ; because there are many errors in it, which Livy was not capable of committing. But I have something more to say against the authority of this epitome, with relation to these two tribes. The name of one of them, viz. *Quirina*, is inserted by Sigonius in the room of *Esquilina*, as it stands in all the other editions, which was the name of one of the old city tribes : However, it is scarce possible, but some of these fourteen tribes might have had two names ; and, if that happened to have been the case but of one of them, my purpose is answered ; and, then, there will not be, even according to my own hypothesis, above thirty five tribes in all. I must beg of the reader not to look upon the supposition I have made to be calculated only to answer an objection : There is frequent mention made, in ancient monuments, of Roman tribes, that are not to be found in any authors ; as, the tribes *Horatia*, *Papia*, and *Camilla* ; and, in later times, we find the tribes *Julia*, *Flavia*, and *Ulpia*, called so in compliment to Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan, which were only new names given to old tribes ; since it is certain, as I said, that the Romans, never, had but thirty five tribes. I know it may be said that, if there were twenty two tribes,

^c B. ii. c. 21.^u P. 19.

for those, who were, afterwards, invested with the tribunitian power, to summon any of the citizens they thought fit to appear before the people, in order to be tried by them. From this beginning, the power of the people rose to a great height; while the aristocracy lost much of its ancient dignity by admitting the plebeians into the senate, and allowing them to stand candidates for magistracies; by not opposing their being invested with the priesthood, and by

tribes, there could be no casting vote: But I answer that, in criminal cases, when the tribes were, equally, divided, the offender would have been acquitted; and, in civil contests, the motion would have been rejected. * Aristotle gives many subtil reasons in favour of this law; one of which I shall lay before the reader in his own words: *Ετι μείζω μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὁ ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῶν ἢ ὁ μὴ ἐκ προνοίας. Ὁ μὲν δὴ συκοφαντῶν αἰετὶ ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖ· ὁ δὲ ἕτερον τι ἀδικῶν, τὰ μὲν δι' ἀναγκὴν· τὰ δὲ δι' ἀγνοίαν· τὰ δὲ, ὅπως εἴσχευ ἀδικεῖν αὐτῷ συμπίπτει. Ὅταν δὲ ἰσάι γενωνῇ αἱ ψήφοι, ὁ μὲν διωκὼν κεκρί- ται ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμισέων ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικεῖν· ὁ δὲ φευγὼν, ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτὸ ἀδικεῖν μὲν, καὶ μείλοισι γε ἐκ προνοίας. Ὡς ἔπειτα ἀδικεῖν μείζω κεκρίσται ὁ διωκὼν τὸ φευγόντος, εἰκότως ὁ νομοθέτης νικᾷ ἐκρίνε τὸν τὰ ἐλαττω ἀδικούντα.* “ Besides, the man, who offends with
“ premeditation, is a greater delin-
“ quent than he, who offends without
“ premeditation. Now, the calumnia-
“ tor always offends with premedia-
“ tion: Whereas, the person, who is
“ guilty of any other crime, some-
“ times offends through necessity;
“ sometimes through ignorance; and
“ at others, as he may happen to of-

“ fend. When, therefore, the votes
“ are equal, the prosecutor is judged
“ by half the votes to offend with pre-
“ meditation; and the defendant is
“ judged by the rest to offend indeed,
“ but not with premeditation. So
“ that, since the prosecutor is judged
“ to be a greater delinquent than the
“ defendant, the legislator wisely de-
“ termined that the lesser delinquent
“ should have the advantage over the
“ greater.” The law, here, mentioned
by Dionysius, was borrowed from the
Greeks by the Romans, and, from
these, by the greatest part of the west-
ern world, where it is, still, in use, as
it is with us, upon many occasions.
Praesumitur pro negante seems to be a
maxim, generally, received. Euripides
derives the institution of this law from
the trial of Orestes, before the arco-
pagus for the murder of his mother
Clytaemnestra, when he was acquitted
by an equality of votes; of which Mi-
nerva gives this account *;

ἕνεκ' ἐξέσωσα σε,
Καὶ πρὶν γ' Ἀρείοις ἐν πάφοις ΨΗΦΟΥΣ ἸΣΑΣ
Κρίνασ', Ὁρέσα, καὶ νομισμ' εἰς ταῦτο γε
Νικᾶν, ἸΣΗΡΕΙΣ ὅσις αὖ ΨΗΦΟΥΣ λαβῇ.

* Problem. Sect. 29. Quest. 13.

* Iphig. in Taur. γ. 1469.

communicating to all the most considerable of their other dignities, even those, that were peculiar to the patricians ; some of which concessions they yielded to through necessity, and against their will, and to others through foresight, and wisdom: All which I shall mention at a proper season. However, this custom, I mean That of citing the men of power at Rome to a trial, where the people were judges, might afford a subject for many reflexions to those, who are disposed either to commend, or blame it: For it is certain that many brave, and good men have been treated in a manner unworthy of their virtue, and have suffered a shameful, and miserable death, at the instigation of the tribunes. On the other side, many men of arrogant, and tyrannical dispositions, being compelled to give an account of their lives, and conduct, have suffered the punishment they deserved. When, therefore, these inquiries have been pursued with the best intentions, and the pride of the great was, justly, humbled, this institution appeared grand, and admirable, and met with general applause: But, when a virtuous, and able statesman was put to death through envy, and contrary to justice, the rest of the world were shocked at the institution, and the authors of it detested. The Romans have, often, deliberated whether they should repeal this institution, or preserve it in the same vigor they had received it from their ancestors ; but never came to any resolution. If I may be allowed to give my own opinion in affairs of so great moment, I look upon the institution, considered by itself, to be advantageous, and, absolutely, necessary to the Roman commonwealth ;
but

but that it is good, or bad, according to the different characters of the tribunes : For, when this power falls into the hands of just, and prudent persons, who prefer the interest of the public to their own, the man, who has injured his country, when punished in the manner he deserves, strikes terror into the minds of all, who are prepared to commit the like crimes; while the worthy man, who acts in the administration with the most upright intentions, is in no danger of being brought to an ignominious trial, or accused of crimes inconsistent with his conduct : But the contrary of all this happens, when wicked, abandoned, and interested men are invested with so great a power. So that, instead of reforming the institution, as faulty, they ought to consider by what means good, and worthy men may be placed at the head of the people, and that a trust of the greatest importance may not, injudiciously, be conferred on men of no character.

LXVI. These were the causes, and this was the event of the first sedition, that happened among the Romans after the expulsion of their kings. I have related all the circumstances of it in an extensive manner; to the end that no one may wonder how the patricians could submit to invest the people with so great a power, without being terrified into it by the murder, or banishment of the most considerable of their order; both which have happened in many other cities : For, when extraordinary events are related, every one desires to know the cause, that produced them, and considers That alone, as the source of their credibility. I reflected, there-

fore, that the relation I have given of this transaction would have gained little, or no credit, if I had contented myself with saying that the patricians resigned their power to the plebeians, and that, when they might have maintained the aristocracy, they invested them with the greatest prerogatives, and had omitted the motives, that induced them to come into these concessions: For which reason, I have related them all. And, since they did not make this change in their government by compulsion, and force of arms, but by persuasion, I thought it, absolutely, necessary to insert the speeches, which the heads of both parties made upon that occasion. I am surpris'd to find that some historians think themselves obliged to give an exact account of military transactions, and, sometimes, throw away many words in the relation of a single battle, in describing the situation of the places, the particular arms, the disposition of the armies, the exhortations of the generals, and every other circumstance, that contributed to the victory on either side; but, when they come to give an account of civil commotions, and seditions, they think themselves under no obligation of relating the speeches, by which extraordinary, and wonderful events were brought to pass: For, if any thing in the Roman commonwealth deserves to be admired, and to be imitated by all mankind, this circumstance, in my opinion, deserves it, or rather surpasses, in its lustre, all the great things, which most deserve our admiration, that, neither the plebeians, in contempt of the patricians, took arms against them, and, after murdering many of the best men, seized all their fortunes; nor,

on the other side, the men in power, by their own forces, or, by foreign assistance, destroyed all the plebeians, and, after that, lived in the city without molestation : But, conferring together upon their common rights, like brothers with brothers, or children with their parents in a well governed family, they put an end to their contests by persuasion, and a communication of their thoughts, and, never, allowed themselves to commit any irreparable, or wicked action against one another ; such as the Corcyraei were guilty of at the time of their sedition ; and, also, the Argivi, the Milefii, and all Sicily, as well as many other commonwealths. For these reasons, therefore, I chose to make my narration rather accurate, than short ; but, let every one judge of my conduct, in this particular, as he thinks fit.

LXVII. This having been the event of the trial, the people went away, extravagantly, elated, and thought they had destroyed the aristocracy. On the other side, the patricians were confounded, and dejected, and complained of Valerius, by whose persuasion they had been induced to leave the trial to the people ; and those, who conducted Marcius home, lamented, and shed tears, in commiseration of his misfortune ; but he himself was seen neither to bewail, nor lament his own fate, or to say, or do the least thing unworthy the greatness of his mind. When he went home, and saw his wife, and mother tearing their robes, beating their breasts, and uttering such lamentations as are natural to women in the like calamities, when they see themselves upon the point of being separated from their dearest relations
by

by death, or banishment, he shewed still greater fortitude, and resolution, and was unmoved at their tears, and their lamentations ; but, only saluted them ; and, exhorting them to support their misfortunes with firmness, he recommended his sons to them ; the eldest of whom was ten years old, and the youngest, in arms ; and, without shewing any other marks of tenderneſs, or taking any thing with him, that might be of uſe to him in his banishment, he haſtened to the gates of the city, acquainting no one to what place he propoſed to retire.

LXVIII. A few days after this, the time came for the election of magiſtrates, when Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus, and Spurius Lartius Flavius were created conſuls, the laſt being choſen for the ſecond time. The city was, this year, greatly alarmed with prodigies : For unuſual ſights were ſeen by many, and voices were heard, uttered by no man ; births, both of children, and cattle, extremely unnatural, incredible, and monſtrous were ſaid to have happened ; oracles were given in many places, and women, poſſeſſed with a divine fury, foretold miſerable, and dreadful miſfortunes to the commonwealth ; a kind of contagious diſtemper was, alſo, felt by the people, and deſtroyed great numbers of cattle : However, not many men died of it, the miſchief going no farther than a malady. Some were of opinion that theſe things proceeded from the will of the gods, who were angry with them for having baniſhed the moſt deſerving of all their citizens ; others, that nothing, which had happened was the work of Heaven, but that both theſe, and all other human

human events were fortuitous. Afterwards, a certain person, whose name was Titus Latinus, being ill, was brought to the senate in a litter; he was a man advanced in years, and of a competent fortune, but worked with his own hands, and passed the greatest part of his life in the country: This person, being brought into the senate, affirmed that the Capitoline Jupiter had, as he thought, appeared to him in a dream, and said, “Go, Latinus, and let your fellow-citizens know
 “that, in the late procession, they did not give me an ac-
 “ceptable ²⁷ leader of the dance; let them renew the
 “festivals, and perform others from the beginning, for I
 “have not accepted these:” He added, that, when he waked, he disregarded the vision, and looked upon it as a common, and deceitful dream; that, afterwards, the same apparition of the god presenting itself to him, again, in his sleep, was angry, and displeased with him for not having acquainted the senate with the orders he had received, and threatened him that, if he did not presently do it, he should learn, by the experience of some great calamity, not to neglect supernatural injunctions: That he had no better opinion of the second dream, than of the first; and, at the

²⁷ Τον ἡγούμενον ορχήσιν. ^γ Livy calls this dancer, *praefultatorem*. I believe, or, at least, hope, that the generality of my readers will be as much tired with reading prodigies, as I am with translating them; or, which is better, that they will skip over the prodigies, till they find something more worthy of their attention: If a translator had the same liberty, I am very sure I

should make use of it. The noble, though partial, history of the Earl of Clarendon is, also, discoloured with a dream, as I have said, not very unlike to this: However, all authors may be assured that the most effectual way to lull their readers asleep is to talk to them of dreams. It is as contagious as gaping in company.

same time, was ashamed, being a person, who worked with his own hands, and an old man, to talk to the senate of ominous, and frightful dreams, for fear of being laughed at: However, a few days after, he said, his son, who was young and beautiful, died, suddenly, without sickness, or any other apparent cause of death: After this, the god, again, appeared to him in his sleep, and said that he had, already, been punished in part, for his contempt, and neglect of the orders he had received, by the loss of his son, and should soon feel other punishments: That, when he heard this, he received the threats with pleasure, and, being weary of life, desired to die; however, that the god did not inflict this punishment on him, but sent such intolerable, and sharp pains into all his limbs, that he could not move a joint without the greatest torment: Being in this condition, he communicated what had happened to his friends; and, by their advice, was come to the senate. While he was giving this account, his pains seemed to leave him by degrees; and, after he had related every thing, he rose from the litter; and, having invoked the god, walked home through the city in perfect health.

LXIX. Upon this, the senate were full of fear; every one was astonished, and at a loss to guess what was meant by the god, and who should be the leader of the dance in the procession, who appeared unacceptable to him. At last, one of them, remembering the thing, related it to the rest, and all of them confirmed it by their testimony. It was this: A Roman citizen of no obscure condition, having ordered
one

one of his slaves to be put to death, delivered him to his companions to lead him to his punishment; and, with a view to render the chastisement the more exemplary, he directed them to drag him through the forum, and every other conspicuous part of the city, as they whipped him; and that he should go before the procession, which the Romans were, at that time, performing in honor of that god. The men, ordered to lead the slave to the place of punishment, having extended both his arms, and fastened them to two pieces of wood, which reached cross his breast, and shoulders as far as his wrists, followed him, tearing his naked body with whips: The criminal, subdued by the severity of such treatment, cried out; and, not only, uttered execrations, suggested by the torture, but threw himself into indecent contortions at every stroke. All thought this man to be the unacceptable dancer, signified by the god.

LXX. Since I am come to this part of the history, I ought not, in my opinion, to omit any thing performed by the Romans on the occasion of this festival: In this, I have no design to render my narration more agreeable by the addition of theatrical entertainments, and florid discourses, but to prove something necessary, which is, that the nations, who joined in founding the city of Rome, were Greek colonies, sent out from places of the greatest repute; and not, as some imagine, Barbarians, and vagabonds: For I promised at the end of the first book, which I composed, and published concerning their origin, that I would prove what I, then, advanced, by a great number of arguments,

drawn from their ancient customs, laws, and institutions, which they preserve to this day, such as they received them from their ancestors: For I am of opinion that it is not enough for those, who write ancient, and local histories, faithfully to relate facts, as they have received them from the inhabitants of the country; but that they ought, also, to support those facts by many indisputable testimonies, if they expect their relations should find credit. Among these testimonies, I look upon the first, and the most considerable of all others to be the ceremonies relative to the established worship of the gods, and genius's, which are performed in every city: These, both the Greeks, and Barbarians, have preserved for the greatest length of time, and have, never, thought fit to make any innovation in them, being restrained from it by their fear of the divine anger; this fear makes the greatest impressions upon the Barbarians for many reasons, which I do not think this a proper opportunity to alledge; and no length of time has, hitherto, induced either the Egyptians, the Libyans, the Celtae, the Scythians, the Indians, or any other Barbarous nations whatever, to abandon, or transgress any thing relating to the worship of their gods; unless some of them have been subdued by a foreign power, and compelled to exchange their own institutions for Those of the conqueror. Whereas, the Roman commonwealth, never, experienced such a misfortune; but has herself, always, given laws to others. If, therefore, the Romans had been, originally, Barbarians, they would have been so far from abandoning their first rites, and the customs established in their

their country, by which they had arrived to so great prosperity, that they would, even, have made it the ²⁸ interest of all their subjects to worship the gods, according to the Roman ceremonies; and, if they themselves had been Barbarians, nothing could have hindered all Greece, which has, now, been subject to the Romans near ²⁹ seven generations, from being rendered Barbarous by them.

²⁸. Εν καλῶ κατέστησαν. I do not think that any of the translators have given the sense of this passage. Sylburgius has paraphrased it. Portus has said, *aliis omnibus, quibus imperabant, praeclarum fore existimassent*. Le Jay has rendered it, *ils se seroient fait un devoir de faire honorer leurs dieux*; and M. *** *il se seroient fait un devoir d'introduire leurs cérémonies*. Nothing of all this gives the sense of the Greek text. Εν καλῶ signifies *opportunately, advantageously*. ² Thucydides uses it in the last sense, when he says, Εν καλῶ εδοκεῖ ἡ μάχη εἶσθαι; which is, very well, explained by the Greek scholiast, ἐπὶ συμφερόντι. To apply this to the passage before us; I think it very plain that οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν καλῶ κατέστησαν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἀπασιν ὧν ἦρχοντες θεοῖς τοῖς σφέτεροις τιμὰν νομιμοῖς, signifies that the Romans would have made it the interest of all their subjects to honour the gods, as they honoured them; that is, to embrace their religion. This is a piece of policy, by which most princes of Europe, at this day, regulate their conduct. I wish they would stop here, and not persecute those, who refuse to conform to the religion of their courts, where there is, seldom, any to be found.

²⁹. Ἐξ ὀμῆν γενεῶν. I find here a note of Glareanus in Sylburgius, which M. *** has translated without the least acknowledgement. In this note, Glareanus thinks these generations ought to be computed from the victory gained by the Romans over Perseus, king of Macedon, or from the end of the second Punic war, when, he says, the Romans had some footing in Greece. I cannot approve of either of these aeras. The first is not early enough: And the little the Romans possessed in Greece at the last aera does not deserve the application of the word κρατῦμενον: So that, I would rather date the conquest of Greece from the consulship of L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus, which fell out in the year of Rome 558; when T. Quinctius Flaminius, after he had defeated Philip of Macedon at Cynoscephelae, caused that famous decree to be published at the Isthmian games. By this decree, all the Greek cities, which had been under the dominion of Philip, were declared free: * *Senatus populusque Romanus liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse jubet*: Then follow the names of the cities, that were to enjoy this noble benefit. Sure no nation,

² B. v. c. 59.

² Livy, B. xxxiii. c. 32.

LXXI. The ceremonies, now practised by the Romans, might, possibly, be looked upon by others as no small indications of their ancient institutions. But, lest any one should think this a weak argument, and continue to ground their opinion on this improbable notion, that, after the Romans had conquered all Greece, they might forsake their own customs, and, willingly, embrace others, that were better, I shall deduce my proof from the time, when they were not yet masters of Greece, or of any other country on the other side of the sea: and support it by the authority of Quintus Fabius, without having recourse to That of any other author: For he is the most ancient of all the Roman historians, and proves what he asserts, not only, from the information of others, but, also, from his own knowledge. This festival, therefore, the Roman senate, ordered to be celebrated, as I said, pursuant to the vow made by the dictator, Aulus Postumius, when he was upon the point of giving battle to the Latines, who had revolted from the Romans, and were endeavouring to restore Tarquinius to the sovereignty: In consequence of this vow, they ordered ³⁰ five hundred minae of silver to be expended, every year, in the sacrifices, and the games; and this sum the Romans laid out on the festival, till the time of the

ever, used their victory with so much generosity. Livy says this proclamation raised such an ecstasy of joy in the minds of all the Greeks, who were present at these games, that they could scarce contain it: They caused the proclamation to be read again, and,

by their repeated acclamations, made it evident, that, of all benefits, liberty is the greatest.

³⁰ Πενταχοστίας μνας. 1614 l. 115. 8 d. of our money. See the twenty second annotation on the fourth book.

Punic

Punic war : And, during these holidays, many things were performed, according to the customs of the Greeks, such as the general assemblies, the reception of strangers, and the cessation of hostilities ; all which it would take up a great deal of time to describe ; but such as relate to the procession, the sacrifice, and the games (for from these a judgement may be formed of those I have not mentioned) are as follows.

LXXII. Before the games began, the principal magistrates performed a procession in honor of the gods, from the capitol through the forum to the great Circus : Those, who led the procession, were the sons of the Romans, approaching to manhood, and of an age to bear a part in this ceremony, who marched on horseback, if their fathers were intitled, by their fortunes, to be knights ; while the others, who were designed to serve in the infantry, went on foot ; the former in squadrons, and troops, and the latter in battalions, and companies, as if they were going to their place of exercise ; to the end that strangers might see the number, and beauty of these youths, who were growing to be men able to serve their country. These were followed by charioteers, some of whom drove chariots drawn by four horses in front, and some chariots drawn by two, while others rode unyoked horses : After these, came the ³¹ combatants both in the light, and heavy games, all naked except their middle.

31. Οἱ τῶν Ἀθλημάτων ἀγωνισαί. Ἀθληταί wrestlers, runners, boxers, etc. Καί is a general word in Greek, and signifies all the gymnastic combatants, as οἱ γυμνικοὶ μὲν κυρίως ἀθληταὶ καλεῖται, says ^b Julius Pollux.

^b B. iii. Segm. 143.

This custom continues, even to this day, at Rome as it was, originally, practised by the Greeks; but it is, now, abolished in Greece, the Lacedaemonians having put an end to it: The first person, who attempted to appear naked, and ran, in that condition, at the Olympic games, in the fifteenth Olympiad, was Acanthus, the Lacedaemonian: For, before that time, all the Greeks were ashamed to appear, intirely, naked in the games, as Homer, the most credible, and the most ancient of all witnesses, shews by introducing his heroes girded with cinctures: Thus, when he is describing the wrestling of Ajax, and Ulysses at the funeral of Patroclus, he says, *they*³² *girded themselves, and advanced to the middle of the list*: This he makes still plainer in the Odysey, upon the occasion of the boxing between Irus, and Ulysses, in these verses;

32. Τῷ δὲ ζώσασιν βῆλιν ἐς μέσσον ἀγωνά. I suppose our author quoted this verse of Homer upon memory; because, in reality, the latter applies it to the boxing match between Epeus, and Euryalus; and not to the wrestling between Ajax, and Ulysses, to which he applies the following verse^c;

Ζώσασιν δ' ἄρα τῷ βῆλιν ἐς μέσσον ἀγωνά.

This was scarce worth taking notice of; neither should I have mentioned it, had it not been to shew the great implicitness, which the French translators pay all along to their guides, the Latin translators. Hudson calls the verse, quoted by our author, the 685th, in which they have followed him: But, if either Hudson, or they, had read the context in Homer, they

would have found the two verses to have been applied in the manner I have mentioned. I am so great an admirer of Pope's translation of the Iliad, that I should, certainly, have given the reader his translation of this verse, as I shall of the others, which our author will, presently, quote, if he had not, I suppose to avoid a repetition, left out of his translation the very circumstance, for which our author quotes this verse, I mean, the word *ζώσασιν*. However, he has not omitted it a little before, where he has, very properly, rendered

ζῶμα δὲ οἱ πρῶτον παρακαβέβαλεν,

Officious with the cincture girds him round.

Though the reader will find that he has, afterwards, left out *μολπῆς ἐξαρχονίης*.

^c Iliad. ψ. γ'. 710.

Then,

*Then, girding his strong loins, the king prepares
To close in combat, and his body bares ;
Broad spread his shoulders, and his nervous thighs
By just degrees, like well turn'd columns rise ;
Ample his chest, his arms are round and strong.*

Pope.

And, when he introduces the beggar unwilling to ingage, and, through fear, declining the combat; he says, *Thus they spoke ; But Irus sickened with fear ; however, the suitors forced him, even in this condition, to be girded, and dragged him trembling to the combat.* Thus it is plain that the Romans, who preserve this ancient Greek custom to this day, did not learn it from us afterwards, nor, even, change it in process of time, as we have done. The combatants were followed by bands of dancers, in three divisions; the first consisting of men; the second, of youths; and the third, of boys; these were accompanied by players on the flute, who made use of ancient flutes, small and short, such as are used at this time; and by players on the lyre, who struck ivory lyres with seven strings, called *βαρέλλα*, *barbita*; the use of which is left off, at this day, among the Greeks, though practised by their ancestors; but preserved by the Romans in all the ancient ceremonies relating to their sacrifices: The dancers were dressed in scarlet vests, girded with brass cinctures, from which hung their swords, and, in their hands, they carried spears shorter than ordinary; the men had, brazen helmets, adorned with beautiful crests, and plumes: Each band had its leader, who prescribed the figure of the dance to the rest, and, generally, repre-

represented warlike, and quick motions, in the ³³ time he beat. This, also, was a very ancient Greek institution, I mean, the armed dance, called the *Pyrrhic*; whether it was invented by Minerva, who first began to lead bands of dancers, and to dance in arms upon the destruction of the Titans, in order to celebrate the victory by this token of her joy, or whether the Curetes, still earlier introduced it, when, nursing Jupiter, they desired to divert him by the clashing of arms, and the motion of their limbs in time, according to the fable. Homer shews, in many places, the antiquity of this also, and that it was a national custom among the Greeks; but, particularly, in enumerating the ornaments of the shield, which, he says, Vulcan made a present of to Achilles: For, having represented in it two cities, one flourishing in peace, the other suffering by war, in That, on which he has bestowed the happier fate, he describes festivals, marriages, and entertainments, the natural effects of happiness, saying,

33. Ρυθμοῖς. The signification of this word is so much altered, that we have almost lost the original sense of it. In Greek, it signifies *time*, not *tune*; and modern languages have reduced the word to signify the bane of all poetry, *rime*. We have, indeed, almost shaken off this monkish yoke; at least, we have banished it from the stage; where it is, still, in so great admiration in France, that, not only, tragedies, but comedies, also, must be in rime: Nay I have been told in France, that the *Misanthrope* of Moliere, one of the best comedies, that, ever, appeared in any language, was written by him in

prose, and dressed in rime to please the extraordinary taste of his countrymen. This is the more surprising, because it must be allowed that the French dramatic poetry, for regularity, decency, and every thing but strength, excels all the performances of that kind, which our country, or any other has produced, since the resurrection of letters. If an English reader would allow me to render *εν τοις προκελευσματικοις ρυθμοις*, in *proceleusmatic rhythms*, as M. * * * has said, *en rythmes proceleusmatiques*, it would save a translator a great deal of trouble.

The

*The youthful dancers in a circle bound,
To the soft flute, and cittern's silver sound:
Through the fair streets, the matrons in a row
Stand in their porches, and enjoy the show.*

Pope.

And, again, in describing another Cretan band of dancers, that consisted of youths, and maidens, with which the shield was adorned, he speaks in this manner;

*A figur'd dance succeeds; such as was seen
In lofty Gnosſus, for the Cretan queen,
Form'd by Daedalean art. A comely band
Of youths, and maidens, bounding hand and hand.*

Pope.

And, in describing the dress of these dancers, in order to shew that the youths danced in arms, he says;

*Of those the locks with flow'ry wreaths inroll'd,
Of these the sides adorn'd with swords of gold,
That glitt'ring gay from silver belts depend.*

Pope.

And, when he introduces the leaders of the dance, who prescribed the figure of it to the rest, and began it, he says;

*The gazing multitudes admire around;
Two active tumblers in the center bound;
Now high, now low, their pliant limbs they bend,
And gen'ral songs the sprightly revel end.*

Pope.

It is, not only, from the warlike, and serious dance, which the Romans employed in their sacrificial ceremonies, and processions, that any one may observe their affinity to the Greeks, but, also, from That, which is satyrical, and jocose: For, after the armed bands, others marched in procession, personating satyres, and represented a Greek dance, called ³⁴ *Sicinnis*: Those, who personated the Sileni, were dressed in hairy vests, called by some, ³⁵ *Chortaei*, and in mantlets of various flowers: And those, who represented satyres, had cinctures, and wore skins of goats; and, on their heads, the manes of some animals standing upright, with other things of the like nature: These rallied, and mimicked the serious motions of the others by counterfeiting them ridiculously. The triumphal processions, also, shew that raillery, and satyrical jokes were an ancient, and national entertainment among the Romans: For the soldiers, who attend the triumphs, are allowed to satyrize, and ridicule the most considerable men, without sparing their generals, in the same manner as the Athenians, who rode in procession in carts formerly, were permitted to rally every one they met: Now, they sing extemporary verses: And I have seen, even, in the funerals of illustrious persons, bands of dancers personating satyres, who, together with the rest of the show,

³⁴ Σικιννιν. I shall lay before the reader the account, given by the author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, of the satyrical dance, called by the Greeks, Σικιννις. That author says it was σατυρική ορχησις· εμμελεια δε, τραγική· χορδαξ δε, κωμική. ορχήλαι δε σικιννις παρὰ το

σειεσθαι, και κινεσθαι· η απο Σικανη των Αθηναίων βασιλευς· οί δε απο των παιδαγωγών των Θεμιστοκλέος παιδων Σικανη.

³⁵ Χορταίης. Χορταίος is, thus, explained by Suidas, and other lexicon writers, δασυς και μαλλώτος χίτων. It is derived from χορτός, which signifies bay.

preceded

preceded the bier, and imitated, in their motions, the dance, called Sicinnis, which is, particularly, practised in the funerals of the rich: And, that this satyrical manner of rallying, and the dance, I have spoken of, was not the invention either of the Ligures, the Umbri, or of any other Barbarians, who inhabited Italy, but of the Greeks, I shall not go about to prove, lest I should, even, disgust my readers in endeavouring to confirm, by more arguments, a thing, universally, allowed. After these bands of dancers, came a great number of players on the lyre, and the flute: And, after them, the persons, who carried the censers, in which perfumes and frankincense was burned all the way they went; and, also, the men, who bore the pageants made of gold, and silver, both Those, that were appropriated to religion, and Those, that belonged to the public. The images of the gods closed the procession; they were borne on mens shoulders; and appeared in the same shape with Those made by the Greeks, and had the same habits, the same symbols, and presents, of which each of them is said to have been the inventor, and the giver to mankind: These were the statues, not only, of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Neptune, and of the rest, whom the Greeks reckon among the twelve; but, also, of Those³⁶ more ancient, of whom the fables say the twelve were born

³⁶ Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν προγενεστέων. The reader will find by many passages in Herodotus, and Diodorus Siculus, that the Greeks borrowed the names of almost all their gods, and the whole system of their absurd religion from the Egyptians; whose country was the

school of mankind for two things seemingly inconsistent, learning, and superstition. How the most learned nation, of all others, came to be the most superstitious, contrary to reason, and contrary to experience in all other parts of the world, is not so easy to be

(as of Saturn, Rhea, Themis, Latona, The Destinies, Mnemosyne, and of all the rest, to whom temples, and holy

accounted for: The solution may be this; that the learning, and the superstition were in different hands: For I imagine that the priests had learning without superstition; and the laity superstition without learning. To this it may be objected, that, if the laity had superstition, they learned it from their priests; no doubt; but, we are not to conclude, that, because the priests taught superstition, they were themselves superstitious; on the contrary, many passages in the ancient writers give us great reason to believe, and hope, that, in the earliest times, they were Deists; and, when they, afterwards, taught superstition, they preached, not the doctrine they believed, but the doctrine they were to live by; because they were sensible that systems, and ceremonies would afford a more abundant crop to the priesthood, than a religion, which, instead of wanting, despises the foppery of both. If I said that the Egyptians were, originally, Deists, I am justified in it by ^d Lactantius, whose words I shall quote at length. In speaking of Thot, or Thoth, whom we find by Sanchoniathon in ^e Eusebius to have invented letters, contrary to the opinion of many divines, who have a great mind that Moses should be esteemed the inventor of them, he says, *Hic scripsit libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis DEI asserit: iisdemque nominibus appellat,*

quibus nos, DEUM, et PATREM: ac ne quis nomen ejus requireret, ανωνυμον esse dixit, eo quod nominis proprietate non egeat, ob ipsam scilicet unitatem: Ipsius haec verba sunt, ο δε Θεος εις, ο δε εις ονομαλος & περισδεσιαι. εστι γαρ ο ων ανωνυμος. Deo igitur nomen non est, quia solus est; nec opus est proprio vocabulo, nisi cum discrimen exigit multitudo, ut unamquamque personam suâ notâ et appellatione designes; Deo autem, quia semper unus est, proprium nomen Deus. This was the religion taught by this great Egyptian philosopher, and legislator; in honor to whom the Egyptians called the first month of their year by his name. It is, now, impossible to know when he lived; but, by a quotation of ^g Eusebius from Sanchoniathon, it appears that his laws were written on pillars, and copied by Mercurius Trismegistus in hieroglyphical, or hierogrammatical characters *after the flood*: Though I am much afraid that these last words, *μετα τον κατακλυσμον*, are not the words, or the sense of the words, used by Sanchoniathon. This I say, because every one, who is conversant with the manner of Eusebius, must know that he is a very unfair quoter; and, if Sanchoniathon had given an account of the flood, we should have heard of it from him in at least as ample a manner, as the other had related it. This, however, we may gather from his quotation, that Thot lived, at least, a thousand, and nobody knows how many thousand, years be-

^d B. i. c. 6.

^e De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10.

^f Cicero De Nat. Deor. B. iii. c. 22.

^g De praepar. evang. B. i. c. 9, 10.

places are dedicated among the Greeks ; and of those, who are fabled to have lived afterwards, from whom Jupiter received the kingdom) and of Proserpina, Lucina, the Nymphs, the Muses, the Seasons, the Graces, Bacchus, and the Demigods, whose souls, after they had left their mortal bodies, are said to have ascended to Heaven, and to have obtained the same honors with the gods ; such as Hercules, Aesculapius, Castor and Pollux, Helena, Pan, and many others. But, if the founders of Rome, and the institutors of this festival had been Barbarians, what could have induced them to abandon their national gods, and genius's, and to worship all Those of the Greeks ? Or, let any one shew any other people besides the Greeks, among whom this was the established worship ; and, then, let him censure this proof, as groundless. After the procession was ended, the consuls, and the priests, to whom it was allowed, with their assistants, presently sacrificed oxen. The manner of which sacrifice was the same as with us : For, after they had washed their hands, and purified the victims with clear water, they sprinkled flower on their heads, and prayed ; and, then, gave orders to their ministers to sacrifice them : Some of whom, while the victim was yet standing, struck it on the temples with a club ; others received it, as it fell, upon knives, made for that purpose : After which, they flayed it, and cut it up,

fore Moses, in whose time, as it appears from numberless passages in the Pentateuch, the Egyptians had exchanged the noble institutions of Thot

for a wretched idolatry ; and, by another passage in the ^b Scripture, it also appears that even the Israelites themselves had, during their servitude in Egypt, caught the infection, and were become idolaters.

^b Joshua, c. xxiv. v. 14.

taking

taking off a piece from each of the inwards, and from every limb, as a first offering; which they sprinkled with the flower of barley, and carried to the sacrificers in baskets: These placed them on the altars; and, making a fire under them, poured wine upon them, while they were burning. It is easy to collect from Homer's writings, that every one of these ceremonies was performed according to the customs established by the Greeks in relation to sacrifices: For he introduces the heroes both washing their hands, and using barley cakes, where he says; *Then they washed their hands, and took up barley cakes*: And, also, cutting off the hair from the head of the victim, and placing it on the fire, saying thus: *But he, beginning the sacrifice, threw the hair of the head into the fire*. He, also, represents them striking the foreheads of the victims with clubs, and stabbing them, when they were fallen, as in the sacrifice of Eumæus:

*A knotty stake then aiming at his head,
Down dropp'd he groaning, and the spirit fled:
The scorching flames climb round on ev'ry side.*

Pope.

He says also, that they took the first offerings from the inwards, and the limbs, and sprinkled them with flower, and burned them upon the altars, as in the same sacrifice: *The swineherd took the first offerings from all the limbs, and, wrapping them up in the fat, laid them upon the altar, while they were yet raw; then, strewing them with flower, he threw them into the fire.*

These

These things I am acquainted with, by having seen the Romans perform them, even in my time ; and, contented with this single proof, I am convinced that the founders of Rome were not Barbarians, but Greeks, assembled together from many places : It is, indeed, possible that some Barbarians, also, may perform a few customs, relating to sacrifices, and festivals, in the same manner with the Greeks ; but, that they should observe all these, is not to be believed.

LXXIII. It, now, remains for me to give a short account of the games, which the Romans performed after the procession : The first was a race of chariots, drawn by four horses in front, and by two, and of unyoked horses, as it was practised by the Greeks, anciently, at the Olympic games, and is so to this day. In the chariot races, two very ancient customs are, to this very time, observed by the Romans, in the same manner as they were, first, instituted ; one of which relates to the chariots drawn by three horses, which is, indeed, disused by the Greeks, though an ancient, and heroical institution, which Homer says the Greeks used in battle : For to the two horses that were yoked, in the same manner as when chariots are drawn by two, a third was added in front, that was fastened to the chariot by traces ; which horse the ancients called,
³⁷ Παρηγορον, *an additional horse*, because he was fastened, and

³⁷ Παρηγορον. Casaubon has a note upon this word, which le Jay has translated without taking the least notice of him. In this note, Casaubon contends that the led horses, introduced by the emperor Theophilus, and called, by the Greeks of those times,

συνεπες ιππες, took their rise from the ancient Greek custom of adding a third horse in front, called παρηγορος, to the two, called ζυγιοι. It is true that this third horse was, also, called σερασιος : But this word, which is derived from σερα, has not the least analogy with
 joined

joined to the others. The other institution is the race, run by those persons, who fate with the charioteers ; which is, still, observed in a few Greek cities upon the occasion of some ancient sacrifices : For, after the horse races were ended, those, who fate with the charioteers, whom the poets call ³⁸ Παραβίλας, and the Athenians Αποβίλας, leap from their chariots, and run with one another in the stadium : So that, when the horse races were over, those, who contended in their own persons, entered the lists, that is, the foot racers, the boxers, and the wrestlers : For these were the three games in use among the ancient Greeks, as Homer shews in the funeral of Patroclus. And, in the intervals

συρίος, which is derived from συρω : The use, also, of these horses was as different as their names. The ἵππος παρηγορος, or σειραιος, was fastened to the chariot, and drew with the two others : Whereas, the συρίος ἵππος was no other than what we call a led horse. In ¹ Homer, the chariot of Achilles was drawn by three horses, Xanthus, Balius, and Pedasus; the last of which was the ἵππος παρηγορος we are considering.

Τῷδε καὶ Αὐτομέδων ὑπάτῃ ζυγὸν ὠκείας ἵππων,
Ξάνθον καὶ Βάλιον, τῷ ἅμα πνοιήσι πέλειοθ' ἦν.

.....

Ὡς δὲ παρηγορήσιν ἀμύμονα Πηδάσον ἴει.

After this, poor Pedasus is killed by Sarpedon; and, falling, puts the other two horses in disorder; but Automedon drew his sword; and, by cutting the traces of Pedasus, set every thing right again,

Σπασσάμενος τανυήκης ἀσπασχεὸς παρὰ μηρῶ,
Αἶξας ἀπέκοψε ΠΑΡΗΟΡΟΝ ^k.

³⁸. Παραβίλας. This is, indeed, the word used by the Greek poets, or rather παραιβίλαι, for the sake of the metre; but the word is, still, the same. ¹ Homer distinguishes the παραιβίλαι from the ἡνιοχοί, when he is speaking of the Myrmidons, who, by the order of Achilles,

Ἄν δ' ἔβαν ἐν διφροῖσι παραιβίλαι, ἡνιοχοί τε.

The three games, presently spoken of by Dionysius, succeed the chariot race in Homer, though not, exactly, in this order; which I mention, because Glaucanus seems to think that our author supposed the chariot race to have been one of them: Whereas, nothing can be plainer than that he says these three did not begin, till the horse races were ended; τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἵππικων δρομῶν.

¹ Iliad π. γ. 148.

^k Ib. γ. 473.

¹ Iliad ψ. γ. 132.

between

between the games, they observed a custom the most agreeable to the genius of the Greeks, and the most commendable of all others, which was, to crown the persons, and proclaim the names, of those they honoured as their benefactors. (as it was practised at Athens, during the festivals of Bacchus) and expose to the view of all the spectators the spoils they had taken in war. But, concerning these things, as it would not have become me to make no mention of them, when the subject required it ; so it would be improper to extend the relation farther than is necessary. It is, now, time to return to the narration we have interrupted. After the senate were informed of all the circumstances relating to the slave, who had been led to punishment by the order of his master, and had preceded the procession, by the person, who remembered what had happened upon that occasion, they concluded that this man was the unacceptable leader of the dancers, pointed out by the god, as I said ; and, inquiring after the master, who had used his slave so cruelly, they punished him as he deserved ; and ordered another procession to be performed in honour of the god, and other games to be exhibited, at double the expence of the former. And these were the transactions of this consulship.

The end of the Seventh book.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

THE consuls, who were chosen after these, were Caius Julius Iulus, and Publius Pinarius Rufus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy third Olympiad, at which Astylus of Croton won the prize of the stadium, Anchises being archon at Athens; These magistrates, who were not, in the least, warlike men, and, for that reason chiefly, had obtained the consulship from the people, were, contrary to their inclination, engaged in many great dangers; a war breaking out in their magistracy, which had like to have destroyed the commonwealth from its foundation: For Marcius Coriolanus, who had been accused of aiming at tyranny, and condemned to perpetual banishment, resenting his misfortune, and, at the same time, desiring to revenge himself upon his enemies, considered by what means, and by the forces of what nation, he might effect it; and found that the Volsci were, at that time, the
only

only people, whose power was able to encounter That of the Romans, if they could be brought to unite, and make war upon them under an able general. He concluded, therefore, that, if he could prevail on the Volsci to receive him, and to give him the command of the war, his design would easily, and presently, be brought to bear. On the other side, his hopes were checked by the consideration of the calamities he had often brought upon them in battle, and in forcing many cities to forsake their alliance. However, the greatness of the danger did not deter him from the attempt; on the contrary, he resolved to rush into these very dangers, and suffer whatever might be the consequence. Taking the advantage, therefore, of a dark night, he went to Antium, the most considerable city of the Volsci, at the time when the inhabitants were at supper; and, going into the house of a man in power, who, by reason of his birth, his riches, and his military actions, had a high opinion of himself, and, generally, led the whole nation, whose name was Tullus Attius, he became his suppliant, and 'fate down at the

ANNOTATIONS on the Eighth Book.

¹ Καθεζομενος επι της ἐςιας. Casaubon has shewn great sagacity in reading *καθεζομενος*, instead of *καθεζομενη*, as it stands in all the editions; this does him the greater honor, as it is plain he had never seen the Vatican manuscript, where we find *καθεζομενος*: Casaubon justifies his correction by ^aThucydides, who, in speaking of Themistocles, when he fled to Admetus, king of the

Molossians; who, not being at home, his wife instructed him what he was to do, in order to gain the protection of her husband, says, *ὁ δὲ, της γυναικος ἐκείνης γενομενος, διδασκείαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν παιδῶν λαβῶν καθεζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐςιαν*, or, rather, as I think, *ἐπὶ της ἐςιας*. Casaubon goes on, and confirms his reading by quotations from many other authors, which I think it need-

^a B. i. c. 136.

foot of the altar consecrated to his household gods: Then, having related to him the necessity, which had reduced him to fly to his enemies, he begged of him to entertain sentiments of moderation, and humanity with regard to a person, who was become his suppliant, and, no longer, to look upon that man as an enemy, who was in his power; nor to exert his strength against the unhappy and the humbled; but to consider that the fortunes of men are not permanent. “ This, says he, you may learn, in a particular manner, “ from myself, who was, once, looked upon as the most “ considerable person in the most renowned city, and am, “ now, deserted, banished, reduced to an abject condition, “ and exposed to any treatment you, who are my enemy,

less to repeat, since we are in possession of the true reading by the assistance of the Vatican manuscript. M. *** has taken all these authorities from Casaubon verbatim, and adorned himself with his spoils, without the least acknowledgement to the bird, whose plumes he borrowed: However, I thought it a piece of justice to strip the jackdaw, and to restore the gaudy feathers to the right owner. To what I have quoted from Casaubon, I shall add a word, or two of my own, concerning the signification of the word *ἑστία*, because I do not think that either *focus* in the Latin, or *foyer* in the French, translators, explains the sense of it in this place: For, neither of those words signifies any thing more than *a fire*, or *a hearth*; whereas the proper signification of *ἑστία* was *an altar*

erected in every house to the *Dii Penates*: This is explained by ^b Cicero: *Quid est sanctius, quid omni religione munitius, quam domus uniuscujusque civium? Hic arae sunt, hic foci, hic dii Penates, hic sacra, religiones, caeremoniae continentur: Hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde abripi neminem fas sit.* This *ἑστία* Ulysses, in ^c Homer, calls upon to witness to the truth of what he is saying,

Ἰσὴν τ' ἑδύσθης ἀμύμονος, ἣν ἀφικάνω.

Where *Ἰσὴν*, or *ἑστία*, is, very properly, explained by the Greek scholiast, *ὁ βωμος τῆς ἑστίας*. In this sense also, Hobbes, who, seldom, mistakes his author, has translated *καθεζεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἑστίας* in the passage I quoted from Thucydides, *and sit down at the altar of the house*.

^b Pro dom. c. 41.

^c Odyss. E. v. 158.

“ shall

“ shall think fit to inflict upon me. But I promise you that
 “ I will perform as great services to the Volsci, if I become
 “ their friend, as I occasioned calamities to them, when I
 “ was their enemy : However, if you resolve upon my ruin,
 “ let loose your resentment at once, and grant me the
 “ speediest death, by sacrificing a suppliant with your own
 “ hand, and at the foot of your own altar.”

II. While he was yet speaking, Tullus gave him his hand ; and, raising him from the altar, desired he would assure himself that he should not be treated in a manner unworthy of his virtue ; and said he thought himself under great obligations to him for coming to his house, and shewed that he looked upon even This as no small honor : He promised him, also, that he would make all the Volsci his friends, and begin with his own fellow-citizens : All which promises he made good. Soon after, Marcius, and Tullus conferred together in private, and came to a resolution to begin a war against the Romans. Tullus proposed to put himself, immediately, at the head of all the Volsci, and march to Rome, while the Romans were yet divided, and had unexperienced generals. On the other side, Marcius insisted that they ought first to lay a pious, and just foundation for the war ; and shewed him that the gods interposed in all transactions, particularly in Those relating to war, by how much they are of greater consequence than any others, and subject to uncertain events. It happened that there was, at that time, a cessation of arms, and a truce subsisting between the Romans, and the Volsci, and also, a treaty for

two years, lately entered into between them : “ If, there-
 “ fore, you make war upon them inconsiderately, says he,
 “ and with precipitation, you will be the cause of the
 “ treaties being dissolved, and Heaven will not be propitious
 “ to you : Whereas, if you stay till they do this, you will
 “ be thought to act upon the defensive, and to punish them
 “ for their breach of treaty. How this may be effected,
 “ and by what means they may first violate this treaty, and
 “ we seem to make war upon them with piety, and justice,
 “ I have discovered, after long consideration. ² It is necessary
 “ the Romans should be deceived by us, and be led, by that
 “ deceit, first to transgress the law of nations. The manner
 “ of this deceit (which I have, hitherto, concealed in ex-
 “ pectation of a proper season to put it in practice ; but,
 “ seeing you, now, eager for action, I am forced to disclose
 “ it sooner than I proposed) is this : The Romans are going
 “ to perform sacrifices, and exhibit very magnificent games,
 “ at a great expence : At which great numbers of strangers
 “ will be present, as spectators. When this time comes, go

² Δει δὲ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι. This is a poor subterfuge in Coriolanus, and strange advice from a man, who had, just before, said that Heaven would not be propitious to the Volsci, if they were the aggressors in the war ; as if there could be any difference between taking arms against the Romans, and circumventing them by this mean device : The end of both was the same, that is, to force the Romans into a war, and the means he employed to effect that end, was, of the two, the least honourable. But he seems throughout

to have been so far blinded by his resentment against his country, as to sacrifice every consideration to his desire of revenge : The impetuosity of this passion made him transgress the most important maxim of political morality, which renders it infamous, in the highest degree, for any man, how unjustly soever he may have been treated by his country (which, by the way, was not his case) even to assist her enemies with his counsel, much more to take arms against her.

“ thither

“ thither yourself, and ingage as many of the Volsci as you
 “ can, to go also, and see the games: And, when you are
 “ at Rome, send one of your friends you can most con-
 “ fide in, to the consuls, and let him acquaint them, pri-
 “ vately, that the Volsci have formed a design to attack
 “ the city in the night; and that it is with this view they
 “ are come to Rome in so great numbers: For you may be
 “ assured that, if they hear this, they will expel you the city
 “ without hesitation, and furnish you with a motive for a
 “ just resentment.”

III. When Tullus heard this, he was highly pleased; and, putting off the design of a present expedition, employed himself in preparing for the war. When the day, appointed for the commencement of the festival, was come, Julius, and Pinarius, having, already, entered upon their magistracy, the choicest youth of the Volsci came from every city, at the desire of Tullus, to see the games: And the greatest part of them were obliged to lie in tents set up both in the sacred, and public places; neither the houses of public entertainment, nor Those of the Romans, with whom they had an intercourse of hospitality, sufficing for their reception: And, when they walked in the streets, they appeared in bodies, and companies: So that, there was, already, a report in the city, and strange suspicions raised concerning them. In the mean time, the informer, suborned by Tullus pursuant to the advice of Marcius, went to the consuls; and, pretending that he had a secret practice to reveal to his enemies against his friends, he bound the consuls by oaths,

as

as well in regard to his own safety, as that none of the Volsci should know who had given the information against them : After which, he gave an account of the pretended treachery. The consuls gave credit to the relation, and immediately summoned all the senators, man by man ; and the informer, being brought before the senate, and, having received from them, also, the same assurances, he confirmed the account he had given. The senators had, even long before, looked upon it as a circumstance full of suspicion, that such numbers of young men should come to see the games from one nation, who were their enemies : But, by the accession of this information, the deceit of which they were strangers to, their opinion was turned into certainty. The resolution, therefore, they all came to, was, to send the men out of the city before sunset, and to order proclamation to be made, that all, who refused to obey, should be put to death ; and that the consuls should take care that, in departing, they should neither be insulted, nor exposed to any danger.

IV. After the senate had passed this order, some went through the streets giving notice to the Volsci to depart the city immediately, and that they should all go out at one gate, which was That called Capena ; while others, together with the consuls, conducted them in their departure : And, as they all went out of the city at the same time, and at the same gate, it appeared, by that means, how numerous they were, and how fit they were all for service. Tullus first went out with great expedition ; and, making a stand at a
proper

proper place, not far from the city, he received those, who came after him: And, when they were all together, he harangued them, using many invectives against the Romans, and shewed that the insult the Volscians had received from them was heinous, and inexpressible, they being the only strangers, who were driven out of Rome: He desired that every man would publish these proceedings in the cities, to which he belonged, and take proper measures to put a stop to this insolence of the Romans, by punishing them for their unwarrantable behaviour: After he had said this, and sharpened the resentment of the Volsci, who were, already, exasperated at the usage they had met with, he dismissed the assembly. When they returned home, every one related to his fellow-citizens the insult he had received, with aggravations, which inflamed all the cities to that degree they were unable to contain their resentment: And, sending to another, they appointed a general assembly of the Volscian nation, in order to consult in common concerning the war: All this was done, chiefly, at the instigation of Tullus. And the magistrates from every city, together with great multitudes of other people, assembled at Echetra (for this city seemed the most conveniently situated for a general assembly) and, after many speeches were made by the magistrates of the cities, the votes of all present were taken; and it was carried to begin the war, since the Romans had first violated the treaty.

V. After the magistrates had proposed to the assembly to consider in what manner they ought to carry on the war

against them, Tullus presented himself, and advised them to call in Marcius, and inquire of him by what means the power of the Romans might be subverted: For he knew, better than any man, both the weakness, and the strength of that commonwealth. This was approved of; and presently they all cried out to call in the man. Then Marcius, having the opportunity he desired, rose up with grief in his looks, and tears in his eyes; and, after a short pause, spoke as follows: “ If I thought you all entertained the same
“ opinion of my misfortune, I should not think it necessary
“ to make any apology for it; but, when I consider that,
“ among many men of different characters, it is probable
“ some may be possessed with an opinion, neither true in
“ itself, nor deserved by me, that the people of Rome did
“ not banish me without a real, and just cause, I think
“ myself obliged, above all things, first to clear my conduct
“ in a public manner, and before you all, from any imputation relating to my banishment: But, I conjure you,
“ by the gods, that even those among you, who are best
“ acquainted with what I have suffered from my enemies,
“ and best know that I have not deserved this misfortune,
“ will allow me to proceed, and that you will not desire to
“ be advised what you are to do, before you have inquired
“ into the character of the adviser. The account I shall give
“ of these things will be short, though I should date it from
“ their beginning. The original constitution of the Romans
“ was composed of monarchy, and aristocracy: Afterwards,
“ Tarquinius, their last king, thought fit to change the
“ govern-

“ government to a tyranny: For which reason, the leading
 “ men of the aristocracy, entering into an association against
 “ him, expelled him the city; and, taking upon themselves
 “ the administration of the public affairs, formed such a
 “ system of government, as all men acknowledge to be the
 “ best and wisest. But, not long after, that is, within three,
 “ or four years, the poorest and idlest of the citizens, excited
 “ by bad leaders, committed many insolences, and, at last,
 “ endeavoured to subvert the aristocracy. Upon this, all the
 “ leading men of the senate grew uneasy, and thought
 “ proper to consider of the means to repress the insolence
 “ of these disturbers of the government. Of all the sup-
 “ porters of the aristocracy, Appius, a man, who, on many
 “ accounts, deserves to be commended, most distinguished
 “ himself among the elder senators, as I myself did among
 “ the younger: And, upon every occasion, we spoke with
 “ freedom in the senate, not so much with a view of making
 “ war upon the people, as from a jealousy lest the government
 “ should fall into the hands of the worst citizens; neither
 “ did we desire to enslave any of the Romans, but to pre-
 “ serve the liberty of all, and that the power might be re-
 “ stored to the best men.

VI. “ This being observed by those most pernicious
 “ leaders of the people, they resolved to remove us two,
 “ who most professedly opposed them, first out of their way,
 “ not by attacking us both at once, lest the attempt should
 “ appear both invidious and odious, but to begin with me,
 “ who was the younger, and the easier to be oppressed.

“ In the first place therefore, they endeavoured to destroy
 “ me without a trial ; and, after that, they required to have
 “ me delivered up by the senate in order to be put to death :
 “ But, being disappointed in both, they summoned me to
 “ a trial, in which they themselves were to be my judges,
 “ and charged me with aiming at tyranny : They did
 “ not consider that tyrants never make war upon the
 “ people in conjunction with the best men ; but, on the
 “ contrary, destroy the best men in conjunction with the
 “ people : Neither did they suffer the people assembled in
 “ their centuries to be my judges, according to the esta-
 “ blished custom, but appointed such an assembly to try me,
 “ as all allow to consist of the most profligate judges, a
 “ tribunal erected against me, and me alone, in which
 “ labourers, vagabonds, and those, who form designs
 “ against the possessions of others, were sure to prevail over
 “ good and just men, and such as aim at the safety of
 “ the commonwealth. And so far was I from appearing
 “ guilty of any crime, that, though tried by the populace,
 “ of which the greatest part were enemies to virtue, and,
 “ for that reason, to me, I was ³ condemned by two votes
 “ only, while the tribunes threatened to resign their power,
 “ if I was acquitted, alledging that they expected the

3. Δυσὶ μοιὸν ἐάτων ψήφοις. Marcius,
 like an able orator, artfully extenuates
 the number of votes, that condemned
 him, and yet advances nothing, that
 is not literally true : For, though nine
 votes only acquitted, and thirteen con-
 demned, him, yet it is true that, if two
 of those thirteen votes had come over

to him, there would, then, have been
 eleven for him, and as many against
 him, and, consequently, as our author
 has already told us, he would have
 been acquitted by reason of the equa-
 lity of votes, as the law required. See
 the twenty sixth annotation on the
 seventh book.

“ worst

“ worst of treatment from me, and, with all eagerness and
 “ passion, pressed my condemnation. After I had been thus
 “ treated by my fellow-citizens, I thought my future life
 “ would prove a scene of misery to me, unless I took re-
 “ venge on them: And, for this reason, when I was at
 “ liberty to live, with ease, either in any of the Latin cities
 “ I thought fit by reason of our consanguinity, or in the
 “ colonies lately planted by our fathers, I declined it; and
 “ chose rather to fly to you, whom I knew to have received
 “ the greatest injuries from the Romans, and to entertain
 “ the greatest resentment against them; to the end that, in
 “ conjunction with you, I might take revenge on them to
 “ the utmost of my power both by my words, where words
 “ were wanted, and, by my actions, where they were so.
 “ And I think myself much obliged to you for the reception
 “ you have given me, and still more for the honor you shew
 “ me, without either resenting, or considering, the mischiefs
 “ you received from me during the wars.

VII. “ What character, then, should I deserve, if, deprived
 “ as I am of the glory, and honors I ought to have received
 “ from my fellow-citizens, to whom I have rendered great
 “ services, and, besides, driven away from my country, my
 “ family, my friends, from the gods, and sepulchres of my
 “ ancestors, and from every other enjoyment; and if, finding
 “ all these among you, whom I have made war against for
 “ their sake, I should not annoy those, who have behaved
 “ themselves to me like enemies, instead of fellow-citizens,
 “ and serve those, who have shewn themselves my friends,
 “ instead

“ instead of enemies ? For, whoever entertains neither re-
“ sentment against those, who seek his ruin, nor affection
“ for those, who endeavour his preservation, deserves not,
“ in my opinion, the name of a man. I acknowledge not
“ that nation for my country, which has renounced me,
“ but That, of which, though a stranger, I am become a
“ citizen ; nor the country, in which I have been injured,
“ as my friend, but That, in which I find my security.
“ And, if I am assisted by Heaven, and seconded by you
“ with all the alacrity I have reason to expect, I hope there
“ will be a great, and sudden change : For you know that
“ the Romans, after the experience of many enemies, fear
“ none more than you ; neither is there any thing they
“ have ever fought more earnestly, than the means of weak-
“ ening your nation. And, to this end, they have possessed
“ themselves of some of your cities by force in time of
“ war, and deluded others to submit to them by vain
“ promises of their friendship, lest all of you should unite,
“ and engage in a common war against them. If, therefore,
“ you persist in your resolution of counteracting their designs
“ with vigor, and all unite in carrying on the war, as you
“ now seem determined to do, you will easily put an end to
“ their power.

VIII. “ As to the operations of the war, and your con-
“ duct in this enterprise, since, from your opinion either of
“ my experience, or affection to you, or both, you desire
“ that I should give my advice, I shall give it, without
“ concealing any thing. In the first place, therefore, I advise
“ you

“ you to consider by what means you may find a pious, and
 “ just cause of war : Hear then, what cause of war will,
 “ not only, be pious and just, but profitable to you at the
 “ same time : The country, which, originally, belonged to
 “ the Romans, is of small extent, and barren ; but That,
 “ which they have acquired by robbing their neighbours, is
 “ large and fertil : And, if each of the injured nations should
 “ redemand their own, nothing would be so inconsiderable,
 “ so weak, and so distressed, as the Roman state. Of this
 “ you ought, I think, to shew the example : Send, there-
 “ fore, ambassadors to them to demand restitution of your
 “ cities they are in possession of ; to desire them to evacuate
 “ all the strong places they have erected in your country,
 “ and to persuade them to restore every thing else belonging
 “ to you, which they have usurped by force. But, commence
 “ not the war, till you have received their answers : For, if
 “ you follow this advice, you will obtain one of the two
 “ things you desire ; you will either acquire restitution of
 “ all, that belongs to you, without danger, and expence ;
 “ or be furnished with an honourable, and a just cause of
 “ war. For, not to covet the possessions of others, but to
 “ redemand one’s own, and, not obtaining it, to declare war,
 “ will, by all men, be allowed an honourable proceeding.
 “ What resolution, then, do you think the Romans will
 “ take, if you pursue my advice ? Do you think they will
 “ restore the places to you ? If they do, what should
 “ hinder them from relinquishing every thing, that belongs
 “ to others ? For the Aequi, the Albans, the Tyrrhenians,
 “ and

“ and many others will come, each to redemand their own.
“ Or do you think they will retain these places, and refuse
“ all your just demands? This is my opinion. Protesting,
“ therefore, that you have been first injured by them, you
“ will, necessarily, have recourse to arms ; and you will have,
“ for your allies, all, who, having been deprived of their
“ possessions, despair of recovering them by any other means,
“ than by a war : And Fortune has prepared for the in-
“ jured an opportunity they could never have expected,
“ and, of all others, the most favourable, of attacking the
“ Romans, while they are divided, and suspect one another,
“ and while their generals are unexperienced in war. These,
“ therefore, are the things, which I thought proper to sug-
“ gest to you, as to persons I wish well to ; and are delivered
“ with all affection, and sincerity. As to Those, which it
“ will be necessary to foresee, and contrive upon every occa-
“ sion, when these designs are to be carried into execution,
“ leave them to your generals : For you may depend upon
“ my zeal for your service, in whatever post you shall think fit
“ to place me ; and I shall endeavour to do my duty with
“ no less bravery than any of your common soldiers, or
“ your inferior, or superior officers. Employ me, therefore,
“ wherever I may be of any use to you ; and be assured
“ that, if, when I fought against you, I was able to do you
“ great mischief, when I fight on your side, I shall, also, be
“ able to do you great service.”

IX. Thus Marcius spoke : And, while he was yet speak-
ing, it was visible that the Volsci heard him with admiration.

And,

And, after he had done, they signified their approbation of his advice by loud acclamations; and, suffering no one else to speak, they confirmed it by a resolution of the assembly. After the order was drawn up, they made choice of the most considerable men out of every city, and sent them to Rome in quality of ambassadors. And, as to Marcius himself, they voted that he should be admitted into the senate in every city; be capable of the magistracy every where; and partake of all other honors, that were in the greatest request among them. And, without staying for the answer of the Romans, they all went to work, and employed themselves in warlike preparations; and every one, who had been, till then, dejected by their former defeats, grew, now, elated, in confidence of subverting the power of the Romans. In the mean time, the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, being introduced into the senate, said that the Volsci were very desirous of seeing an end put to their complaints against the Romans; and that, for the future, they might be friends and allies, without fraud or deceit: And that they should look upon the restitution of the lands, and the cities, which had been taken from them, as a sure pledge of their mutual friendship; otherwise, there could be neither peace, nor lasting friendship between them; the injured being by nature an enemy to the injurer: And they desired the Romans not to reduce them to a necessity of making war, by refusing them justice.

X. After the ambassadors had done speaking, the senators ordered them to withdraw; and held a consultation among

themselves: Then, having resolved upon the answer they were to give, they called them again into the senate, and spoke to them as follows: “ We are not ignorant, Volsci, “ that you do not seek peace, but only a specious pretence “ for war: For you come to demand those things of us, “ which you well know you will never obtain, since your “ demands are unjust and impossible. If, indeed, you had “ delivered up these places to us, and, changing your minds, “ came now to redemand them, it would have been unjust “ not to restore them; but, being deprived of them by war, “ and having, no longer, any right to them, you act unjustly “ in coveting the possessions of others. As for us, we look “ upon those acquisitions to be founded on the best title, “ that are founded on our victories. We are not the first, “ who have established this law, neither do we look upon “ it to flow from men, but from the gods. And, as “ we know that all nations, both Greeks, and Barbarians, “ make use of this law, we are resolved to relax in nothing, “ nor to relinquish any of our conquests: For it would shew “ a great want of spirit in us to lose, through fear and folly, “ what we have acquired by virtue, and valor. We neither “ force you into a war, if you do not desire it; nor deprecate “ a war, if you do: But, if you begin it, we shall defend “ ourselves. Return this answer to the Volsci; and let them “ know that they will be the first to take up arms, and we “ the last to lay them down.”

XI. The embassadors, having received this answer, made their report to the commonwealth of the Volsci: Upon which,

which, another assembly being called, a decree passed, with the concurrence of the whole nation, to declare war against the Romans. After this, they appointed Tullus, and Marcius to command their armies with absolute authority ; and voted men to be levied, money to be raised, and preparations to be made of every thing they thought necessary for the war. When the assembly was going to be dismissed, Marcius rose up, and said ; “ The votes of this assembly deserve
 “ commendation, and let them be carried into execution,
 “ each in their own time: But, while you are raising men,
 “ and making other preparations, which, in all probability,
 “ will employ you for some time, and create delays, Tullus
 “ and I will begin the work. As many of you, therefore,
 “ as are willing to plunder the enemy’s country, and to gain
 “ a great booty, let them go with us. I undertake, with the
 “ assistance of Heaven, to procure them many rich spoils:
 “ For the Romans, observing that our forces are not yet
 “ drawn together, are unprepared to receive us : So that,
 “ we shall have an opportunity of overrunning as great a
 “ part of their country as we please, without molestation.”

XII. The Volsci approving this proposal also, the generals marched out, immediately, at the head of a numerous army of volunteers, before the Romans were informed of their design : With part of which Tullus invaded the territories of the Latines, in order to prevent them, by this diversion, from sending any assistance to the Romans ; while Marcius led the remaining part of the army into the Roman territories. As this misfortune fell unexpectedly on the inhabi-

tants of the country, many Romans of free condition were taken, and many slaves, and no small quantity of oxen, beasts of burden, and other cattle. And, as to the corn that was left standing, the iron tools, and other instruments, with which the land is tilled, some were carried away, and others destroyed: For the Volsci, at last, set fire to the country houses; so that, it would be a long time, before the owners could repair them. The possessions of the plebeians suffered most upon this occasion, while Those of the patricians remained unhurt; or, if these received any damage, it fell only on their slaves, and cattle. For Marcius had given these orders to the Volsci, with a view of encreasing the jealousy of the plebeians against the patricians, and to keep the sedition alive; which happened accordingly: For, when the Romans were informed of this devastation of their country, and that the calamity had not fallen on all alike, the poor clamoured against the rich, accusing them of having brought Marcius against them; and the patricians said in their defence, that this was some malicious artifice in the general: But neither of them put themselves in a posture, through mutual jealousies, and fear of treachery, either to succour that part of the country, which was laying waste, or to preserve That, which remained untouched. So that, Marcius had full liberty to return with his army, and to bring home all his men, after they had done as much damage as they thought fit, but suffered none, and enriched themselves with a great booty. Soon after, Tullus also arrived from the territories of the Latines, bringing with him

him a great number of spoils : For there the inhabitants, being unprepared, and the calamity falling upon them unexpectedly, were also unfurnished with an army to withstand the enemy. By this means, all the cities of the Volsci were elevated with hopes ; the army was raised, and every thing else the generals had occasion for was supplied, sooner than could have been expected.

XIII. When all their forces were assembled, Marcius consulted with his colleague concerning the future operations of the war, and said to him : “ In my opinion, Tullus, it
 “ will be best for us to divide our army into two bodies ;
 “ and that one of us take with him the ablest, and bravest
 “ of our troops, and lead them against the enemy in order
 “ to engage them ; and, if they do not decline the engage-
 “ ment, decide the contest by one battle ; but, if they
 “ are unwilling, as I think they will be, to commit the fate
 “ of the war to a new raised army, and unexperienced
 “ generals, then let him lay waste their country ; employ
 “ their allies in their own defence ; destroy their colonies,
 “ and annoy them by every other means he can : And let
 “ the other remain here, and defend both the country, and
 “ the cities, lest the enemy fall upon them unawares, if they
 “ are unguarded, and we ourselves suffer the most shameful
 “ of all disgraces in losing what we have, while we are en-
 “ deavouring to gain what we have not. It will be, also,
 “ necessary that the person, who stays here, should repair the
 “ walls of the cities that are fallen down, cleanse the ditches,
 “ and fortify the castles, to serve as places of refuge for the
 “ husband-

“ husbandmen : He should, also, raise another army ; supply
 “ the forces, that are in the field, with provisions ; prepare
 “ arms, and furnish, with expedition, every thing else, that
 “ is necessary. Now I give you the choice, whether you will
 “ command the army, that is to take the field, or That,
 “ which is to remain here.” While he was speaking, Tullus
 was in admiration at his proposal ; and, knowing the activity,
 and good fortune of the man, yielded to him the command of the army,
 that was to take the field.

XIV. Marcius, without losing any more time, marched with his army to the town of ⁴ Circeii, in which there was a Roman colony, who lived intermixed with the inhabitants, and made himself master of the town, as soon as he appeared before it. For, when the Circeienses saw their country in the power of the Volsci, and their army approaching the walls, they opened their gates ; and, coming out unarmed to meet the enemy, desired them to take possession of the town. This preserved them from all irreparable mischief : For the general caused none of the inhabitants to be put to death, or expelled the city : But, having taken clothes for his soldiers, and provisions for a month, together with a moderate sum of money, he drew off his forces, leaving a small garrison in the town, as well to preserve the inhabitants from being ill treated by the Romans, as to restrain them from innovating for the future. The news of these transactions being brought to Rome, increased the tumult, and disorder ; the patricians reproaching the people with having,

⁴ Κιρκαιαν πολιν. See the seventy fourth annotation on the fourth book.

by a false accusation, driven out of the city a great warrior, a man of activity, and of a generous spirit; and contrived to make him general of the Volsci. On the other side, the leaders of the people inveighed against the senate, and said the whole affair was a piece of treachery formed by them, and that the war was not directed against all the Romans in general, but only against the plebeians: These were supported by the most profligate among the people. But neither of them had so much as a thought of raising an army, of sending to their allies for assistance, or making the necessary preparations; by reason of their mutual hatred, and their accusations of one another, whenever the people were assembled.

XV. This being observed by such of the Romans, as were most advanced in years, they assembled together, and persuaded the most seditious of the plebeians, both in public, and in private, to put a stop to their jealousies, and invectives against the patricians. Since, they said, by the banishment of one man of distinction, the commonwealth was brought into so great danger, what were they to expect, if, by their abuses, they forced the greatest part of the patricians to entertain the same sentiments? These men appeased the disorder. After this great tumult was suppressed, the senate met, and gave this answer to the ambassadors, who were come from the commonwealth of the Latines to desire succours; that it was no easy matter for them to send assistance at present: However, that they gave them leave to raise an army themselves, and chuse their own generals, and
to

to send into the field an equal number of forces with the Romans : For, by the treaty of friendship they had made with the latter, both those things were forbidden. At the same time, the senate ordered the consuls to raise an army ; to guard the city ; and to call upon their allies to send them succours ; but not to take the field till all things were in readiness. These resolutions were ratified by the people. By this time, the magistracy of the consuls was near expiring : So that, they could execute none of these resolutions, but left every thing half finished to their successors.

XVI. These were Spurius Nautius, and Sextus Furius, who raised as great a number of Roman citizens as they possibly could, and placed beacons, and sentries in the most convenient fortresses, to the end they might be acquainted with every thing, that passed in the country : They, also, raised money, and provided a great quantity of corn, and arms, in a short time. By this means, all their domestic preparations were in so good a posture, that nothing seemed to be wanting : But, their allies did not all obey their summons with alacrity ; neither were they disposed to assist them voluntarily in the war ; and the consuls did not think fit to compel them, for fear of treachery. Some of their allies had, even openly, deserted them, and joined the Volsci. The Aequi set the example of this desertion, as soon as the war was declared, by going presently to the Volsci, and entering into an alliance with them, which they confirmed by their oaths : And these sent to Marcius the most numerous army, and the best disposed to assist him. After these had begun, many
of

of their other allies, also, secretly assisted the Volsci, and sent them succours, though not by virtue of any public order, or in the name of the commonwealth; but, if any of their people desired to enter into the service of Marcius, they were so far from dissuading them from it, that they even encouraged it. So that, the Volsci had, in a short time, a more numerous army than they had ever been masters of in the most flourishing state of their affairs. At the head of this army, Marcius made another irruption into the territories of the Romans; and, incamping there for many days together, laid waste all that part of the country, which he had spared in his former expedition. However, he did not, in this inroad, take many persons of free condition: For the inhabitants had, long before, retired with every thing that was most valuable; some to Rome, and others to such of the neighbouring fortresses, as were most capable of defence. But he took all the cattle they had not been able to drive away, together with their servants, who tended them; and carried off all the corn, that lay upon the floors, and all the other fruits of the earth, whether then gathering, or already gathered. Having ravaged, and laid waste the country, none daring to encounter him, he returned home with his army, now burdened with the multitude of spoils, by gentle marches.

XVII. The Volsci, seeing the vast quantity of the spoils, that were bringing home, and being informed of the pusillanimity of the Romans, who, having, till then, been used to ravage their neighbours country, could, now, bear to see

their own laid waste with impunity, grew wonderfully elated, and conceived hopes of the sovereignty, looking upon it as an easy, and a ready undertaking to subvert the power of their adversaries. They offered sacrifices to the gods, in thanksgiving for their success, and adorned their temples, and public places with the spoils; and all passed their time in festivals, and rejoicings, in which they never ceased to admire, and celebrate Marcius, as a warrior, of all others, the most consummate, and a greater general, than Rome, Greece, or any Barbarous nation had ever produced: But, above all, they admired him for his success, seeing every thing he undertook easily succeeded according to his desire: So that, no man, who, by his age, was capable of bearing arms, declined serving under him; but all were eager to share in his actions, and flocked to him from every city. The general, after he had confirmed the zeal of the Volsci, and reduced the fortitude of the enemy to a low, and unmanly distress, led his army against the cities of their allies, who yet remained faithful to them: And, having, soon, prepared every thing, that was necessary for a siege, he marched against the ^s Tolerini, a Latin nation: These, having, long before, made the necessary preparations for a war, and transported all the effects they had in the country, into the city, bravely received his attacks; and stood out some time, fighting from their walls, and wounding many of the enemy; till, being driven from thence by the slingers, and fatigued

^s Τολερίνεις. ^a *Toleria* was a city of the Latines situated near the frontiers of the Aequi.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

with a resistance, which had lasted till night, they abandoned several parts of the wall. When Marcius was informed of this, he ordered some of the soldiers to plant ladders against those parts of the walls, that were left naked; while he himself, with the chosen men of his army, ran to the gates, amidst a shower of darts, that were thrown at him from the towers; and, breaking the bars asunder, was the first who entered the city. Close to the gates stood a large, and strong body of the enemies troops: These received him vigorously, and continued the combat for a long time; till many of them being killed, the rest gave way; and, dispersing themselves, fled through the streets. Marcius followed, putting all to death he could come up with, except those, who, throwing down their arms, begged their lives: While this was doing, the men, who had ascended by the ladders, made themselves masters of the walls. The town being taken in this manner, Marcius selected such of the spoils, as were proper to be consecrated to the gods, and to adorn the cities of the Volsci, and the rest he gave to the soldiers. Many prisoners were taken, a great deal of money, and a considerable quantity of corn: So that, it was not easy for the conquerors to remove every thing in one day; but they were forced to employ much time, while they succeeded one another in carrying away some part of the spoils themselves, and the rest on beasts of burden.

XVIII. The general, after all the prisoners, and effects were conveyed out of the city, left it desolate, and drew off his forces to another town belonging to the

⁶ Bolani: These, also, had been apprized of his design to besiege them, and prepared every thing, that was necessary for their defence. Marcius, who expected to take the town by storm, made his attacks upon many parts of the wall at the same time. But the Bolani, watching a favorable opportunity, opened their gates; and, sallying out with numerous forces, and in good order, attacked the front of the enemy; and, having killed many of them, and wounded more, and forced the rest to a shameful flight, they retired into the city. When Marcius was informed that the Volsci were routed (for he happened not to be present, where this defeat happened) he came up in all haste with a few of his men; and, rallying those, who were dispersed in the flight, formed them into a body, and encouraged them: Then, placing them in their ranks, he told them what they were to do, and ordered them to attack the town at the same gates. Here, the Bolani having recourse to the same expedient, and sallying out in great numbers, the Volsci did not stand their ground; but, giving way, fled down a declivity, pursuant to the orders of their general; and the Bolani, ignorant of the stratagem, pursued them a considerable way: When they were at a distance from the town, Marcius fell upon them with a body of chosen youth: Here many of the

⁶ Βολανων. ⁷ *Bolae*, a city of the Acqui, as Cluver says, near the borders of the Latines, not far from Praeneste. It has, long since, been so far destroyed, that no traces of it are to be found. I look upon *Volani*, in ⁸ Livy,

to be an error of some late transcriber, who made use of a V, instead of a B; which mistake crept in about the time, when the Greeks, then half Barbarians, changed the power of their B, to That of a V.

⁷ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16. ⁸ B. iv. c. 49.

Bolani fell, some defending themselves, and others endeavouring to escape. Marcius pursued those, who were hastening to the town, and forced his way in, before they could shut the gates. After the general had once made himself master of the gates, the rest of the Volsci followed in great numbers. Upon this, the Bolani abandoned the walls, and fled to their houses. Marcius, having possessed himself of this city also, gave leave to his soldiers to make slaves of the inhabitants, and to seize their effects: And, after he had carried away all the booty at his leisure, and with full liberty, as before, he set fire to the town.

XIX. From thence, he marched with his army to ⁷ Labicum: This was, also, a city of the Latines; and, like the rest, a colony of the Albans. In order, therefore, to intimidate the inhabitants, as soon as he entered their territories, he set fire to those villages, the flame of which might, with the greatest ease, be discerned by them. However, the Labicani, finding themselves defended by a strong wall, were neither astonished at his invasion, nor relaxed in any respect, but made a brave resistance; and, often, repulsed the enemy, as they were scaling the walls. Notwithstanding this, they were not able to resist to the last, being but few in number, and obliged to oppose a large army without the least respite: For many attacks were made upon all parts of the city by the Volsci,

⁷ Λαβικον, & *Labicum*, a city of the Latines, fifteen Roman miles north-east of Rome, now called *Zagaruola*. This city has, also, suffered the same treatment from those ignorant transcribers, and is, by them, often written *Lavicum*.

& Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

who

who succeeded one another; those, who were fatigued, always retiring, and fresh forces taking their post. Against whom the inhabitants, fighting all day, and even all night without intermission, were forced, through fatigue, to abandon the walls. Marcius, having taken this town also, made slaves of the inhabitants, and allowed his soldiers to divide the spoils. Thence, he marched to ⁸ Pedum (This, also, was a city of the Latines) and, advancing with his army in good order, as soon as he came near the walls he took the town by storm: And, having treated it in the same manner with Those he had, before, taken, he led his forces, early the next morning, to ⁹ Corbio. As he was approaching the walls, the inhabitants opened their gates; and, presenting themselves before him ¹⁰ with the marks of suppliants, delivered the town to him without striking a stroke. Marcius commended them for having taken such a resolution, as best suited their own interest, and ordered them to supply his army with what they wanted, money, and corn: And, his orders being complied with, he led his army to ¹¹ Corioli: This city, also, the inhabitants surrendered without resistance; and, as they furnished his army with provisions, and money, and every thing else they were ordered, with great chearfulness, he marched through their territories, as through a country belonging to his allies: For he, always, took great care that

⁸ Πεδανων. ^b *Pedum*, another city of the Latines, about seventeen miles north east of Rome. It is, now, called *Gallicano*.

⁹ Κορβιωνα. See the second annota-

tion on the sixth book.

¹⁰ Ικετηριας. See the seventeenth annotation on the sixth book.

¹¹ Κοριολανων. See the fifty fourth annotation on the fourth book.

^b Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

those,

those, who surrendered their cities to him, should suffer none of the mischiefs incident to war; but should have their lands restored to them unhurt, and all the cattle, and slaves they had left in their country houses: Neither would he suffer his army to quarter in the cities, lest any mischief might happen by their rapine, or theft; but always incamped without the walls.

XX. From Corioli, he marched to ¹² Bovillae, a city, then, of note, and looked upon as one of the leading cities of the Latin nation. As the inhabitants, confiding in the strength of their works, and the number of the garrison, refused to receive him, Marcius encouraged his men to fight bravely; and, having promised great rewards to those,

¹²· Βοῖλλας. Thus we must read the name of this city, and not Βωλας, as it stands in the editions, and manuscripts. The Latin name of this city is ⁱ *Bovillae*: It stood on the Appian road, about nine Roman miles from Rome, and near three from Albanum: Here it was that the famous Clodius was killed by Milo, as famous a man in his own way. Our author has, already, told us that Marcius took *Bolae*, before he besieged *Bovillae*; and that the inhabitants of the latter, in a sally, drove the Volsci down a declivity, κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσ, which does not agree with *Bovillae*, as it was situated in a plain. After Cluver has quoted this passage from our author, he doubts, and, after him, M. *** doubts, whether we should read *Bovillae*, in this place, or in the other, instead of

Bolae. But both of them forgot that our author uses the same expression in speaking of the siege of *Bolae*; where he says of the Volsci, ἐκλιναίντες εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσ. The mention of a declivity, therefore, may be a reason for reading *Bovillae* in neither place, but can be none for transposing the names of these cities. I do not wonder at the original doubt in Cluver, who may well be supposed to have read no more of Dionysius at once, than was necessary to enable him to give an account of the cities, and places he was treating of; but, that a translator of Dionysius, who copied that doubt, should not have remembered that he read κατὰ τὴν πρηνεσ, in the page immediately preceding, if he did read it there, is very surprising.

ⁱ Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 4.

who

who should first mount the walls, he began the attack, which was maintained with great vigor on both sides: For the Bovillani did, not only, repulse the assailants from the walls, but, even, threw open their gates; and, falling out in a body, forced those, who opposed them, down a declivity; and, here was the greatest slaughter of the Volsci; and the attack was drawn out to a great length, every one despairing of taking the town: But the general rendered the loss of those, who were slain, imperceptible, by substituting others in their room; and inspired with fresh courage those, who were spent with toil, by going himself to that part of the army, which suffered most: Where, not only, his words, but his actions, also, were incentives to valor: For he faced every danger, and was present at every attempt, till the town was taken. Having, at last, made himself master of this city also, and put some of the enemy he took to death upon the spot, and made others prisoners, he withdrew his forces; and, after a most glorious victory, returned laden with a great number of most magnificent spoils, and enriched his army with the vast sums of money he took in this city, where it was found in greater quantity, than in any other he had taken.

XXI. After this, all the country he marched through, submitted to him; and no city made any resistance, but ¹³Lavinium, which was the first city built by the Trojans, who, with Aeneas, landed in Italy; and from which the Romans derive their original, as I have, before, shewn.

¹³ Λαβινιον. See the sixty third chapter of the first book.

The inhabitants of this city thought themselves obliged to suffer any extremity, rather than break their faith with the Romans, whom they looked upon as their descendants. Here, therefore, some brisk attacks were made upon the walls, and sharp engagements before the works : However, the walls were not carried at the first assault ; but the siege seemed to be a work of time. Upon this, Marcius gave over the attack, and drew a line of contravallation round the town, which he fortified with palisades, and placed guards upon all the roads, that neither provisions, nor succours might come to them from without. In the mean time, the Romans, being informed both of the destruction of the towns, that were already taken, and of the necessity, which had reduced others to join Marcius ; and importuned with the deputations for succours, which came to them, every day, from those, that continued firm to their interest ; and being, also, alarmed at the blockade of Lavinium, then actually formed ; and concluding that, if this place was taken, the war would, presently, be brought to the gates of Rome, thought the only remedy for all these evils, would be to pass a vote for the return of Marcius. This was the cry of the whole people, and the tribunes were desirous to bring in a law for the repeal of his condemnation ; ¹⁴ but the patricians opposed

¹⁴ ΑΛΛ' οἱ πατρίκιοι ἐναντιώθησαν αὐτοῖς. It must be owned that this behaviour of the patricians was truly great. They had employed all their power, and interest to save Coriolanus ; but, the moment he became a rebel, they opposed his return ; and, neither the distress he had, already, brought upon their

country, nor the apprehension of seeing a Volscian army elated with success under a victorious, and exasperated general at the gates of Rome, could terrify them into a compliance with the people, when these had so little resolution as to desire the repeal of his sentence.

them, being determined not to reverse any part of the sentence, which had been pronounced: And, as no previous vote was passed by the senate, neither did the tribunes think fit to propose the affair to the people. It may well be wondered what motive could induce the senate, who had, before, so warmly appeared in favor of Marcius, now to oppose the people, when they desired to recal him. Whether their intention was to sound the inclinations of the people; or to inflame their desire of restoring him by their own backwardness in gratifying it; or, possibly, to clear themselves of the accusations, with which they were charged, by shewing that they had neither given occasion to, nor been accomplices in, any of the actions which Marcius had been guilty of: For, as their deliberation was secret, it is difficult to form any conjectures relating to the motives of it.

XXII. Marcius, being informed of these things by some deserters, marched, immediately, towards Rome in a rage, leaving a sufficient number of forces to carry on the blockade of Lavinium, and incamped at a place, called ¹⁵ *The Cluilian ditches*, within forty stadia of the city. When the Romans heard of his being there, they were in great disorder, not doubting but his design was, presently, to besiege them: So that, some took arms, and ran to the walls without orders; others went in a body to the gates without any one to command them; some armed their slaves, and prepared to defend their own houses; while others seized the fortress, and the capitol, and other strong places of the city: And the women, with their hair dishevelled, ran to the holy

¹⁵ Κλουιλίας τάφους. See the third Annotation on the third book.

places,

places, and to the temples, lamenting, and praying to the gods to avert the threatening danger. After the night was passed, and the greatest part of the following day, and none of the evils they had feared, befell them, but Marcius remained quiet, all the plebeians flocked to the forum, and called upon the patricians to assemble in the senate, and let them know that, if they did not pass the previous vote for the return of Marcius, they themselves would take such resolutions, as the sense of their being betrayed should dictate. Upon this, the patricians met in the senate, and resolved to send five persons of those, who were the most advanced in years, and the most acceptable to Marcius, to treat with him of a reconciliation, and friendship. The persons appointed were Marcus Minucius, Postumus Cominius, Spurius Lartius, Publius Pinarius, and Quintus Sulpicius, all consular senators. When they came to the camp, and Marcius was informed of their arrival, he placed himself in the midst of the most considerable among the Volsci, and their allies, where every thing, that was said, might be heard by numbers of people, and ordered the deputies to be admitted. When they came in, Minucius, who, during his consulship, had been the most active in his favor, and distinguished himself by his opposition to the plebeians, spoke first, and said as follows.

XXIII. “ We are all sensible, Marcius, that the people
 “ have treated you with great injustice in driving you out
 “ of your country under a foul accusation; and do not
 “ wonder to see you resent it, and bear your misfortune
 “ with indignation : For, by an universal law of nature,

“ the injured is an enemy to the injurer. But we wonder
“ that you do not, with a calm consideration, examine who
“ those are whom you ought to punish, and take revenge
“ on, and that you observe no moderation in punishing,
“ but involve the innocent with the guilty, and friends with
“ enemies; that you violate the inviolable laws of nature,
“ confound the duties of religion, and have even forgotten
“ who you are, from whom descended, and where you were
“ born. You see before you the most ancient of the patri-
“ cians, and the most zealous of your friends, sent by the
“ commonwealth to lay before you our defence mixed
“ with a deprecation, and to inform you upon what con-
“ ditions we desire you to be reconciled to the people;
“ and, also, to advise you to act in such a manner, as we
“ think will be most for your reputation, and advantage. •

XXIV. “ I shall first speak to the point of right. The
“ plebeians, inflamed by their tribunes, conspired against
“ you; and, because they feared you, came with a design
“ to put you to death, without a trial: This act we, who
“ are of the senate, prevented, and took care that you
“ should, upon that occasion, suffer no injustice. After
“ this, the same men, who were, thus, prevented from de-
“ stroying you, summoned you to a trial, charging you with
“ having spoken ill of them in the senate. This likewise, you
“ know, we opposed, and would not suffer you to be tried
“ either for the opinion you gave, or the words you spoke.
“ Disappointed of this also, they applied, at last, to us, and
“ accused you of affecting tyranny: This charge you your-
“ self

“ self submitted to make your defence to, since you were
 “ far from being guilty of it, and consented that the people
 “ should pass judgement upon you; the senate were, then also,
 “ present, and used many intercessions in your favor. Which
 “ of these misfortunes, therefore, have we been the cause
 “ of? And why do you make war upon us, who shewed
 “ so much affection to you, during that contest? But it
 “ appears that not even all the plebeians desired your
 “ banishment: For you were ¹⁶ condemned by two votes
 “ only: So that, you cannot, with justice, be an enemy even
 “ to these, who acquitted you. But I will suppose, if you
 “ please, that all the people, by their votes, and the whole
 “ senate, by their resolutions, brought this calamity upon
 “ you, and that your hatred against us all is just; what
 “ injury have the women done to you, Marcius, that you
 “ should declare war against them? By what vote did they
 “ condemn you to banishment? What speeches did they
 “ make against you? By what injurious actions, or thoughts
 “ have our children deserved to be exposed to captivity, and
 “ to every other misfortune, if the city should be taken?
 “ You do not determine justly, Marcius, if you think you
 “ ought to hate those, who are guilty, and your enemies,
 “ in such a manner, as not to spare even those, who are
 “ innocent, and your friends: This way of thinking is
 “ unbecoming a good man. But, to omit all these things,
 “ what answer could you make, in the name of Jupiter, if

¹⁶. Δυσὶ γὰρ ἑαλως ψήφοις μοναῖς. See the twenty sixth annotation on the seventh book.

“ any

“ any one should ask you, what injury you have received
 “ from your ancestors to induce you to destroy their sepul-
 “ chres, and deprive them of the honors they receive from
 “ men? What injury can provoke you to spoil, burn, and
 “ demolish the altars of the gods, their consecrated places,
 “ and temples, and not to suffer them to receive the worship,
 “ that has always been paid to them? What answer could
 “ you make to these things? For my part, I know of none.
 “ Concerning the point of right, let these reasons be alledged
 “ in favor of ourselves, of the senate, and of the other citi-
 “ zens, whom, unprovoked by any injury, you desire to
 “ destroy, and in favor of the sepulchres, the temples, and
 “ the city, to which you owe both your birth, and edu-
 “ cation.

XXV. “ Is it reasonable that all men, even those, who
 “ have not wronged you, together with their wives, and
 “ children should perish to gratify your revenge, and that
 “ all the gods, the heroes, and the genius's, the city, and the
 “ country, should suffer for the madness of the tribunes, and
 “ that nothing should be exempted, nothing go unrevengeed?
 “ Have you not already, sufficiently, punished us all by the
 “ slaughter of so many men, the devastation of so large a
 “ country with fire, and sword, the utter subversion of so
 “ many cities, the abolishing the festivals, the sacrifices, and
 “ the worship of the gods, and genius's, whom you have
 “ deprived of their festivals, their sacrifices, and their
 “ established honors: For my part, I cannot think that a
 “ man, who has the least regard for virtue, ought either to
 “ involve

“ involve his friends in the same ruin with his enemies, or
“ to shew himself fierce, and inexorable in his anger to
“ those, who have, in any degree, offended him ; particu-
“ larly, if he has, many times, punished them with severity.
“ These, therefore, are the reasons we had to offer you, both
“ to excuse ourselves, and deprecate your anger in favor of
“ the plebeians ; and these the motives, which we, who are
“ the most dignified of all your friends, are come to suggest
“ to you through pure affection ; and the promises we
“ make, if you think fit to be reconciled to your country.
“ While your power is at the greatest height, and Heaven
“ yet favours you, we advise you to act with moderation,
“ and use your good fortune with economy, when you con-
“ sider that all things are subject to change, and that nothing
“ continues long in the same situation. Eminence, when
“ arrived to its greatest lustre, raises the indignation of the
“ gods, and sinks, again, into obscurity : This, chiefly, hap-
“ pens to severe, and haughty minds, which exceed the
“ bounds of human nature. You have, now, an opportunity
“ of putting an end to the war upon the most honourable
“ conditions : For the whole senate are desirous to pass a
“ vote for your return, and the people ready to repeal, by
“ a law, the sentence of your perpetual banishment. What
“ should hinder you, then, from seeing, once more, those
“ persons you love, and honour most ; from being restored to
“ your country, the thing, of all others, the most worthy to
“ be contended for ; from governing, as you may well expect,
“ those, who govern others ; from commanding those, who
“ com-

“ command others, and from leaving the greatest glory to your
 “ children, and posterity. We are the sureties for the im-
 “ mediate performance of all these promises. It would not
 “ become the senate, or people to pass a mild, or relenting
 “ vote in your favor, while you are in arms, and commit
 “ hostilities against us; but, if you lay down your arms,
 “ the order for your return will soon be brought to you
 “ by us.

XXVI. “ These will be the advantages you will reap
 “ from your reconciliation: Whereas, if you persist in your
 “ resentment, and are inflexible in your hatred to us, many
 “ misfortunes will befall you; of which I shall mention two,
 “ as the most considerable, and the most evident: First,
 “ you are infatuated with a desire to accomplish a difficult,
 “ rather an impossible thing, which is, to subvert the power
 “ of the Romans, and That by the arms of the Volsci.
 “ Secondly, if you succeed, and accomplish your desire,
 “ you will be looked upon as the most miserable of all men.
 “ Hear then, Marcius, the reasons, that induce me to enter-
 “ tain this opinion concerning you; and be not offended
 “ at the liberty I shall take in laying them before you.
 “ Consider, first, the impossibility of succeeding. The
 “ Romans, as you yourself know, abound in a numerous
 “ youth of their own nation, whom (if the sedition is once
 “ banished from among them, as banished it must be, pre-
 “ sently, by this war; for common fear reconciles all
 “ differences) neither the Volsci, nor even any other Italian
 “ nation, will be able to overcome. Great, also, is the
 “ power

“ power of the Latines, and of the rest of our allies,
 “ and colonies; most of whom, you may be assured,
 “ will fly to our assistance. We have generals of the same
 “ merit with yourself, both old, and young, in a greater
 “ number than are to be found in any other city. But the
 “ greatest assistance of all, and That, which, in the most
 “ threatening dangers, has never frustrated our hopes,
 “ and is alone of greater efficacy than all human power,
 “ is the favor of Heaven, by which our city has, not only,
 “ preserved her liberty ” near eight generations, but is be-
 “ come flourishing, and the sovereign of many nations.
 “ Neither ought you to compare us to the Pedani, the
 “ Tolerini, or the other inhabitants of the small towns you
 “ have reduced: For a general less able than yourself, and
 “ with fewer troops, might have forced places defended by
 “ small garrisons, and slight works. But consider the great-
 “ ness of our city, the lustre of her military actions, and the
 “ favor of the gods, always present to her, by which she
 “ was, from a small beginning, raised to the grandeur she
 “ now enjoys ; and imagine not that the forces, with which
 “ you are undertaking so great an enterprise, are changed ;
 “ but remember well that your army consists of Volsci, and
 “ of Aequi, whom the present race of our countrymen have
 “ defeated in many battles, that is, as often as they have
 “ dared to come to an engagement with us. Know then
 “ that, with troops inferior in bravery, you are going to
 “ encounter those, that are superior to them; and, with

37. Οὐδὲν ἤδη τὴν νῦν γέγραπται. See the fourteenth annotation on the first book.

“ troops always beaten, those, that are always victorious.
 “ But, if the contrary of this was true, it would, however,
 “ be a thing to be wondered at how you, who are experienced
 “ in military affairs, should not know that those, who invade
 “ the possessions of others, are not so daring as those, who
 “ defend their own : For the former, if they succeed not,
 “ receive no damage; but the others, if they are defeated,
 “ have nothing left. And this is the chief reason, why
 “ armies, superior both in number, and goodness, are often
 “ beaten by those, that are inferior to them in both. For
 “ necessity is powerful; and every man, when his all is at
 “ stake, is inspired with a boldness, which nature had, before,
 “ denied him. I had many other things to say concerning the
 “ impossibility of your undertaking; but let these suffice.

XXVII. “ I have one consideration still to suggest to you,
 “ which, if you judge of it by reason, not passion, will, not
 “ only, gain your approbation, but, also, engage you to
 “ repent of what you are doing. What is this consideration?
 “ That the gods have never given to any mortal man the
 “ certain knowledge of future events; neither will you find,
 “ in any age, a man successful in all his undertakings, un-
 “ successful in none. For which reason, those, who excel
 “ others in prudence, the fruit of a long life, and great
 “ experience, think it reasonable, before they begin any
 “ enterprise whatever, first to consider the event of it, not
 “ only the event they wish for, but the other also, which
 “ may, possibly, happen contrary to their desire : This is,
 “ particularly, the duty of generals, as the affairs they have
 “ the

“ the conduct of are of the greatest importance ; and as
 “ all the world attributes to them the causes both of victories,
 “ and defeats : After they have, thus, considered things, if
 “ they find that the want of success will be attended with
 “ small, or few, mischiefs, or with none at all, they under-
 “ take it ; but, if with great, and many inconveniences,
 “ they abandon it. Follow their example ; and, before you
 “ engage yourself, consider what you are to expect, if you
 “ should be unfortunate in this war, and every thing should not
 “ succeed according to your desire. You will be reproached
 “ by those, who have received you, with having undertaken
 “ things impossible ; and, when our army, in return, shall
 “ march into their territories, and lay them waste (for we
 “ shall never submit to such injuries without revenging our-
 “ selves on the aggressors) you will never be able to avoid
 “ this alternative ; you will be put to death in a shameful
 “ manner, either by the Volsci themselves, as the cause of
 “ the great calamities they will have suffered, or by us,
 “ whom you designed to destroy, and enslave. But it may,
 “ possibly, happen that the former, before any mischief be-
 “ falls them, may, in order to a reconciliation, think fit to
 “ deliver you up to be punished by us ; which is a thing,
 “ that many, both Barbarians, and Greeks, when reduced to
 “ such extremities, have been obliged to submit to. Do you
 “ look upon these as small things, and not worth your con-
 “ sideration ? And that you ought to despise them, or rather
 “ to esteem them as the greatest of all evils ?

XXVIII. “ On the other side, if you succeed, what wonderful, what desirable advantage will you obtain? Or what glory will you acquire? For this, also, you ought to examine. In the first place, you will have the misfortune to be deprived of those persons, who are the dearest, and the most nearly related, to you; of an unfortunate mother, to whom you make no grateful return for your birth, and education, and for all the other trouble she underwent on your account; secondly, of a virtuous wife, who, by reason of your absence, sits in solitude, and widowhood, and laments day, and night your banishment; besides, you will be deprived of two sons, who, as they are descended from worthy ancestors, are intitled to the enjoyment of their honors, and to flourish in a flourishing commonwealth: Of the miserable, and unfortunate catastrophe of all these you will be compelled to be a spectator, if you dare to approach the walls with your army: For you may be assured that no mercy will be shewn to any of your relations by those, who are in danger of losing their own, and are treated by you with the same cruelty; but, forced by their calamities, they will inflict on them dreadful torments, cruel insults, and all other kinds of abuse: And of all these things, not the actors, but you, who forced them to act in this manner, will be the cause. These will be the pleasures you will enjoy, if your enterprise succeeds. As to the praise you will acquire, the admiration, and the honors, which all good men ought to aim at, consider of what nature they will be: You will
“ be

“ be called the parricide of your mother, the murderer of
 “ your children, the assassin of your wife, and the scourge
 “ of your country ; and no man, who has any regard either
 “ to religion, or justice, will partake of the same sacrifices,
 “ or libations with you, or live under the same roof whither-
 “ soever you go : Even those, for whose sake you do these
 “ things, will not esteem you ; but every one of them, after
 “ they have reaped some advantage from your impious
 “ actions, will detest your implacable temper. I need not
 “ put you in mind that, besides the detestation of the best
 “ men, you will be envied by your equals, and feared by
 “ your inferiors ; and, for both these reasons, exposed to
 “ treachery, and to many other mischiefs, which must, ne-
 “ cessarily, befall every man, who is destitute of friends, and
 “ resides in a foreign country. I say nothing, also, of the
 “ Furies, sent by the gods, and genius’s to punish those,
 “ who have been guilty of wicked, and flagitious actions,
 “ by whom they are tormented both in their minds,
 “ and bodies, and, after a wretched life, die a miserable
 “ death. Consider these things, Marcius ; change your reso-
 “ lution, and forget your resentment to your country ; look
 “ upon Fortune to have been the cause of all the mischiefs
 “ you have either suffered from our hands, or inflicted on
 “ us ; return with joy to your family ; and, once more,
 “ receive the most affectionate embraces of your mother,
 “ the most endearing caresses of your wife, and the most
 “ engaging tenderness of your children ; and, by restoring
 “ yourself to your country, repay the glorious debt
 “ you

“ you owe to her, for having given birth, and education to
 “ so great a man.”

XXIX. Minucius having spoken in this manner, Marcius, after a short pause, replied : “ I own myself a friend to you,
 “ Minucius, and to all the rest, who are sent hither together
 “ with you by the senate ; and am ready to do you any
 “ service in my power, because, even before, when I was your
 “ fellow-citizen, and had a share in the administration of
 “ the public affairs, you assisted me on many difficult occa-
 “ sions ; and, after my banishment, you did not disregard
 “ me from a contempt of my then unhappy situation,
 “ as if it had rendered me incapable, any longer, either to
 “ serve my friends, or hurt my enemies ; but continued to
 “ shew your benevolence, and friendship for me, by taking
 “ care of my mother, my wife, and children, and alleviating
 “ their misfortunes by your good offices : But I am an
 “ enemy to the rest of the Romans, and do every thing in
 “ my power to distress them, and shall never cease to hate
 “ those, who, in return for the many glorious actions, for
 “ which I deserved honor, drove me out of my country with
 “ ignominy, as if I had been guilty of the most heinous
 “ crimes against the commonwealth ; and shewed neither
 “ respect to my mother, compassion to my children, nor
 “ any other marks of sensibility for my misfortunes. Now
 “ you are apprized of my resolutions, if you desire any
 “ thing of me with regard to yourselves, make no difficulty
 “ to let me know it, and be assured that you may com-
 “ mand any thing in my power : But, concerning friendship,
 “ and

“ and a reconciliation, which you desire me to enter into
 “ with the people, upon the prospect of my return, cease
 “ to say any thing. Shall I look upon it as a singular favor
 “ to return to a city, where vice receives the reward of virtue,
 “ and innocence the punishment of guilt? Let me know,
 “ in the name of the gods, for what crime have I myself
 “ experienced this misfortune? What action have I com-
 “ mitted, that is unworthy of my ancestors? I made my
 “ first campaign when I was very young, at the time we
 “ fought against the kings, who were, then, endeavouring
 “ to force their restoration. In this engagement, I saved a
 “ citizen, and slew an enemy, and was honoured by the
 “ general with ¹⁸ the crowns due to superior valor. After

¹⁸. *Ἀγιστὸς στέφανος*. By these words, our author means the *Corona civica*; because he makes Marcius say that he received this honor as a reward for having saved a citizen, and slain an enemy. As the *Civic crown* was the most honourable of all others, the reader may not be displeased to find here some particulars relating to it. This crown was first made of a branch of the *Ilex*; afterwards, of the *Æsculus*, and, at last, of the oak with the acorns. This might be sufficient if all my readers were gardeners; but, as that may not happen to be the case, I think it necessary to shew the difference between the two first trees, and the last, with which they are, often, confounded. The *Ilex* of ^k Pliny, and the *ἄγιστος* of Theophrastus, is the scarlet oak, which bears the scarlet grain, the *κεκρυμμένος βελανιδιά* of the Greeks, and the *Kermes* of the

Arabians, being an excrescence occasioned by the puncture of a fly, which lays its eggs there: This grain is, sometimes, used by the dyers; but was much more so, before they were acquainted with Cochineal. The *Æsculus*, called by Theophrastus, *ἡμερίς*, and, by ^l Pliny, *Hemeris*, is the dwarf oak. Every Roman soldier, of whatever degree, was intitled to a civic crown, if he had saved a citizen, and killed an enemy; and the latter must have stood upon the same spot, where the affair happened, that day: The citizen saved must own it; otherwise, no witnesses were admitted to prove the fact; the person saved must be a Roman citizen: After the soldier had received a civic crown, he had the privilege of wearing it always: When he entered any place, where public games were celebrating, all the spectators, even the senate, rose

^k Nat. Hist. B. xvi. c. 3.

^l Ib. c. 6.

“ that,

“ that, in every other action I was engaged in, whether of
 “ the horse, or foot, I distinguished myself in all, and, in all,
 “ received the rewards appropriated to the bravest man;
 “ neither was there any town taken by storm, of which
 “ I did not mount the walls either the first, or among the
 “ first; nor was the enemy ever put to flight, but all, who
 “ were present, acknowledged that I had been the chief cause
 “ of it; or any other signal, or brave action performed in
 “ war without the assistance either of my valor, or fortune.

XXX. “ It is possible that any other brave man also
 “ may alledge such exploits, if not so many, in his favor;
 “ but, what general, or inferior officer has reason to glory
 “ in taking any town, in the manner I took Corioli? And
 “ that the same man, the same day, defeated the enemy’s
 “ army, as I defeated That of the Antiates, who were
 “ coming to the assistance of the besieged? I shall not add
 “ that, after I had given so many proofs of my valor, when
 “ I might have received out of the spoils a large quantity of
 “ gold, and silver, of slaves, beasts of burden, and cattle,
 “ and of fertile land to a great extent, I refused them all;
 “ and, from a desire to secure myself as much as possible
 “ against envy, took only a war-horse of all the spoils;

up to do him honor: Upon those occasions, he had a right of sitting next to the senators: The soldier himself, his father, and his grandfather, were freed from all public duties. ^m *Civem servare, hostem occidere: Utque eum locum, in quo sit actum, hostis obtineat eodie: Ut servatus fateatur; aliàs testes*

nil profunt; ut civis fuerit: — Acceptâ licet uti perpetuo: Ludos ineunti semper assurgere, etiam ab senatu, in more est: Sedendi jus in proximo senatui: Vacatio munerum omnium ipsi, patrique, et avo paterno. There is something in this institution too great not to be explained, or imitated.

^m Pliny, Nat. Hist. B. xvi. c. 4.;

“ and,

“ and, of all the prisoners, only one person, with whom I
 “ had an intercourse of hospitality ; and all the rest of the
 “ riches I resigned to the public. Did I, then, for these
 “ actions deserve punishment, or honor ? And to be subject
 “ to the most profligate of the citizens, or to command my
 “ inferiors ? However, it seems, the people did not banish
 “ me for these things ; but because, in the rest of my actions,
 “ I was intemperate, expensive, and irregular : But, who
 “ can name the man, who has been deprived either of his
 “ country, his liberty, or his fortune, or involved in any
 “ other calamity, to gratify my irregular appetites ? No one
 “ even of my enemies ever accused, or charged me with any
 “ thing of this kind, but all bore witness that the whole
 “ tenor of my life was irreprehensible. But, it may be said,
 “ your political principles, detested by all men, brought this
 “ misfortune upon you : For, when you had it in your
 “ power to chuse the better side, you chose the worse :
 “ And all your words, and actions, constantly, tended to
 “ subvert the established aristocracy ; and to throw the
 “ whole power of the commonwealth into the hands of the
 “ ignorant, and abandoned multitude : On the contrary,
 “ the measures I pursued, Minucius, were the very reverse
 “ of all this, and tended to maintain the senate in the ad-
 “ ministration of the public affairs for ever, and to perpe-
 “ tuate the established constitution. But, in return for these
 “ glorious measures, which our ancestors thought worthy of
 “ emulation, I have received this happy, this blessed retribu-
 “ tion from my country, in being banished, not by the people

“ only, Minucius, but, long before, by the senate, who encou-
 “ raged me, at first, with vain hopes, while I was opposing
 “ the tribunes in their pretensions to tyranny, that they them-
 “ selves would provide for my security ; and, upon the first
 “ suspicion of some danger from the plebeians, abandoned me,
 “ and delivered me up to my enemies. - You yourself were
 “ consul, Minucius, when the senate passed the previous
 “ vote concerning my trial, and when Valerius, who advised
 “ them to deliver me up to the people, gained great applause
 “ by his speech: And I, fearing lest, if the question had
 “ been put, I should be condemned by the senate, ac-
 “ quiesced, and promised to appear, and take my trial.

XXXI. “ Answer me now, Minucius, whether I did not
 “ seem to the senate, also, to deserve punishment for having
 “ promoted, and pursued the best of all measures, or to the
 “ people only ? For, if you were all of this opinion at that
 “ time, and if all of you banished me, it is plain that all of
 “ you, who concurred in this, are enemies to virtue, and
 “ that there is no place in your city, where merit can be
 “ secure. But, if the senate were forced to comply with the
 “ people, and their compliance was not voluntary, but ex-
 “ torted by necessity, you must allow that they are under
 “ the government of the wicked, and have not the power
 “ to act in any thing, as they think fit. After this, do you
 “ desire me to return to a city thus constituted, in which
 “ the best men are governed by the worst ? You must,
 “ certainly, think me capable of committing a great folly.
 “ But, suppose I yield to your solicitations ; and, putting
 “ an

“ an end to the war as you desire, return ; what sentiments
 “ shall I entertain after this ? And what conduct shall I
 “ observe ? Shall I consult my own security, and safety ;
 “ and, in order to obtain magistracies, honors, and the other
 “ advantages I think myself worthy of, submit to court the
 “ multitude, who alone have the power of bestowing them ?
 “ If I did this, I should be transformed from a good, to a
 “ bad man, and reap no benefit from my former virtue :
 “ Or shall I preserve the same character ; and, adhering to
 “ the same principles of government, oppose all, who are of
 “ a different opinion ? And is it not manifest that the people
 “ would, again, persecute me, and meditate another revenge,
 “ and make this their first charge against me, that, having,
 “ obtained my return through their indulgence, I did not
 “ flatter their passions in every measure I pursued ? This
 “ cannot be denied. Then, some other bold demagogue
 “ will spring up, like Sicinnius, or Lucius, who will accuse
 “ me of sowing discord among the citizens, of forming
 “ treacherous designs against the people, of betraying my
 “ country to the enemy, or, of affecting tyranny, with
 “ which Lucius charged me, or, of any other crime he
 “ shall think fit : For an enemy will never be at a loss for
 “ an accusation : And, to fill up the measure of my iniqui-
 “ ties, I shall soon be accused, also, of every thing I have
 “ done in this war ; that I have laid waste your country,
 “ carried off a great booty, taken your towns, slain some
 “ of those, who defended them, and delivered up others
 “ to the enemy : If my accusers charge me with these
 U u 2 “ things,

“ things, what can I say in my defence? What assistance
 “ can I rely on?

XXXII. “ Is it not, therefore, plain, Minucius, that you
 “ make use of fair words, and dissimulation; and, with a
 “ specious name, cover a wicked design? For, instead of
 “ giving me leave to return, you lead me, as a victim, to
 “ the people: Even this may be your view; for I can, no
 “ longer, entertain any good opinion of you. However, if you
 “ desire it, I will suppose that you do not foresee any thing
 “ I shall suffer: But, what advantage shall I reap from your
 “ ignorance, or folly; since it will not be in your power,
 “ should you even desire it, to oppose any thing; but you
 “ will be compelled to gratify the people even in this, as well
 “ as in other things? I think it unnecessary, after this, to
 “ employ many words, in order to convince you that I shall
 “ find no security in what you call a return, but I, the road,
 “ that will, quickly, lead me to destruction. Learn, now,
 “ in your turn, that I can find in it neither reputation,
 “ honor, nor piety, since you desire me, with great reason,
 “ Minucius, to have a regard to these, but, that I shall act
 “ in a most shameful, and impious manner, if I follow
 “ your advice. I was an enemy to the Volsci, and did them
 “ great injuries during the war, while I was acquiring so-
 “ vereignty, power, and glory for my country. Was it not
 “ reasonable, therefore, that I should be honoured by those I
 “ had obliged, and hated by those I had injured? Certainly,
 “ if reason had taken place: But Fortune has defeated both
 “ these expectations, and given a contrary turn to their
 “ dif-

“ dispositions: For you, for whose sake I was an enemy to
 “ these men, have deprived me of all my fortunes, and, hav-
 “ ing reduced me to the lowest condition, you cast me off;
 “ while these, who had suffered the greatest calamities from
 “ me, received into their cities this indigent, this abject
 “ man, who had been driven from his habitation, and from
 “ his country; and, not contented with this illustrious, this
 “ magnanimous action, they granted to me the rights of
 “ a citizen in all their cities, and invested me with those
 “ magistracies, and honors, that are in the greatest request
 “ among them. I omit the rest: They have, now, appointed
 “ me to command, with unlimited authority, the army they
 “ have sent out of their country, and committed to me alone
 “ the whole power of their commonwealth. What insensi-
 “ bility then should I be guilty of, if I betrayed those, by
 “ whom I have been adorned with such honors, without
 “ being provoked to it by the least injury? Unless, indeed,
 “ their favors are injurious to me, as mine are to you. I
 “ should, certainly, gain a fine reputation in the world, if
 “ I was known to be guilty of a double treachery. And
 “ who could not chuse but praise me, when they heard
 “ that, finding my friends, from whom I ought to have
 “ received benefits, to become my enemies, and my ene-
 “ mies, by whom I ought to have been destroyed, to become
 “ my friends, instead of hating those who hate me, and
 “ loving those who love me, I entertained contrary senti-
 “ ments?

XXXIII. “ Consider, now, Minucius, in what disposition
 “ the gods are to me at present, and in what disposition.
 “ they will be to me, during the rest of my life, if I am
 “ prevailed upon by you to betray the trust reposed in me
 “ by these people. At present, they assist me in every
 “ enterprise I undertake against you, and I succeed in every
 “ attempt. How great a proof do you think this is of my
 “ piety? For, if I had undertaken an impious war against
 “ my country, the gods ought to have opposed me in every
 “ thing; but, since Fortune favors my arms with an au-
 “ spicious gale, and every thing I attempt is crowned with
 “ success, it is plain that I am a pious man, and that my
 “ designs are honourable. What, therefore, can I expect, if
 “ I change my conduct, and endeavour to encrease your
 “ power, and reduce theirs? Have I not reason to expect
 “ the contrary of all this, and that the gods, exasperated at
 “ my perfidy, will revenge the injured? And, as by the
 “ assistance of the gods, I have been raised from a low
 “ condition to greatness, shall I not, again, fall from great-
 “ ness to a low condition, and my¹⁹ sufferings become lessons
 “ to the rest of the world? These are my thoughts concern-
 “ ing the gods; and I am persuaded that those Furies you
 “ mentioned, Minucius, so formidable, and inexorable to
 “ the wicked, will persecute me, and torment both my soul,
 “ and body, whenever I shall abandon, and betray those,
 “ who preserved me after you had ruined me, and, at the
 “ same time they preserved me, conferred many illustrious

¹⁹ Παθημῶν παιδευμῶν. See the thirty third annotation on the first book.

“ marks

“ marks of their favor on me, to whom I gave this assurance,
 “ to which I called the gods to witness, that I did not
 “ come among them with a design to do them any injury,
 “ and pledged that faith to them, which I have, hitherto,
 “ preserved pure and inviolate.

XXXIV. “ When, Minucius, you call those, still, my
 “ friends, who have banished me, and that nation, my
 “ country, which has renounced me; when you appeal to
 “ the laws of nature, and display the duties of religion, you
 “ seem to be unacquainted with the most common things,
 “ and to be alone ignorant of Those, which no man else is
 “ ignorant of; that friends, or enemies are not distinguished
 “ either by their looks, or their names, but by experience,
 “ and by their behaviour. We all love those, who do us
 “ good, and hate those, who do us harm; this law we have
 “ not received from the institution of men, neither is it in
 “ their power to abrogate it, when they please: It is the
 “ universal, and eternal law of nature given to all, who
 “ partake of sense, and will ever continue in force. For
 “ this reason, we renounce our friends, when they injure us,
 “ and are reconciled to our enemies, when we receive some
 “ favors from them; and we cherish the country, that gave
 “ us birth, when we receive a benefit from it; but, when
 “ an injury, we abandon it, and are not fond of it for the
 “ sake of the place, but of the advantage we receive from
 “ it. These are not the sentiments of private men only, but
 “ of whole cities, and nations: So that, whoever follows this
 “ maxim contradicts neither the divine laws, nor the received
 “ opinion.

“ opinion of all men. While, therefore, I act in this manner,
 “ I look upon myself to act with justice, with advantage
 “ to myself, and with honor ; and that my behaviour is, at
 “ the same time, highly acceptable to the gods : Since my
 “ actions are pleasing to them, I have no occasion to make
 “ men judges of those actions, who judge of truth by con-
 “ jecture, and opinion ; neither do I esteem the enterprize I
 “ have undertaken to be impossible, since the gods are my
 “ guides ; particularly, if I may be allowed to guess of the
 “ future by the past.

XXXV. “ Concerning the moderation you recommend
 “ to me, and that I would not, utterly, destroy the Roman
 “ nation, nor subvert their city from the foundations, I
 “ could answer, Minucius, that this does not belong to my
 “ province, neither is this request, properly, addressed to me,
 “ who am, indeed, general of the army, but these have the
 “ sole power of making peace, and war : So that, you ought
 “ to apply to them for a truce in order to a peace, and not
 “ to me. However, I shall not give you this answer ; but,
 “ from the veneration I pay to the gods of our fathers, and
 “ the respect I bear to the sepulchres of our ancestors, and
 “ to my native country, the compassion I feel for your wives
 “ and children, who, though innocent, will suffer for the
 “ errors of their fathers, and husbands, and from my regard
 “ to you, who are sent hither by your commonwealth,
 “ which is not the least consideration, Minucius, I shall re-
 “ turn this answer : If the Romans will restore to the Volsci
 “ the lands they have taken from them, and the cities they
 “ are

“ are in possession of, recal their colonies, enter into a league
 “ of perpetual friendship with them, communicate to them
 “ the rights of Roman citizens, in the same manner as they
 “ have communicated them to the Latines, and confirm
 “ this treaty by oaths, and imprecations against the trans-
 “ gressors of it, I will put an end to the war. First then,
 “ make your report to them of these things, and urge to
 “ them the consideration of justice with the same energy
 “ you have represented it to me ; tell them that it is a
 “ glorious thing for every man to enjoy his own possessions,
 “ and live in peace, and highly valuable to have no enemy,
 “ no crisis to fear ; but that it is no less shameful, by grasp-
 “ ing at the possessions of others, to expose ourselves to an
 “ unnecessary war, in which we run the hazard of losing
 “ even all we enjoy ; lay before them the consequences,
 “ that attend those, who covet the territories of others,
 “ when they do not succeed, as well as when they do ; add
 “ too, if you please, that those, who desire to seize the
 “ towns of the injured, if they do not overcome them,
 “ often lose both their own territories, and their own cities ;
 “ and, besides this, see their wives exposed to the greatest
 “ indignities, their children to insults, and their decrepit
 “ parents to slavery : And let the senate know, at the same
 “ time, that they could have no reason to attribute these
 “ evils to Marcius, but to their own folly ; since, when they
 “ have it in their power to do justice, and to avoid every
 “ calamity, they chuse to hazard all from the great delight
 “ they, always, take in the possessions of others. You have

“ my answer, to which you will not prevail upon me to add
 “ any thing. Return now, and consider what you ought to do.
 “ I will allow you thirty days for your deliberation. In the
 “ mean time, to shew my regard for you, Minucius, and
 “ for the rest of the deputies, I will withdraw my troops
 “ from your territories; for they would occasion great da-
 “ mage to you should they remain here: And, on the
 “ thirtieth day, expect my return in order to receive your
 “ answer.”

XXXVI. Having said this, he rose up, and dismissed the assembly: And, the following night, decamped with his army about the ²⁰ last watch, and marched to the rest of the Latin cities (either really informed that the Romans were to receive some succours from thence, as Minucius had advanced in his speech, or, having himself caused such a report to be spread) to the end it might not appear that he had given over the war to gratify his enemies. And, having attacked a town, called ²¹ Longola, he made himself master of it without any difficulty, and treated it in the same manner he had treated the rest, by making slaves of the inhabitants, and plundering the town. Then he marched to the city of the ²² Satricani; and, having taken this, also, after a short resistance, and ordered a detachment of his army to convey the booty, taken in both these towns, to ²³ Echetra, he went with the rest of his forces to a town,

²⁰ Περὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν. See the sixtieth annotation on the third book.

²¹ Λογγολα. See the ninety first chapter of the sixth book.

²² Σατρίκωνων. See the sixty first chapter of the fifth book.

²³ Εχέτραν. See the fifty sixth annotation on the fourth book.

called

called ²⁴ Ceta : After he had taken this place also, and pillaged it, he made an irruption into the territories of the ²⁵ Poluscani ; who, being unable to withstand him, he took their city, also, by storm : And, then advanced to the following towns ; ²⁶ Lavinium, and ²⁷ Vitellia he took by assault ; and ²⁸ Corioli by composition. Having thus made himself master of seven cities in thirty days, he returned to Rome with an army much more numerous than the former ; and incamped on the road, that leads to Tusculum, at the distance of something more than thirty stadia from the city.

²⁴• Κῆτιαν. I find that ⁿ Cluver can make nothing of the name of this town ; for which reason, I shall not attempt to correct it. In all probability, the text is corrupted.

²⁵• Πολυσκανων. See the forty seventh annotation on the sixth book.

²⁶• Αλβινηας. Sylburgius thinks, with great reason, that we ought to read Λαβινιαας ; because, Lavinium, as we have seen, was blocked up before Coriolanus advanced so near to Rome, as the Cluilian ditches.

²⁷• Μοσυλαινας. I very much suspect that here is another error in the Greek text ; because I can find no such town in Italy, as *Mugilla* : And the reason given by Jac. Gronovius to prove there was such a town, is, in my opinion, very inconclusive, though M.*** has adopted it. Gronovius contends that there must have been such a town, because the *cognomen* of Lucius Papius was Mugillanus. If this is a reason, the consequence will be, that all the Roman *cognomina* were derived

from towns : But this was far from being the case, as we see by these *cognomina* ; P. Cornelius Scipio ; M. Tullius Cicero ; C. Julius Caesar, and many others. I shall, therefore, adhere to the correction of ^o Cluver, who reads Ουϊτελλαινας, instead of Μοσυλαινας. In this, he is supported by ^p Livy, who reckons *Vitellia* among the cities taken by Coriolanus : *Corbionem, Vitelliam, Trebiam, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Vitellia* stood on the borders of the Latines, and the Aequi.

²⁸• Κοριολαινας. This cannot be the true reading ; because our author has told us that he had, before, taken *Corioli*. ^q Cluver thinks we ought to read Κωραννας. But ^r he himself, in another place, makes *Cora* to have been a city of the Volsci ; which makes it impossible that *Cora* should have been one of the towns taken by them under Coriolanus : As, therefore, I am at a loss what city to substitute in the room of Corioli, I have suffered it to remain in the text.

ⁿ Ital. Antiq. B. iii. c. 8.

^o Ib. B. ii. c. 16.

^p B. ii. c. 39.

^q Ital. Antiq. B. ii. c. 16.

^r Ib. B. iii. c. 8.

While Marcius was employed in taking, and conciliating the cities of the Latines, the Romans, after many consultations upon his demands, resolved to do nothing unworthy of their commonwealth; but, if the Volsci would depart from their territories, and from Those of their allies, and subjects, and, putting an end to the war, send ambassadors to treat of friendship, the senate would pass a previous vote to settle the terms of that friendship, and lay before the people the result of their deliberations; but that, while they remained in their territories, and in Those of their allies, committing acts of hostility, they would come to no resolution in their favor: For it was, always, the great concern of the Romans to do nothing by command, or to yield to an enemy through fear; but, when once their adversaries had made peace, and acknowledged themselves their subjects, to gratify them, and yield to any thing they could, reasonably, desire. And this greatness of mind the commonwealth has preserved to this day, under many great dangers both in foreign, and domestic wars.

XXXVII. The senate having come to this resolution, appointed ten other consular senators to go to Marcius in quality of ambassadors with instructions to desire him not to command any thing, that was severe, or unworthy of their commonwealth; but to lay aside his resentment, and, withdrawing his forces from their territories, to endeavour to obtain the terms he proposed by persuasion, and conciliatory language, if he desired to unite the two nations by a firm, and everlasting peace; since all treaties, both public
and

and private, that are entered into through necessity, or in subserviency to conjunctures, are soon dissolved, when the conjunctures, or the necessity ceases. The ambassadors appointed by the senate, being informed of the arrival of Marcius, repaired to him, and used many arguments to gain him, preserving, however, in every thing they said, the dignity of their commonwealth. Marcius made them no other answer than that he advised them to take some better resolution, and to return within three days; after which, the truce should expire. And, when the deputies were preparing to make some answer to this, he would not suffer it; but ordered them to leave the camp immediately, threatening, if they did not, to treat them as spies: Upon which, they withdrew in silence, and presently departed. The senate, being informed by the deputies both of the haughty answers, and threats of Marcius, did not, even then, come to a resolution of sending out an army, from a distrust either of the inexperience of their soldiers, most of them being new raised, or of the pusillanimity of the consuls; as these had not the least share of activity: For which reasons, they thought it dangerous to hazard a battle of so great consequence. It is possible also, that the gods, the auspices, the Sibylline books, or some received scruples of religion may have deterred them from it; which the men of that age did not think fit to neglect, like Those of this: However, they resolved to guard the city with greater caution, and to defend themselves from their works, whenever they should be attacked.

XXXVIII. While they were employed in these preparations, and had not yet given over all hopes of prevailing on Marcius to relent, if they sent embassadors of greater weight, and dignity to intercede for them, they resolved to depute the pontifs, the augurs, and all the rest, who were invested with any holy dignity, or public ministry relating to divine worship: There being among them great numbers of priests, and ministers of religion, who are the most distinguished of all others on account both of their families, and their own virtues; and that these should carry with them the symbols of the gods, whose rites, and worship they performed, and go in a body to the enemy's camp, clad in their priestly garments, and use the same intreaties with the former deputies. After they were arrived, and had acquainted Marcius with the instructions they had received from the senate, he made no other answer even to these, than to give them notice either to depart, and obey his commands, if they desired peace, or to expect the war at their gates: And forbid any application to him for the future. When the Romans found themselves disappointed in this attempt also, they absolutely despaired of peace, and prepared for a siege, disposing the ablest of their men near the ditch, and at the gates; and those, who were discharged from the service, but not yet incapable of bearing the fatigues of war, they placed upon the walls. .

XXXIX. In the mean time, their wives, seeing the danger at hand, and forgetting the decency of domestic retirement, ran to the temples of the gods with lamentations, and
threw

threw themselves at the feet of their statues: And every holy place, particularly the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, was filled with the cries, and supplications of the women. Then it was that one of them, by name Valeria, a lady distinguished by her birth, and dignity, and indued with the greatest prudence, the effect of her age, and sister to Poplicola, one of those, who freed the commonwealth from the tyranny of their kings, moved by some divine impulse, placed herself upon the upper landing of the stairs, that lead to the temple; and, calling the rest of the women to her, she first comforted, and encouraged them, desiring they would not be astonished at the danger, that threatened them: She then assured them there was one hope left to preserve their country, which was placed in them alone, if they would do their duty: Upon this, one of them said; “And what can we women do to save our
“country, when the men have given it up for lost? What
“strength so great are we weak, and miserable women
“possessed of?” “We have no occasion for arms, or
“strength, replied Valeria (for nature has excused us from
“the use of these) but for zeal, and eloquence.” And all crying out, and begging of her to explain what assistance she meant, Valeria said; “Let us go to the house of Ve-
“turia, the mother of Marcius, in this mourning, and
“negligent apparel, and take with us the rest of the women,
“and their children; and, placing these at her feet, let us
“intreat her with tears to have compassion both of us, who
“have given her no cause of grief, and of her country,
“now

“ now exposed to the greatest danger ; and that she will
“ go to the enemy’s camp with her grandchildren, and
“ their mother, and take us all with her (for we must attend
“ her with the children) and, making supplication to her
“ son, beg and conjure him not to inflict any irreparable
“ mischief on his country : For, while she is lamenting, and
“ intreating, compassion, and humanity will find their
“ way to his heart, which is not so obdurate and inexorable,
“ as to allow him to see his mother at his feet without
“ emotion.”

XL. This advice being approved of by all the women who were present, she prayed to the gods to inspire their intercession with persuasion, and the Graces ; and then went from the temple ; the others followed her ; and, after that, taking with them the rest of the women, they went all together to the house of the mother of Marcius. Volumnia, his wife, saw them coming, as she sat near her mother-in-law ; and, being surpris’d at their arrival, said ; “ What occasion, ladies, has brought you in such numbers to an unfortunate, and distressed family ?” Then Valeria replied ; “ Both we ourselves, and these children, now exposed to the greatest danger, fly to you, Veturia, with supplications, as to our only help, and intreat you, first, to take compassion of our common country ; and not to suffer that country, which has been hitherto unconquered, to be enslaved by the Volsci ; unless, indeed, they themselves should spare it after their conquest, and not endeavour, utterly, to destroy it : And, in the next place, we intreat
“ you

“ you in favor of ourselves, and of these unfortunate children,
 “ that we may not be exposed to the insults of the enemy,
 “ we, who have occasioned none of the evils, that have
 “ befallen your family. If there yet remains in you any
 “ spark of a mild, and humane disposition, you, who are a
 “ woman, Veturia, have mercy on women, who, once,
 “ partook with you of the same sacrifices, and of the same
 “ rites; and, taking with you Volumnia, the virtuous wife
 “ of Marcius, and her children, and us also, who are your
 “ suppliants, with these infants in our arms, go to your son;
 “ persuade, press, cease not to intreat, and ask this one favor
 “ of him in return for many, that he will make peace with
 “ his fellow-citizens, and return to his country, that longs
 “ to receive him. Be assured that you will prevail; a man
 “ of his piety will not suffer you to lie prostrate at his feet
 “ in vain: And, when you have brought your son back to
 “ Rome, you yourself will gain immortal glory, as you may
 “ well expect, for having freed your country from so great
 “ a danger, and such an alarm; and you will cause us to be
 “ honoured by our husbands, for having ourselves composed
 “ a war, which it was not in their power to dispel; and we
 “ shall shew ourselves to be the true descendants of those
 “ women, who, by their own interposition, put an end to
 “ the war, in which Romulus, and the Sabines were engaged;
 “ and, by reconciling both the commanders, and the nations,
 “ raised this city, from a small beginning, to its present
 “ greatness. It is a glorious attempt, Veturia, to recover
 “ your son, to free your country, to save your fellow-
 Vol. III. Y y “ citizens,

“ citizens, and leave an immortal glory to posterity. Grant
“ us this favor with chearfulness, and alacrity, and hasten
“ your departure, Veturia: For the danger is swift, and
“ admits neither deliberation, nor delay.”

XLI. Having said this, and shed many tears, she was
silent; and the other women lamenting also, and adding
many intreaties, Veturia, after a short pause, and weeping,
said; “ You fly to a weak, and slender hope, Valeria, the
“ assistance of us wretched women, who love, indeed,
“ our country, and desire the preservation of our fellow-
“ citizens, however they may deserve it; but want the
“ strength, and power to do what we desire. Marcius is
“ averse to us, Valeria, from the time the people passed that
“ severe sentence against him; and hates his whole family,
“ together with his country. This we can assure you of, as
“ of a thing we know from Marcius himself, and from no
“ other person: For, when, after his condemnation, he
“ came home conducted by his friends, and found us in
“ distress, and clad in mourning, with his children upon our
“ knees, lamenting with reason, and bewailing the unhappy
“ fate, to which the loss of him would, now, expose us, he
“ stood at a small distance; his eyes were like Those of a
“ statue, without tears, and without motion; Mother, says
“ he, and you, Volumnia, the best of women, you have lost
“ Marcius; he is expelled the city by his fellow-citizens,
“ because he was a brave man, and a lover of his country,
“ and sustained many contests for her sake; do you bear
“ this calamity, like women of worth, without descending
“ to

“ to any unbecoming, any ungenerous action ; and educate
 “ these children, the consolation of my absence, in a manner
 “ worthy both of me, and of their birth ; and, when they
 “ are grown up, may the gods grant them ²⁹ better fortune
 “ than their father, and not less virtue : Farewell ; I now
 “ depart, and leave a city, in which there is, no longer, any
 “ room for a good man ; and you, my household gods, and
 “ my paternal altar, and you genius’s, who preside over this
 “ place, farewell. After he had said this, we, unfortunate
 “ women, gave way to those lamentations, which our distress
 “ suggested ; and, beating our breasts, hung about him to
 “ receive his last embraces ; I had, then, the eldest of these
 “ his sons by the hand, and the youngest his mother carried
 “ in her arms : But he turned from us ; and, thrusting us
 “ back, said ; Marcius, from this time, shall neither be your
 “ son, mother, my country having deprived you of the sup-
 “ port of your age ; nor your husband, Volumnia, from
 “ this day, may you be happy in another, more fortunate
 “ than I am ! Neither shall I be your father, most dear

²⁹ Τυχὴν μὲν κρείττεναι τὴ πατρὸς, ἀρετὴν δὲ μὴ χεῖροναι. It is very ungenerous in the French translators to translate the notes in Hudson, word for word, without the least acknowledgement to the commentators, from whom they took them. This I have, often, taken notice of ; and am sorry they give me so frequent occasions to take notice of it. Here, le Jay has translated a note of Casaubon, who observes that our author has imitated Sophocles upon this

occasion : Casaubon has not said in what tragedy of that poet these verses are to be found : However, they are in his Ἀἶας μασιγοφερός, where Ajax says to his son :

ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πάρος εὐτυχέστερος,
 Τὰ δ’ ἀλλ’ ὅμοιος· καὶ γένει’ ἀνὴρ κακός.

The reader will observe that this passage of our author is very far from being a close imitation of Sophocles.

* §. 550.

Y y 2

“ children,

“ children ; but I must leave you orphans, and destitute,
 “ to be brought up by these women, till you are men.
 “ Having said this, he went out of the house alone, without
 “ taking any care of his domestic affairs, giving any orders, or
 “ saying whither he was going, without a servant, without
 “ money, and without taking from his own fortunes, wretch-
 “ ed man, enough for the support even of one day. This is
 “ the fourth year, since he was banished ; and, during that
 “ time, he has looked upon us all as strangers, neither
 “ writing, nor sending to us, nor desiring to hear any thing
 “ concerning us. On a mind so formed, so hard and in-
 “ flexible, Valeria, what influence can we, by our intreaties
 “ have, from whom, when he left his house for the last time,
 “ he withheld his embraces, his tenderness, and every other
 “ mark of affection ?

XLII. “ But, if you desire even this, ladies, and are, ab-
 “ solutely, resolved to see us act this unbecoming part,
 “ imagine that I, and Volumnia, with these children, present
 “ ourselves before him : In what manner shall I, his mother,
 “ first address him ? What intreaty shall I employ to my
 “ son ? Tell me, and teach me what I am to say. Shall I
 “ exhort him to spare his fellow-citizens, by whom, though
 “ innocent, he was expelled his country ? That he should
 “ be merciful, and compassionate to the plebeians, from
 “ whom he found neither mercy, nor compassion ? That he
 “ should abandon, and betray those, who received him,
 “ when an exile ; and, notwithstanding the many dreadful
 “ calamities he had inflicted on them, treated him, not
 “ with

“ with the hatred of an enemy, but with the benevolence
 “ of friends, and relations ? What sentiments must I enter-
 “ tain to desire my son to love those who have ruined him,
 “ and to injure those who have preserved him ? This is not
 “ the language of a sensible mother to her son, nor of a
 “ confederate wife to her husband. Compel us not, ladies,
 “ to desire those things of him, that are neither just with
 “ regard to men, nor pious with regard to the gods ; but
 “ suffer us miserable women to continue in the low condi-
 “ tion, to which Fortune has reduced us, without exposing
 “ ourselves, still more, by an unbecoming behaviour.”

XLIII. After she had done speaking, there was so great a lamentation of the women who were present, and the house resounded with cries so loud, that the noise was heard through great part of the city, and the streets, near the house, were filled with a concourse of people. Then Valeria again urged, with greater warmth, many long and affecting intreaties, and all the rest of the women, who had any connexion of friendship, or relation with either of them, continued pressing them, and laying hold on their knees : So that, Veturia, unable to resist their lamentations, and reiterated intreaties, yielded, and promised to undertake the embassy in favor of her country, accompanied by the wife of Marcius, and his children, and by as many Roman matrons, as were willing to join them. The ladies rejoiced exceedingly at this, and invoked the gods to accomplish their hopes ; then, going out of the house, informed the consuls of every thing that had passed : These, having commended
 their

their zeal, assembled the senate, and called upon the senators to deliver their opinions, separately, whether they ought to suffer the women to go upon this embassy. Several speeches were made, upon this occasion, by many of the senators ; and they continued till the evening in great perplexity : For some alledged that, to suffer the women with their children to go to the enemy's camp, was to expose the city to no small danger ; since, if the Volsci should, in contempt of the established rights of ambassadors, and suppliants, not think fit, afterwards, to dismiss them, the city would be taken without a stroke. And these advised not to suffer any other women to go, but Those, who were related to Marcius, together with his children. Others were of opinion that not even these should be suffered to go ; but that they ought to keep them safe, and esteem them as effectual pledges to secure the city from any outrageous attempt of the enemy. But others advised to give leave to all the women, who desired it, to go upon this occasion ; with this view, that the relations of Marcius might intercede in favor of their country with the greater dignity : And, to preserve them from all danger, they said, they would have for their sureties, first, the gods, the protectors of suppliants ; and, then, the man himself, to whom they were going, whose life was pure, and free from every stain of injustice, and impiety. At last, the opinion allowing the women to go carried it, greatly to the praise both of the senate, and of Marcius : Of the first, for their prudence in forming the best judgement of this incident, and in foreseeing what would happen,

happen, without being deterred by so great a danger : And of Marcius, for his piety, who, though an enemy, was thought incapable of any thing impious towards the weak part of the city, when he should have them in his power. After the decree was drawn up, the consuls went to the forum ; and, assembling the people, it being now dark, informed them of the contents of it ; giving orders, at the same time, that all of them should, early the next morning, present themselves at the gates, to attend the women when they went out ; and assured the people they would take care of every thing, that was necessary.

XLIV. When it was near break of day, the women went with torches to the house of Veturia, leading their children ; and, taking her with them, proceeded to the gates. In the mean time, the consuls, having prepared mules, chariots, and many other carriages, conducted them a considerable way. The women were followed by the senators, and many other citizens, who, by their vows, commendations, and prayers, gave a lustre to the procession. As soon as they were discovered at a distance by those in the camp, Marcius sent some horse, with orders to inquire what multitude it was, that advanced from the city, and what was the cause of their coming : And, being informed by them that the wives of the Romans, together with their children, were coming to him, and that they were preceded by his mother, his wife, and his sons, he was, at first, astonished at the assurance of the women, in resolving to come with their children into an enemy's camp, unattended by men, without any regard to the
modesty

modesty becoming women of free condition, and virtue, which forbids them to be seen by strangers, and without apprehending the danger, which they exposed themselves to, if his soldiers, preferring their interest to justice, should think fit to make a profit, and advantage of them. But, when they approached, he resolved to go out of the camp, with a few of his men, and to meet his mother ; having ordered his lictors to lay aside the axes, which are, usually, carried before generals ; and, when he came near his mother, to lower the rods. This is a custom observed by the Romans, when inferior magistrates meet Those, who are their superiors, which continues to this day. In obedience to this custom, Marcius, as going to present himself before a superior power, laid aside all the ensigns of his own dignity. So great was his veneration, and piety to his parent.

XLV. When they came near to one another, his mother, first, advanced to salute him. Her mourning apparel, and her eyes swimming in tears, rendered her an object of great compassion : Whom when Marcius saw, who, till then, had shewn an insensibility, and firmness superior to all impressions of grief, he became, no longer, master of his resolution, but was hurried, by his affections, into sentiments of humanity ; and, embracing her, used the most tender appellations ; and, for a long time, continued weeping ; and cherished, and supported her while she was fainting, and sinking to the ground : After he had satisfied his tenderness to his mother, he embraced his wife, and children, and said ;
 “ Volumnia, you have acted the part of a good wife, in
 “ living

“ living with my mother ; and, by not abandoning her in
 “ her solitude, you have done me the greatest of all favors.”
 After this, he took both his children in his arms ; and,
 having embraced them with the tenderness of a father, he
 turned, again, to his mother, and begged her to let him
 know what she came to desire of him. His mother answered,
 that she would acquaint him with it in public, since she
 had nothing criminal to request of him ; and desired him
 to give her audience in the same place, in which he used
 to administer justice to the people. Marcius, willingly,
 accepted the proposal, not doubting but he should be able,
 with numberless reasons, to defeat the intercession of his
 mother ; and he looked upon it, at the same time, as an
 honourable proceeding to give his answer in public. When
 he came to the general’s tribunal, the first thing he did was
 to order the lictors to remove the seat that stood there, and
 to place it on the ground ; as thinking it unbecoming in
 him to sit in a higher place than his mother, or to make a
 shew of any power where she was. Then, causing the most
 considerable of the generals, and the other officers to sit by
 him, and permitting every one, who was willing, to be pre-
 sent, he desired his mother to speak.

XLVI. Upon which, Veturia, having placed the wife of
 Marcius, with his children, and the most distinguished of
 the Roman matrons near her, first wept, fixing her eyes on
 the ground for a considerable time, and raised great com-
 passion in all present ; then, recovering herself, she said ;
 “ These ladies, Marcius, my son, alarmed at the insults, and

“ every other calamity they will be exposed to, if the enemy
“ shall become masters of Rome, and despairing of all other
“ assistance, since you gave haughty, and severe answers
“ to their husbands when they desired peace, accompanied
“ with their children, and dressed in this mourning apparel,
“ have fled for refuge to me your mother, and to Volumnia
“ your wife; and intreated us not to suffer them to be
“ afflicted with the greatest of all human evils by your
“ means, since they have never done us the least injury;
“ but, on the contrary, have shewn great benevolence to us
“ in our prosperity, and compassion in our adversity: For
“ we can testify in their favor that, since your departure,
“ when we were left desolate, and reduced to the lowest
“ condition, they, constantly, visited us under our misfortunes,
“ and condoled with us: In remembrance, therefore, of
“ these things, neither did I myself, nor your wife, who lives
“ with me, reject their supplication; but, as they desired,
“ we submitted to come to you, and intercede in favor of
“ our country.”

XLVII. While she was yet speaking, Marcius interrupted her, and said; “ Mother, you are come to desire impossibilities, in requiring me to betray to those, who have driven me out of their country, a nation, that has received me; and, to those, who have deprived me of all my fortunes, a people, who have conferred on me the greatest of human advantages; and to whom, when I accepted this command, I gave my faith, and called upon the gods, and genius’s, as sureties for my sincerity, that I would
“ neither

“ neither betray their commonwealth, nor make peace
 “ without the consent of the whole nation. Induced, there-
 “ fore, by the veneration I pay to the gods, by whom I
 “ have sworn, and by the respect I bear to the men, to
 “ whom I have pledged my faith, I shall continue to make
 “ war upon the Romans to the last: But, if they will restore
 “ to the Volsci the lands, of which they have possessed
 “ themselves by force, receive them into the number of their
 “ friends, and communicate to them the same equality of
 “ all rights they have conferred on the Latines, I will
 “ put an end to the war; otherwise, not. Return, therefore,
 “ ladies, and acquaint your husbands with these things, and
 “ persuade them not to take delight in the unjust possession
 “ of what belongs to others; but to be contented, if they
 “ are suffered to enjoy their own; nor, in confidence of
 “ their having possessed themselves of the Volscian territories
 “ by arms, to stay till they are again deprived of them by
 “ arms: For the conquerors will not be satisfied with reco-
 “ vering their own, but will, also, think themselves intitled
 “ to all, that belongs to the conquered. However, if they
 “ persist in their haughtiness, and resolve to run all hazards,
 “ rather than part with what they have no right to, impute
 “ to them all the miseries that will befall them, not to
 “ Marcius, to the Volsci, nor to any others. And I beg of
 “ you, mother, in my turn, your son begs of you, not to
 “ invite him to wicked, and unjust actions; not to espouse
 “ the cause of those men, who are the most implacable both
 “ to me, and to yourself; nor to look upon those, as your
 “ enemies,

“ enemies, who are your greatest friends: But live with me,
“ as it is reasonable you should, reside in the same country
“ where I reside, and in the same house; enjoy my honors,
“ share in my glory, and look upon my friends, and ene-
“ mies, as your own: Lay aside this mourning, which my
“ banishment induced you, miserable woman, to put on,
“ and cease to torment me with this habit: For all other
“ advantages have been conferred on me both by the gods,
“ and men, above my hopes, and above my wishes: But
“ the disquiet I have felt for you, whose age I have not
“ cherished in return for all your pains, has taken such pos-
“ session of my mind, as to embitter my life, and render all
“ these blessings of no use to me: Whereas, if you will
“ espouse my interest, and partake of every thing I enjoy,
“ I shall, then, want no happiness, which human nature is
“ capable of.”

XLVIII. When he had ended, Veturia, after a short pause, which lasted till the great, and iterated applauses of the assembly ceased, spoke to him as follows; “ Neither do
“ I myself desire you, Marcius, my son, to betray the Volsci,
“ who received you when an exile; and, among other
“ honors, intrusted you with the command of their army;
“ or that, contrary to your agreement, and to the oaths you
“ swore to them, when you accepted that command, you
“ should put an end to the war by your own authority
“ without the consent of the whole nation: Neither should
“ you imagine that the gods have so far deprived your mother
“ of her senses, as to make her capable of exhorting her dear,
“ and

“ and only son to shameful, and wicked actions: All that
 “ I desire of you is, that you will lay down your arms by a
 “ general consent, after you shall have persuaded the Volsci
 “ to use moderation with regard to the terms of the treaty;
 “ and to make such a peace, as shall be honourable and
 “ advantageous to both nations: This may be done, if you
 “ will make a truce for a year, and, now, withdraw your
 “ forces. In the mean time, you may, by sending, and re-
 “ ceiving embassadors, effect a real peace, and a firm accom-
 “ modation. And be assured that the Romans will be in-
 “ duced by persuasion, and exhortation to submit to any
 “ thing, that is neither impossible, nor dishonourable: But,
 “ if you attempt to compel them, which is the method you,
 “ now, think fit to use, they will not grant any favors to you
 “ whatever, as you may learn from many other instances,
 “ but particularly, from the concessions they, lately, made to
 “ the Latines, after they laid down their arms. The Volsci
 “ are grown extremely haughty, which, usually, happens to
 “ those, who have great success; but, if you will give them
 “ to understand that any peace is preferable to war; that a
 “ voluntary agreement between friends is more lasting than
 “ concessions extorted by necessity; that it is the part of
 “ wise men, when their affairs seem prosperous, to use their
 “ good fortune with economy; and, when they are in a
 “ distressed, and unfortunate situation, to submit to nothing
 “ that is ungenerous. If you make use of these, and other
 “ arguments, calculated to inspire sentiments of humanity,
 “ and moderation, which you, who have the management
 “ of

“ of civil affairs, are best acquainted with, they will, volun-
 “ tarily, descend from their present exaltation, and give you
 “ power to do every thing, which you shall judge most con-
 “ ducive to their interest: But, if they oppose you; and,
 “ elated with the advantages they have gained by your means,
 “ and under your command, as if they were always to last,
 “ refuse to admit your reasons, resign the command publicly;
 “ and make yourself neither a traitor to those, who have trusted
 “ you, nor an enemy to those, who are nearest to you: For
 “ both are impious. These are the favors I am come to ask
 “ of you, Marcius, my son, which are neither impossible to
 “ be granted, as you say; neither do they imply any con-
 “ sciousness of injustice, or impiety.

XLIX. “ But, it seems, you are afraid, if you do what I
 “ advise, of incurring the infamy of ingratitude to your
 “ benefactors, who received you, when you were their enemy,
 “ and communicated to you all the advantages, which their
 “ natural born citizens are intitled to: For these are the
 “ things you are, ever, magnifying. And have you not
 “ made them many illustrious returns? And, by the instances
 “ you have given them of your gratitude, which are bound-
 “ less both in their extent, and number, exceeded their
 “ favors? They placed their whole satisfaction, and greatest
 “ happiness in being suffered to enjoy their liberty: You
 “ have, not only, secured them in the possession of it, but
 “ enabled them, already, to deliberate whether it is more
 “ for their interest to subvert the power of the Romans, or
 “ to partake of it, by forming a commonwealth, in which
 “ both

“ both nations will have an equal share. I say nothing of
 “ the spoils, with which you have adorned their cities, nor of
 “ the immense riches you have bestowed upon those, who
 “ accompanied you in your expeditions. When they have
 “ been thus aggrandized by you, and raised to such pro-
 “ sperity, do you think they will not rest satisfied with the
 “ advantages they possess, but be angry with you, and ex-
 “ asperated, if you do not, also, pour out, by their hands,
 “ the blood of your fellow-citizens? For my part, I do not
 “ think so. There, yet, remains one point for me to speak
 “ to, which, if you judge of it by your reason, will have
 “ great weight with you; but, if by your passion, none:
 “ This relates to the unjust hatred you bear to your country;
 “ which was neither in a state of health, nor governed by
 “ her established laws, when she pronounced that unjust
 “ sentence against you, but distempered, and tossed in a
 “ violent tempest; neither did all the people concur in it;
 “ the worst part of them only, misled by evil leaders, de-
 “ claring themselves against you. But, if, not only, the
 “ worst of the citizens, but all the rest had concurred in
 “ your condemnation, and you had been banished by them,
 “ as a promoter of measures not of the best sort; even in
 “ that case, it did not become you to bear any resentment
 “ against your country: For the same thing has, also, hap-
 “ pened to many others, who pursued the best measures;
 “ and there are few, whose virtue, though acknowledged,
 “ has not been exposed to the unjust envy of their fellow-
 “ citizens: But all generous men bear these calamities like
 “ men,

“ men, and with moderation; and remove to other cities,
 “ in which they live without giving offence to their country.
 “ This was the conduct of Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus
 “ (a domestic example, and proper for you to imitate) the
 “ same person, who assisted in delivering his country from
 “ the tyrants; and, being, afterwards, accused of engaging
 “ in the conspiracy to restore them, and, for that reason,
 “ banished, he retained no resentment against those, who
 “ had banished him, neither did he invade his country in
 “ conjunction with the tyrants, nor suffer his actions to prove
 “ the truth of that charge; but, retiring to Lavinium, our
 “ mother city, he spent the remainder of his life there, and
 “ continued an affectionate friend to his country.

L. “ However, let all, who have suffered great injuries,
 “ be allowed not to distinguish whether those, who have
 “ injured them, are friends, or enemies, but to extend their
 “ anger alike to all; even in that case, have you not taken
 “ a sufficient revenge on such as abused you, by laying waste
 “ the best part of their country, by sacking the towns of their
 “ allies, which they had acquired with great labor, and
 “ reducing them, now for the third year, to a great want of
 “ all necessaries? But you carry your wild, and mad revenge
 “ so far, as to desire even to enslave them, and subvert their
 “ city. You shewed no regard either to the persons deputed
 “ to you by the senate, men of worth, and your friends,
 “ who came to offer you your pardon, and leave to return
 “ to your family; or to the priests, whom the common-
 “ wealth sent last to you, whose age deserved respect,
 “ as

“ as well as the holy garlands of the gods, which they bore
 “ in their hands ; but these, also, you rejected, and gave
 “ haughty, and imperious answers to them, as to a con-
 “ quered enemy. For my part, I cannot commend these
 “ severe, and overbearing pretensions, which exceed the
 “ bounds of human nature, since I observe that supplications,
 “ and prayers, when the injurer flies to the injured with
 “ humility, have been found out as a refuge for all men,
 “ and a deprecation of their mutual offences ; a custom
 “ established by the gods for our imitation : By those all
 “ anger is softened, and, instead of hating our enemy, we
 “ pity him : But I observe, also, that the haughty, and all
 “ who insult over the prayers of their suppliants, incur the
 “ indignation of the gods, and come to a miserable end :
 “ For the gods themselves, who first instituted, and delivered
 “ to us these laws, forgive the offences of men, and are,
 “ easily, reconciled ; and many there are, who, after they
 “ had, greatly, offended them, have appeased their anger
 “ by prayers, and sacrifices : Unless you are of opinion,
 “ Marcius, that the anger of the gods ought to be mortal ;
 “ but That of men, immortal. You, therefore, will act with
 “ justice, and in a manner that becomes you, if you for-
 “ give the offences of your country, who repents, desires to
 “ be reconciled, and restores to you every thing she has
 “ taken from you.

LI. “ But, if you are irreconcilable to her, grant this
 “ honor, and favor to me, from whom you have received
 “ benefits not of the least value, which none else can claim,

“ and such as are of the greatest consideration, and esteem,
“ and with which you have acquired every thing else you
“ are possessed of, I mean, your body, and your mind :
“ These are debts you owe to me, which no place, no time
“ can ever deprive me of; neither can the favors of the
“ Volsci, or of all the rest of mankind, however extensive,
“ so far prevail, as to efface, and surpass, the rights of nature ;
“ but you will be ever mine; and you will owe to me,
“ preferably to all others, the favor of life, and you will oblige
“ me in every thing I desire, without alledging any excuse :
“ For this is a right, which the law of nature has prescribed
“ to all, who partake of sense, and reason. Confiding in
“ this law, Marcius, my son, I beg of you not to make war
“ upon your country; and, if you offer violence, I oppose
“ you: Either, therefore, first, sacrifice with your own hand
“ to the Furies your mother, who opposes you, and, then,
“ begin the war against your country; or, trembling at the
“ crime of parricide, yield to your mother, and grant, my
“ son, this favor willingly. Supported, and assisted by this
“ law, which no time has ever repealed, I do not think fit,
“ Marcius, to be alone deprived by you of the honors I am
“ intitled to under it. But, to omit this law, remember the
“ good offices you have received from me, and consider how
“ many, and how great they are: You were left an orphan
“ by your father, and an infant, when I took you under
“ my care; for your sake, I continued a widow, and under-
“ went the trouble of bringing you up, shewing myself
“ not only a mother to you, but also a father, a nurse, a
“ sister,

“ sister, and every thing, that is most endearing. When
 “ you were a man, and it was in my power to be freed from
 “ these cares by marrying another, to breed up other chil-
 “ dren, and prepare for myself the hopes of many supports of
 “ my old age, I would not do it, but remained in the same
 “ house, and contented myself with the same course of life ;
 “ placing all my pleasures, and all my advantages in you
 “ alone : Of these you have disappointed me, partly against
 “ your will, and partly of your own accord, and have made
 “ me the most wretched of all mothers. What time have I
 “ passed, since I brought you up to manhood, without grief,
 “ or fear ? Or when had I a chearful mind on your account,
 “ seeing you, always, undertaking wars upon wars, engag-
 “ ed in battles upon battles, and receiving wounds upon
 “ wounds ?

LII. “ But, since you had a share in the government,
 “ and in the administration of public affairs, your mother,
 “ perhaps, has enjoyed some pleasure by your means: Then
 “ was I most unhappy, seeing you deeply engaged in a
 “ party. For those very measures, which you seemed to
 “ pursue with applause, in opposing the plebeians with so
 “ much spirit in favor of the aristocracy, filled me with fear,
 “ when I considered that ³⁰ human events stand upon a

³⁰ Τον ἀνθρώπινον βίον. Both the Latin translators have rendered this, *vita humana* ; in which they have been followed by the French translators. Βίος is a word of a very extensive signification in Greek: It signifies, among

other things, *human events* ; which is the sense I have given to this passage : And in this sense it is used by ¹ Thucydides; when, speaking of the Athenians after their miscarriage in Sicily, he says; *εἰ δὲ τί ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ΤΟΤ ΒΙΟΥ*

¹B. viii. c. 24.

“ point ; and knew, by the many instances I had heard, and
 “ seen, that some divine wrath, always, opposes illustrious
 “ men, or human envy attacks them : And the event has
 “ too well justified my prediction. The envy of your fellow-
 “ citizens ³¹ rushed on you, like a torrent, and carried you
 “ far from your country. From this time, my life (if I
 “ may call it so, since you departed leaving me desolate with
 “ these children) has been spent in this wretched condition,
 “ and in this mourning apparel. In return for all these
 “ things, I, who was never uneasy to you, nor ever shall be
 “ while I live, ask this favor of you, that you will, at last,
 “ be reconciled to your fellow-citizens, and lay aside your
 “ implacable anger against your country. The favor I ask
 “ will prove an advantage to us both, and not to me alone :
 “ For, if you hearken to me, and commit no irreparable
 “ crime, you will enjoy a mind pure, and free from all
 “ apprehensions of the divine anger ; and my life will be
 “ rendered happy by the honor I shall receive from my
 “ fellow-citizens of both sexes while I live ; and that honor,
 “ when it shall be paid to my memory, as it may well be

παραλογοις εσφαλησαν. Our author
 seems to have had a thought of “ Ho-
 mer in his eye, though he has given
 it a different dress : After the Tro-
 jans had approached the navy of the
 Greeks with their victorious troops,
 Nestor says to Diomed,

Νυν γαρ δη παντεςσιν επι ξυρος ισταται ακμης.
 The sense of which, Pope has, very
 well, expressed ;

*Each single Greek, in this conclusive strife,
 Stands on the sharpest edge of death, or life.*

³¹ Επιρραξας—ανηρασεν. Neither
 the Latin, nor the French translators
 have preserved the force of these words
 in their versions. They are, plainly,
 relative to a torrent ; and are the same,
 which the best Greek writers make use
 of in speaking of a torrent.

“ expected, after I am dead, will cause my name to be for
 “ ever celebrated : And, if there is any place appointed for
 “ the reception of human souls, after they are disengaged
 “ from the body, that subterraneous, and gloomy place, the
 “ habitation, as it is said, of the unfortunate, will not receive
 “ mine, nor the field of Lethe, as it is called ; but the
 “ exalted, and pure ether, where, they say, those, who are
 “ descended from the gods, lead a happy, and a blessed life ;
 “ to whom she will relate your piety, and the favors, with
 “ which you adorned her, and, always, beg of the gods to
 “ make you some illustrious returns.

LIII. “ But, if you treat your mother with indignity, and
 “ send her away with dishonor, what sufferings you may
 “ draw upon yourself for this, I shall not pretend to say ;
 “ but I foresee nothing happy : However, this I know, that,
 “ should you, even, be fortunate in every thing else, for I
 “ will suppose this, the pain occasioned by me, and my
 “ afflictions, will persecute you, never give rest to your
 “ mind, and render your life insensible of every pleasure :
 “ For Veturia, after this cruel, and irreparable ignominy
 “ received before so many witnesses, will not bear to live a
 “ moment : But I will kill myself in the presence of all
 “ these, both friends, and enemies, and bequeath to you, in
 “ my room, a dreadful imprecation, and dire Furies to be
 “ my avengers. May there be no occasion for this, O gods,
 “ who guard the Roman empire ; but inspire Marcius with
 “ sentiments of piety, and honor : And, as, just now at my
 “ approach, he ordered the axes to be laid aside, the rods
 “ to

“ to be lowered, and his seat to be taken from the tribunal,
“ and placed on the ground ; and, of all the other ensigns,
“ that are the usual ornaments of absolute magistracy, some
“ he lessened, and others he quite removed, with an inten-
“ tion to make it manifest to all, that he had a right to
“ command others, and his mother to command him : So
“ may he, now also, make me honoured, and conspicuous ;
“ and, by remitting our common country at my request,
“ instead of the most unfortunate, render me the most
“ fortunate, of all women. If it was becoming, and lawful
“ for a mother to throw herself at the feet of her son, even
“ to this, and every other posture, and office of humility
“ would I submit, to save my country.”

LIV. Having said this, she threw herself upon the ground ; and, embracing the feet of Marcius with both her hands, she kissed them : As soon as she fell prostrate, all the women cried out together, uttering a loud, and long lamentation. Even the Volsci, who were present at the assembly, could not bear the unusual sight, but turned away their eyes. And Marcius himself, leaping from his seat, took his mother in his arms ; and, raising her up from the ground scarce breathing, he embraced her, and with many tears said ;
“ O mother, you have gained a victory, that will prove
“ fatal both to yourself, and me : For you have saved your
“ country, but ruined me your pious, and affectionate son.”
After he had said this, he went to his tent, and desired his mother, his wife, and his children to follow him ; where he passed the rest of the day in considering with them, what
was

was to be done : And the resolutions they came to were these : That the senate should lay nothing before the people relating to his return, nor these pass any vote concerning it, till all the articles of friendship, and peace should be settled with the Volsci : That Marcius should withdraw his forces, and march through the Roman territories, as through the territories of his allies : And, after he had given an account to the Volsci of his conduct in the command of their army, and displayed the services he had done them, that he should desire those, who had intrusted him with that command, by all means to admit their enemies into the number of their friends, to conclude a treaty with them founded on justice, and to commission him to take care that the terms of that treaty were equal to both nations, and not insidious : But if, elated with pride from their late successes, they rejected an accommodation, that he should resign the command. For they concluded that the Volsci would either not bear the thoughts of chusing another commander for want of a good general ; or, if they did run the hazard of giving the command of their forces to any other, their great loss would teach them to pursue such measures, as should be to their advantage. These were the subjects of their consideration, and these their resolutions ; which they looked upon to be just, pious, and reputable, the point Marcius had most at heart. But they were alarmed with a suspicion, mixed with fear, lest the thoughtless multitude, now buoyed up with the opinion of having, already, conquered the enemy, should resent the disappointment in an outrageous

rageous manner ; and, in consequence of that resentment, put him to death with their own hands, as a traitor, without giving him time to say any thing in his defence. However, they determined to submit even to this, or to any other danger still more formidable, which they might be exposed to in performing their engagement with fidelity. And, when it was near sun set, they embraced one another, and went out of the tent : After which, the women returned to the city. Then Marcius, assembling his troops, laid before them the reasons, which had induced him to put an end to the war ; and used many intreaties with his soldiers both to forgive him, and, when they returned home, to protect him from the violence of their fellow-citizens, in remembrance of the benefits they had received from him : And, having said many other things to engage them in his defence, he ordered them to prepare themselves to decamp the following night.

LV. When the Romans heard that the danger was over (for the report of it was brought to Rome before the arrival of the women) they ran out of the city with great joy to meet them ; and, embracing them, sung triumphal songs ; and all in general, and every one in particular, shewed all those signs of exultation, which men, who emerge out of great dangers to unexpected felicity, express both in their words, and actions. That night, therefore, they passed in feasts, and rejoicings. The next day, the senate, being assembled by the consuls, resolved to postpone the honors designed to be conferred on Marcius to a more proper season :

But

But ordered that praise should, immediately, be given to the women, in return for their zeal; which praise should be perpetuated to posterity by a public inscription; and such a reward, as to the women, who were to receive it, should appear most grateful and honourable. These, after consultation, resolved not to ask any invidious gift, but to desire the senate would give them leave to erect a temple to Female Fortune ³² in the same place, where they had interceded for their country; and that they might assemble, and perform annual sacrifices to her on the day they had put an end to the war. And the senate, and people decreed that an ³³ area should be purchased with the public money, and consecrated to the goddess, and that, upon it, a temple, and an altar should be erected in such a manner, as the pontifs

³²· Εν ᾧ τὰς περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαντο λίαν χωρίω. Portus has mistaken this passage, both in his translation, and in his note referring to it, in which he reads ποιησαντο, for ἐποίησαντο. This Sylburgius has observed, and, with great sagacity, substituted χωρίω in the room of χωρίς; which alteration is justified by the Vatican manuscript, though it is plain he had never seen it: Sylburgius, also, shews from a passage in Valerius Maximus, that the *templum Fortunae muliebris*, erected upon this occasion, stood near the Latin way, four miles from Rome: The words of ^w Valerius Maximus are as follows: *Fortunae etiam Muliebris simulacrum, quod est in Viâ Latinâ ad quartum miliarium, eo tempore cum aede suâ consecratum, quo Coriolanum ab excidio*

urbis maternae preces repulerunt: From this passage, Sylburgius concludes that this temple was erected *in the same place*, where the mother of Coriolanus prevailed on her son to spare his country. I agree with him that the temple was erected in the same place; but This I gather from the words of our author, not from the passage he has quoted; because, it is plain, by all the rules of Grammar, that *quo* relates to *eo tempore*, not to *quartum miliarium*. M. * * * has inserted this note of Sylburgius among his own without mentioning his name. Le Jay has translated the same note, and the same mistake.

³³· Τεμενός. See the 102^d annotation on the first book.

^w B. i. c. 8.

should direct, and sacrifices performed at the public expence ; and that a woman, to be chosen by themselves, should begin the sacrifice, and preside in this ceremony. After this decree of the senate, Valeria, who had first proposed the embassy, and prevailed upon the mother of Marcius to concur in it, was appointed priestess by the women. And these offered up the first sacrifice for the people, Valeria presiding, upon the altar raised on the area, before the temple and the statue were erected, in the month of December in the following year, on the day of the new moon, ³⁴ which the

³⁴ Ην Ἕλληνες μὲν νεμηνίαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Καλανθας καλεῖσι. The year, at that time in use among the Romans, was the Pompilian year, instituted by Numa Pompilius, which continued till Julius Caesar reformed it. This year was, properly, luni-solar ; because, though the twelve synodical months, of which it consisted, did not amount to more than 354 days, yet this defect was supplied by intercalary days, by which this lunar year was brought nearly to the solar year : The Greek year also, which, being lunar, consisted of no more than 354 days, was brought to the solar year by an intercalation of seven months in nineteen years, invented by Meton, and, from him, this luni-solar year was called Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. The νεμηνία, or the day of the new moon, was the first day of the month with the Greeks, and the calends the first day of the month with the Romans : These had, also, their nones, and ides ; both which were moveable, and their calends fixed :

As for example ; the nones of March, May, July, and October fell on the seventh days of those months, which nones were, for that reason, called *Nonae septimanae* ; and the nones of all the rest of the months on the fifth days of those months, and were called *Nonae quintanae*. The ides, called so, as ² Macrobius says, from the Tuscan word *iduarē*, which signified *to divide*, were governed by the nones : For, as the ides were nine days after the nones, including both, when the nones happened on the fifth day of the month, the ides fell out on the thirteenth ; and, when the nones were on the seventh, the ides were on the fifteenth. By all this it appears, that the day before the nones of Quintilis (July) was the sixth of that month, as the text has been corrected by Glareanus, and Portus ; and the dedication of this temple stands in the old Roman calendar, I find, on that day, and not on the seventh, as it is in all the editions, and manuscripts. This last

² Sat. i. c. 15.

Greeks call Νῆμηνιαν, and the Romans, *Kalendas*, this being the day, that put an end to the war. The year after the first sacrifice, the temple, built at the expence of the public, was finished, and consecrated, exactly, on the sixth day of the month Quintilis according to the course of the moon; this being, as the Romans compute, the day before the nones of the month Quintilis. The person, who consecrated this temple, was Proculus Virginius, one of the consuls.

LVI. It may be agreeable to the purpose of this history, and conducive to the reformation of those, who think that the gods are neither pleased with the honors they receive from men, nor displeased with impious, and unjust actions, to relate the manifestation this goddess gave of her presence at that time, not once, but twice, as it is recorded in the³⁵ books of the pontifs; to the end that those, who, religiously, adhere to the opinions they have received from their ancestors concerning the gods, may have no cause either to repent of their belief, or ever to change it; and that such, as despise the customs of their forefathers, and

reading, however, has been espoused by M. * * *, though not by le Jay: The former supports it by a very extraordinary supposition in his note upon this passage; he imagines that Dionysius found in the Latin authors, from whom he collected his history, that the temple of *Fortuna muliebris* was dedicated *ante diem nonas Quintilis*, pour marquer le jour des nones, which he translated, literally, into Greek. In the first place, I shall not, readily, allow that Dionysius could have met

with that expression in any good Roman writer for the nones of Quintilis: They would have rather said, I imagine, *nonis*, for the day of the nones, and *pridie nonas*, for the day before. But, whatever expression he might have found in any Roman historian, I am apt to believe that he understood the force of it, better than either that gentleman who condemns him, or I who defend him.

³⁵ Ἱεροφάντων—γενεαί. See the 234th annotation on the first book.

hold that the gods have no power over the designs of men, may, if possible, alter their opinion; but, if they are incurable, that they may become still more odious to the gods, and, consequently, more miserable. It is recorded, therefore, that the senate having ordered that the whole expence both of the temple, and of the statue, should be defrayed by the public; and the women having caused another statue to be made with the money they had contributed among themselves; and both of them being dedicated together on the first day of the consecration of the temple, one of the statues, being That which the women had provided, spoke intelligibly, and loudly, in the Latin tongue, many being present: The words being translated into Greek, the sense of them is this; ³⁶ Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ, γυναῖκες γαμέλαι, δέδωκά με: *Matrons, in due form have you dedicated me.* The women, who were present, as it usually happens in relation to uncommon voices, and sights, would not easily believe that the statue spoke, but took it for some human

³⁶. Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ, etc. Sylburgius has given us the words supposed to have been spoken by this statue in Latin from ^v Valerius Maximus, which are these: *Ritè me, matronae, vidistis, ritèque dedicastis.* Where, *ritè*, explains Ὅσιω πόλεως νόμῳ; *matronae*, γυναῖκες γαμέλαι; and *dedicastis*, δέδωκά με. As for *vidistis*, which is not in our author, I do not think it worth while to inquire how Valerius came to insert that word in his relation of this ridiculous tale. Neither do I think it worth while to

inquire whether this is the first example in history of a speaking statue; if it is, the hint has been, since, improved to very substantial purposes: However, it is a melancholy instance of superstition, or of something worse, both in heathens, and many christians, to alledge such idle stories in proof of a Providence, when every single object in this wonderful frame of nature can supply them with a demonstration of it.

voice ; those, particularly, who happened, at that time, to be thinking of something else, and did not see what it was that spoke, would not believe such as had seen it. Afterwards, when the temple was full, and there happened to be the greatest silence, the same statue pronounced the same words in a louder voice : So that, there was, no longer, any doubt concerning it. The senate, hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices, and rites to be performed every year, in such a manner, as the pontiffs should direct : And the women, by the advice of their priestesses, established it as a custom that no women, who had been twice married, should crown this statue with garlands, or touch it with their hands ; but that the whole honor, and ministry relating to this statue, should be committed to new married women. But, concerning these things, it became me neither to omit a fact recorded by the Roman historians, nor to dwell any longer upon it. I, now, return from whence I digressed.

LVII. After the departure of the women, Marcius decamped with his army by break of day, and marched through the territories of the Romans, as through a friend's country : And, when he came to That of the Volsci, he divided all the booty among his soldiers, without reserving the least thing for himself, and sent them to their respective homes. The troops, who had served under him in his battles, returning loaded with riches, were not displeased with resting from the war ; and, as they loved the man, they thought he deserved to be forgiven for having desisted from prosecuting the war to the last, in compassion to the distress, and
prayers

prayers of his mother. But the young men, who had staid at home, envying the soldiers on account of the great booty they had acquired, and being disappointed in their hopes of seeing the pride of the Romans humbled, when their city should be taken, were exasperated against the general, and full of resentment; and, at last, when they found their hatred countenanced by the men of the greatest power in the nation, they grew wild with rage, and committed an impious action. The person, who contributed not a little to inflame them against Marcius, was Tullus Attius, who was supported by a great faction collected out of every city. This man, who could not command his envy, had, long since, resolved if Marcius succeeded, and, after he had destroyed Rome, returned to the Volsci, to murder him in a private, and insidious manner; or, if he miscarried, and returned without effecting his design, to deliver him over to his faction as a traitor, and put him to death; which was the method he, then, took. And, assembling a considerable number of his people, he accused the man; forming conjectures of false things by true, and of such as were never to come to pass, by those which had already happened; then ordered him to resign his command, and give an account of his conduct: For, as I said before, he was general of the forces, which had been left in the cities; and had power both to assemble the people, and to summon any man he thought fit to a trial.

LVIII. Marcius did not think proper to oppose either of these demands; but objected to their order: For he insisted
that

that he ought, first, to give an account of his conduct in the war ; after which, he consented to resign his command, if all the Volsci should be of that opinion : But he thought that the determination of these points should not be committed to any particular city, of which the greatest part was corrupted by Tullus, but to a legal assembly of the whole nation, to which it was the custom for them to send deputies from every city, when they were to deliberate upon affairs of the greatest importance. This Tullus opposed ; well knowing that a man of his eloquence, when he came to give an account of the many great actions he had performed, if he still retained his dignity of general, would justify his conduct to the multitude ; and be so far from being punished as a traitor, that he would become still more illustrious, be more honoured by them, and authorized, by a general consent, to put an end to the war in such a manner, as he should think proper. This struggle lasted for a considerable time, and was carried on every day in the assemblies, and the forum, with great eagerness by words, and mutual contests : For neither of them could employ force against the other ; because both were defended by the dignity of an equal command. But, there being no end of this contention, Tullus appointed a day for Marcius to resign his command, and take his trial for the treason he stood accused of ; and, having prevailed upon some of the most daring, with the hopes of rewards, to be the ringleaders in the wicked action he meditated, he came to the assembly on the day appointed ; and, placing himself in the tribunal, used many invectives
against

against Marcius, and exhorted the people to depose him by force, if he would not, voluntarily, resign the command.

LIX. Marcius having ascended the tribunal in order to make his defence, the faction of Tullus hindered him from speaking by their clamor; and, upon their crying out, Kill him, Kill him, the most daring surrounded him, and stoned him ³⁷ to death. While he lay stretched upon the ground in the forum, both those, who had been present at this tragedy, and those, who came thither after he was dead, bewailed the misfortune of the man, who had found so ill a return from them, and recounted all the services he had done to the commonwealth, desiring to apprehend the murderers for having set the example of an action illegal in itself, and of pernicious consequence to their cities, in killing a man, and, particularly, their general, by an act of violence, without suffering him to make his defence: But those, who had served under him, shewed the greatest indignation at the usage he had met with; and since, when he was living, they had not been able to prevent his misfortune, they resolved to shew their just acknowledgement to him after he was dead, by bringing into the forum every thing, that was necessary to the honor of a brave man; and, when all things were

³⁷ Αποκλινυυσαι. Livy, also, says that Coriolanus was put to death by the Volsci, in resentment for his having withdrawn his forces from the territories of the Romans; and that others give a different account of his death: But, Fabius, he says, who was by much the most ancient of their

historians, asserts that he lived to a great age; and that, when he was very old, he used, often, to say that exile was the most severely felt by an old man: ² *Refert certe (Fabius) banc sepe eum exactâ aetate usurpasse vocem, Multò miserius seni exilium esse.*

² B. ii. c. 40.

ready,

ready, they clothed him in the habit of a general, and placed him on a bier adorned in a most sumptuous manner; and, causing the booty, the spoils, and the crowns, together with the representations of the towns he had taken, to be carried before him, the young men, who were the most distinguished by their military achievements, took up the bier; and, carrying it to the most considerable part of the suburbs, placed it on a funeral pile, before, prepared for its reception, all the citizens accompanying the body with lamentations, and tears: Then, having killed a great number of victims in honor to him, and offered up all the first offerings that are, usually, made at the funeral piles of kings, or generals, those, who had been most attached to him, remained there, till the flame was extinguished; after which, they gathered together his remains, and buried them in the same place; and, having raised a high mound by the assistance of many hands, they erected a handsome monument.

LX. Such was the catastrophe of Marcius, the greatest general of his age: He was superior to all those pleasures that tyrannize youth; and practised justice not with reluctance, and through fear of the punishment imposed by the law, but voluntarily, and from his natural propensity to it: He did not look upon the not doing an injury to be any part of virtue; and, not only, took care to be exempt from all vice himself, but, also, thought it his duty to compel others to be so too: He was a man of great spirit, and liberality, and most ready to relieve the wants of his friends, as soon as he was informed of them: He was

inferior to none of the aristocratical party in his talents for civil affairs ; and, if the contrary faction had not opposed his measures, the Roman commonwealth would have received the greatest accession of power from them : But it was not possible for all the virtues to meet in the same composition ; neither will there ever appear a man produced from a mortal, and frail original, who is perfect in all things.

LXI. Heaven, therefore, that bestowed these virtues on him, blended them with unhappy defects, and imperfections : For there was no mildness, no cheerfulness in his behaviour ; nor any thing winning in him, when he saluted, and spoke to his acquaintance ; no disposition to be reconciled, or to mitigate his resentment, when he was angry with any one ; nor that grace, which adorns all human actions ; but he was always harsh, and severe. These qualities hurt him in many respects ; but, most of all, his immoderate, and inexorable rigor in supporting justice, and the laws, without the least mixture of clemency : And the ³⁸ opinion of the ancient philosophers seems true, that moral virtues consist

³⁸ Το ὑπο τῶν ἀρχαίων λεγόμενον φιλοσοφῶν. This is the doctrine of ^a Aristotle, which is here, I believe, alluded to, and which he explains in the following manner in his ethics : His position is, that virtue consists in the mean, μέσότης ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρετή : This ^b he illustrates by many examples drawn from the passions, and affections ; in all which το μέσον, *the mean*, is found to be virtuous, and τα ἀκρα, *the extremes*, to be vicious : Thus, Bravery is το μέσον, *the mean* ; Rashness, ἡ

ὑπερβολή, *the excess* ; and Cowardice, ἡ ἐλλείψις, *the deficiency*. Again, Liberality is the mean ; Prodigality, the excess ; and Avarice, the deficiency. Aristotle has applied this doctrine, even, to conversation, where Facetiousness is the mean ; Buffoonry, the excess ; and Rusticity, the deficiency. This is not the first opportunity I have had of shewing how great a deference our author pays to the ethics of Aristotle.

^a B. ii. c. 6.

^b Id. ib. c. 7.

in the mean, and not in the extremes, particularly justice : For she is unprofitable to her possessors, not only, when she does not arrive to this mean, but, also, when she exceeds it ; and, sometimes, the cause of great calamities, and leads to miserable deaths, and irreparable mischiefs : Nothing else but the pursuit of exact, and extreme justice drove Marcius out of his country, and deprived him of all the other enjoyments of life : For, when he ought to have made reasonable concessions to the plebeians, and might, by yielding to their desires in some particulars, have gained the first place in their affections, he would not do it ; but, by opposing them in every thing that was not just, he incurred their hatred, and was banished by them : And, when he had it in his power to resign the command of the Volscian army the moment he had put an end to the war, and to remove to any other place, till his country had granted him leave to return, and not expose himself to the snares of his enemies, and the folly of the multitude ; though he considered all this, he did not think fit to use any of these precautions ; but, esteeming it his duty to present himself before those, who had intrusted him with that command, in order to give an account of his conduct while he was invested with it, and, after he had given that account, if he was found guilty of any crime, to undergo the punishment ordained by the laws, he did not receive the reward, which his extreme justice deserved.

LXII. If therefore, when the body is destroyed, the substance of the soul, whatever that substance may be, perishes
C c c 2
together

together with it, and ceases to exist, I know not how I can conceive those to be happy, who have received no advantage from their virtue; but, on the contrary, have been undone by it: Whereas, if our souls remain for ever incorruptible, as some think, or, if they subsist some time after their separation from the body, Those of good men enjoying the longest, and Those of the wicked the shortest, duration, the applause of the living, and the preservation of their memory to the latest ages, seem to be an honor sufficient for the virtuous, though Fortune was their enemy: Which honor happened to this man: For, not only, the Volsci mourned for his death, and still honor him, as a man of the greatest merit; but the Romans also, when they were informed of his tragical end, looked upon it as a great calamity to their commonwealth, and mourned for him both in private, and in public: And their wives, as their custom is at the death of their nearest relations, laid aside their gold, and purple, and all the rest of their ornaments; and dressing themselves in black, mourned for him a whole year: And near five hundred years being, now, elapsed since his death, his memory is not obliterated, but he is, still, praised and celebrated by all, as a pious, and just man. Thus ended the danger, with which the Romans had been threatened by the invasion of the Volsci, and Aequi, under the command of Marcius; a danger greater than any they had, ever, been exposed to, which had like to have destroyed the whole city from its foundations.

LXIII. A few days after, the Romans took the field with a numerous army commanded by both the consuls ; and, advancing to the confines of their own territories, incamped on two hills, each of the consuls having his camp apart, very strongly situated. However, they returned to Rome without effecting any thing, though fair opportunities were given them by the enemy of performing some gallant action : For, before this, the Volsci, and the Aequi had invaded the Roman territories, resolving not to lose the opportunity ; but to attack them, while they seemed to be, still, in a consternation, supposing that fear would induce them to surrender of their own accord : But, quarrelling among one another about the command, they ran to arms, and engaged without keeping their ranks, or receiving orders, but with all the confusion, and disorder imaginable ; so that, many were killed on both sides : And, if the setting of the sun had not prevented further mischief, both armies had been, utterly, destroyed. Yielding therefore, though unwillingly, to the night, which put an end to the contest, they were parted, and each army retired to their own camp : And, decamping, early the next day, each returned home. The consuls, though informed both by the prisoners they had taken, and by the deserters, who had escaped from the action, of the madness, and fury the enemy had been possessed with, neither took advantage of an opportunity so much to be wished, when they were not distant from them above thirty stadia, nor pursued them in their retreat, in which their own troops being fresh, and following in their ranks,

ranks, might easily have destroyed, to a man, Those of the enemy, that were fatigued, wounded, reduced to a small number, and retiring in disorder. However, the consuls decamped also, and returned to Rome; either contented with the advantage Fortune had given them, or having no confidence in their troops that were undisciplined, or highly satisfied with not having suffered the least loss. But, when they came to Rome, they were treated with great ignominy, and their behaviour was charged with cowardice. And, without undertaking any other expedition, they surrendered their magistracy to their successors.

LXIV. The next year, ³⁹ Caius Aquilius, and Titus Sicinus, both men of experience in war, entered upon the consulship. The senate, after the consuls had proposed to them to consider of the war, ordered that ambassadors should be sent to the Hernici to demand of them, as of their friends and allies, such satisfaction, as they were intitled to by their treaties (for the commonwealth had been injured by them at the time of the invasion of the Volsci, and Aequi, by the robberies they had committed, and the incursions they had made upon that part of the Roman territories, which lay contiguous to theirs) and that, in the mean time, and until they should receive their answers, the consuls should raise all the forces they could, and demand the assistance of their allies by embassies; and, also, that they

³⁹ Γαίος Ακυλίου, και Τίτος Σικίνος. *Fasti consulares*. In ^c Livy, the latter is named T. Sicinius, possibly through a mistake in the transcriber. These consuls are called C. Aquilius Tuscus, and T. Sicinus Sabinus in the

^c B. ii. c. 40.

should

should, by employing a great number of men, prepare corn, arms, money, and all other things, that were necessary for the war, with the greatest expedition. When the embassadors returned from the Hernici, they made their report to the senate of the answers they had received from them; the substance of which was, that they said there never had been any treaty between them, and the Romans in general; that the convention they had made with Tarquinius was dissolved both by his expulsion, and by his death in a foreign country; and that, if any depredations had been committed, or incursions made upon the territories of the Romans by bands of robbers, these did not flow from the general consent of their nation, but from the avarice of particular persons; that it was not even in their power to deliver up to justice the men, who had been guilty of these things; that they themselves, having, also, suffered damages of the same nature, had the same complaints to make; and that they, chearfully, accepted the war. The senate, having heard the report of their embassadors, ordered the youth already raised to be divided into three bodies: And that, with one of them, Caius Aquilius should march against the Hernici (for these were already in arms) That Titus Sicinus, the other consul, should lead the second against the Volsci; and that Spurius Lartius, who had been appointed governor of Rome by the consuls, should, with the third, defend that part of the country, that lay nearest to the city: That those, who were above the military age, but still in a condition to bear arms,

arms, should be disposed under their ensigns, and guard the fortresses of the city, and the walls, to prevent any sudden attempt of the enemy, while all the youth were in the field: And that Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, a consular person, should have the command of these forces. All these orders were soon executed.

LXV. Aquilius therefore, one of the consuls, finding the army of the Hernici waiting for him in the country of the Praenestini, incamped as near to them as he could, at the distance of little more than two hundred stadia from Rome. The third day after he had formed his camp, the Hernici, coming out of theirs, advanced to the plain in order of battle, and gave the signal for the combat: Upon which, the consul marched out to meet them with his army also drawn up, and disposed in their respective divisions: And, when they approached one another, they shouted, and ran to the engagement, which was begun by the light armed men on both sides, who, with darts, arrows, and stones from their slings, gave one another many wounds: Then the horse charged the horse in troops; and the foot engaged the foot in companies: And, now, the battle raged; both armies fighting bravely; and, for a long time, maintaining the ground where they were posted. At length, the first line of the Romans began to give way, this being the first battle they had been engaged in for a long time. Aquilius, observing this, ordered the fresh troops reserved for this very purpose, to take the place of those who were fatigued, and the wounded men, and those who were spent with the labor

labor of the day, to retire to the rear. The Hernici, seeing their troops in motion, imagined the Romans were beginning to fly ; and, animating one another, and closing their files, they fell upon those parts of the enemy's army, that were in motion, and the fresh troops of the Romans received their onset ; and, both fighting resolutely, the battle was, now, renewed with great violence : For the cohorts of the Hernici were also, continually, reinforced with fresh troops sent by their generals, in the room of those, who were fatigued. The evening was now coming on, when the consul, encouraging the horse to exert themselves upon this occasion, put himself at their head, and charged the right wing of the enemy ; who, after a short resistance, gave way, and a great slaughter ensued : While the right wing of the Hernici suffered, and lost ground, the left, still, maintained the fight, and had the advantage over the right wing of the Romans : But, in a short time, That too gave way : For Aquilius, taking with him the bravest of the youth, ran to their assistance also ; and, exhorting his people, and calling upon every man, who used to distinguish himself in former battles, by his name, and snatching the standards of those cohorts, that did not seem to do their duty, from their bearers, he threw them into the midst of the enemy ; that the dread of the punishment ordained by the laws, if they did not recover their standards, might compel them to fight valiantly ; and he himself always relieved every part, that wanted succour, till he forced this wing, also, to give way. Both the flanks being now left naked, even the center did not stand their

ground ; but the Hernici fled to their camp in confusion, and disorder, and the Romans pursued them with great execution. The Roman army fought, that day, with so much eagerness, that some of the men endeavoured even to mount the intrenchments of the enemy's camp, in expectation of taking it by storm ; which attempt the consul observing to be hazardous and unavailing, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and that his men should give over the attack, which they were desirous to continue, fearing lest, by being galled with the missile weapons, which the enemy were, continually, throwing from above, they should be forced to retire with shame, and great loss, and, by that means, deface the glory of their former victory : So that, the Romans, it being now near sun set, returned to their camp rejoicing, and singing songs of triumph.

LXVI. The following night, there was a great noise, and outcry heard in the camp of the Hernici, and the light of many torches seen : For they, despairing of being able to stand another engagement, had resolved to leave their camp of their own motion ; and this was the cause of the disorder, and outcry : Since every man fled with all the strength, and speed he was master of, calling to, and called upon by, one another, without shewing the least regard to the lamentations, and intreaties of those, who were left behind on account of their wounds, or sickness. The Romans, who knew nothing of this, but had, before, been informed by the prisoners that another army of the Hernici was expected to come to the assistance of their countrymen, and imagining
that

that this outcry, and tumult was occasioned by their arrival, took their arms again ; and, lining the intrenchments, lest any attack should be made upon them in the night, sometimes all struck their shields with their swords, and, at others, shouted frequently, as if they were going to engage. All these things alarmed the Hernici, also, to a great degree, who, thinking themselves pursued by the enemy, dispersed, and fled different ways. After it was day, and the horse, sent out to discover the enemy's motions, had reported that no fresh forces were come to their assistance, and that Those they had been engaged with the day before, were fled, Aquilius marched out with his army, and possessed himself of the enemy's camp, which was full of beasts of burden, provisions, and arms ; and there, also, he took their wounded men, not fewer in number than those, who had fled, and, sending the horse in pursuit of such, as had dispersed themselves in the roads, and woods, he made many of them prisoners : Then he overrun the territories of the Hernici, and laid them waste with impunity, none now daring to encounter him. These were the exploits of Aquilius.

LXVII. The other consul, Titus Sicinus, who had been sent against the Volsci with the flower of the army, made an irruption into the country of the Veliterni : For Tullus Attius, the Volscian general, was posted there at the head of a very gallant army, which he had raised with a view first to harass the country of their allies, as Marcius had done when he begun the war, thinking that the Romans, continuing still under the same consternation, would not send any

succours to those, who were exposed to danger for their sake. As soon as the two armies were seen by, and saw, one another, they engaged without delay: The ground between their camps, on which they were obliged to fight, was a rocky hill, surrounded with many broken precipices, where the horse could be of no use to either. The Roman horse, observing this, thought it would be a shame for them to be present at the action, without assisting in it; and, coming to the consul in a body, desired, if he approved of it, that he would permit them to quit their horses, and fight on foot: The consul gave them great commendations; and, ordering them to dismount, drew them up, and kept them about him both to observe what part of the army might want relief, and to relieve it. And these were the cause of the victory the Romans then gained; a victory, that well deserved the great applause it afterwards met with: For the foot, on both sides, were as equal as possible in number, and armed alike, and had no advantage over one another in order, discipline, experience in fighting, in attacks, or retreats, in dealing their blows, or in warding them off: For the Volsci had changed every part of their military discipline, since they had been commanded by Marcius, and adopted the customs of the Romans: So that, the foot in both armies continued fighting most part of the day with equal success, the ground, by its inequality, giving to each many advantages. But the Roman horsemen dividing themselves into two bodies, one of them attacked the enemy's right wing in flank, while the other, going round the hill, charged them in the rear; after which,

which, some of them darted their spears at the Volsci, and others, with their horsemen's swords, which are longer than those of the infantry, flashed the arms, and hams of those they encountered, and cut off the hands of many of them, together with the bucklers, and swords they were holding either to defend themselves, or annoy the enemy; and, by inflicting deep wounds on the knees, and ankles of several, they left them half dead upon the ground, where they had stood, before, with the greatest firmness. And now the Volsci were, on all sides, surrounded with ruin; the foot pressing them in front, and the horsemen on their flank, and in the rear: So that, after having shewn a bravery beyond their strength, and given many proofs of resolution, and experience, their right wing was almost all cut in pieces. When those in the center, and in the other wing, saw their right wing broken, and the Roman horsemen coming up to charge them in the same manner, they caused their ⁴⁰ files to coun-

40. Εξελιξαίτες τὰς λοχὰς. The sense of this expression, is visibly mistaken by the Latin, and French translators: The former have said *explicatis ordinibus*, which M. *** has translated literally, *ils déployent leurs bataillons*. Le Jay has said, *ils font défiler leurs troupes*, which is not much more to the purpose. In order to come at the sense of this expression, we must consult the Greek masters of tactics, and, among the rest, Arrian, who explains the different kinds of the *εξελιγμος*. Without entering into the subdivisions of this evolution, I shall content myself with

mentioning the division of it: The *εξελιγμος* was either *κατὰ λοχὰς*, or *κατὰ ζυγα*: ^d The first is, when the files of a battalion countermarch; and the second, when the ranks do the same. In the first evolution, *ὁ μὲν λοχαγὸς τοὺς κραγὰς μετὰ λαμβάνει τοποῖν, ὁ δὲ κραγὸς τοὺς τὰς λοχαγὸν, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς κατὰ προσώπου ἐπιφανείας ἢ καλοπιν*: Here, the file leaders take the place of the bringers up, and these of the file leaders, and the front becomes the rear: This was the *εξελιγμος*, which our author says the Volsci made use of, to secure their retreat; and a very proper one, no

^d Εἰς τὴν Τάξιν. p. 58. Ed. of Amsterd.

termarch,

termarch, and retired slowly towards their camp, and the horsemen followed in their ranks: And, when they came to the intrenchments, another sharp fight ensued, and the horsemen, in endeavouring to climb over the palisades in different parts of the camp, were repulsed. The consul, seeing the Romans distressed, ordered the foot to bring fascines, and fill up the ditches; and, putting himself at the head of the bravest horsemen, he marched over the passage they had made, to the gate of the camp, that was most fortified; and, having forced the guard, that defended it, and cut asunder the portcullis, he got within the intrenchments, and let in his foot that followed. Here Tullus Attius charged him with the strongest, and bravest of the Volsci; and, after he had performed many gallant actions (for he was a valiant soldier, but not qualified for a general) at last, spent with labor, and the many wounds he had received, he fell dead. After the camp was taken, some of the Volsci died fighting; and others threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conquerors; and a few of them saved themselves by flight, and returned home. When the couriers sent by the consuls arrived at Rome, the people were filled with joy, and, immediately, ordered sacrifices of thanksgiving to be offered to the gods, and decreed the

doubt. I shall just say a word, or two, to explain the other *εξελιγμος*, though it does not properly relate to the expression, now, before us. By the *εξελιγμος καὶ α ζυγα*, the commander *τα δεξια εν τοις ευωνυμοις καθισθησι, η τα*

ευωνυμα εν τοις δεξιαις: Here, the ranks countermarch; that is, one wing of the batalion exchanges its ground with the other; the right wing becomes the left; and the left wing, the right.

honors

honors of a triumph to the consuls; but not the same to both: For, as Sicinus seemed to have freed the commonwealth from the greater fear, by destroying the insulting army of the Volsci, and killing their general, so they granted to him the greater triumph: And he entered the city in a chariot, drawn by horses with golden bridles, he himself being dressed in royal robes, as is usual in the greater triumphs: He was ⁴¹ preceded by the spoils, and the prisoners; and followed by his victorious army. To Aquilius they decreed the lesser triumph, called, by them, *Ovatio*. I have, before, ⁴² shewn the difference between this, and the greater triumph. And this person entered the city on foot, with the other ornaments of the procession. Thus the year ended.

LXVIII. These consuls were succeeded by ⁴³ Proculus Virginus, and Spurius Cassius, then consul for the third time, who took the field with their national forces, and those of their allies. It fell to the lot of Virginus to lead his army

⁴¹ Ἀγων τὰ λαφύρα καὶ τὰς αἰχμαλω-
τας. This word *αγων*, as it is in the
Vatican manuscript, or *εχων*, as it stands
in the editions, is applied to the spoils,
the prisoners, and the army; and yet
it is certain that the triumphal car
was preceded by the spoils first, and
then by the prisoners, and followed by
the army. The ignorance of, or in-
attention to, this particular, has misled
the French translators, and particu-
larly Le Jay: The other has said, *il*
entra dans Rome accompagné de ceux qui
portoient les dépouilles; this rather e-
vades, than explains the difficulty;

which Le Jay is so far from evading,
that he leaves the reader no room to
doubt of his error: *Il entra dans Rome*
au milieu des dépouilles des ennemis, and
traînant après soy un grand nombre de
captifs.

⁴² Δεδεξαίμην μοι. See the fifth book,
chapter 47.

⁴³ Πρωκλος. This consul is call'd
Proculus Virginus both by ^c Livy,
and the *fasti consulares*; for which rea-
son, I have inserted Proculus in the
text, instead of Πρωκλος, which is the
reading of all the editions.

against the Aequi; and to That of Cassius to march against the Hernici, and the Volsci. The Aequi, having fortified their cities, and removed thither out of the country every thing that was most valuable, suffered their lands to be laid waste, and their country houses to be set on fire: So that, Virginius, with great ease, harraſſed, and ſpoiled as much of their country as he thought fit, ſince no one offered to defend it; and, then, returned to Rome with his army. The Volsci, and the Hernici, againſt whom Cassius marched, had reſolved to ſuffer their lands to be laid waſte, and all taken refuge in their cities. However, they did not adhere to their reſolution: But, induced by their regret to ſee the deſolation of a fertil country, which they could not expect eaſily to reſtore to its former condition; and, at the ſame time, diſtrusting the fortifications they had fled to, which were not very ſtrong, they ſent embaſſadors to the conſul to ſue for peace: The Volsci ſent firſt; and firſt obtained their deſires, by furniſhing as much money as the conſul ordered, and every thing elſe the army wanted: And theſe conſented to become ſubject to the Romans, without aiming, any longer, at an equality. After them, the Hernici, finding themſelves left deſtitute, treated with the conſul concerning peace, and friendſhip: But Cassius accuſed them, violently, to their embaſſadors, and ſaid they ought, firſt, to act like men conquered, and ſubjects, and, then, treat of friendſhip. The embaſſadors anſwering that they would do every thing, that was poſſible and reaſonable, he

he ordered them to supply his army ⁴⁴ with money, and with provisions for a month: And to the intent they might raise these supplies with the greater ease on the day appointed, he granted them a truce. The Hernici performing every thing with expedition and alacrity, and sending, again, ambassadors to treat of the peace, Cassius commended them, and referred them to the senate; who, after many deliberations, came to a resolution to receive this people into their friendship: That Cassius should consider, and settle, the terms of the treaty: And that, whatever he approved of, they would ratify.

LXIX. The senate having come to these resolutions, Cassius returned to Rome, and demanded a ⁴⁵ second triumph, as if he had subdued the greatest nations, seizing

⁴⁴ Ἀργυριον τε, ὃ κατ' ἀνδρα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς οὐωνιασμον ΕΘΟΣ ΗΝ μηνων δεδοσθαι. The commentators observe, that the numeral word before μηνων is omitted in the Greek text: But I have an objection against the whole sentence. If οὐωνιασμος is supposed to signify the usual pay of the Roman soldiers, which signification the word will bear, a plain absurdity will follow; since it is very well known that the Roman soldiers received no pay, till the year of Rome 348, when the senate ordered *ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet; quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset*. And, if οὐωνιασμος is taken in the more common signification, for pro-

visions, the same thing will be repeated in τροφας αποφερειν: So that, I would strike out the intervening sentence, as an interpolation, and read ἀργυριον τε, καὶ δια μηνος τροφας αποφερειν. Something like this we had just before, in relation to the orders given by the other consul to the Volsci, where no mention is made of the sum, any more than here.

⁴⁵ Δευτερον. So we must read this with the Vatican manuscript, and not μεγαλον, as it stands in the editions: Because Cassius had, already, triumphed for the victory he obtained over the Sabines⁵, where he killed 10,300 of them, and took near 4000 prisoners.

¹ Livy, B. iv. c. 59.

⁵ See the fifth book, chap. 49.

that honor by favor, rather than receiving it as a right ; since he was to be preceded by captives, and spoils, with which a triumph is adorned, without having stormed any towns, or gained a battle in the field. This action first drew upon him the reputation of a proud man, and the envy of entertaining more exalted thoughts, than the rest of his fellow-citizens. After he had prevailed in obtaining the triumph, he produced the treaty he had made with the Hernici ; which was copied from That, before, made with the Latines. This, greatly, disgusted the most ancient, and the most dignified senators, who began to suspect him ; because they thought it, highly, unreasonable that the Hernici, who were strangers, should obtain the same honor with the Latines, who were their relations ; and that such, as had not done them the least service, should be treated with the same humanity, as those, who had given them many instances of their affection. They were, also, displeased at the haughtiness of the man, who, after he had been honoured by the senate, had not done the same honor to them, but produced a treaty settled according to his own humour, and not by the authority of the senate. And, indeed, success in various undertakings is a dangerous, and a prejudicial thing to a man : For it is, often, the source of thoughtless pride, and the secret author of desires exceeding the condition of human nature : Which was the case of Cassius : For being the only person at that time, who had been honoured by his country with three consulships, and two triumphs, he now took upon himself
greater

greater state, and entertained a desire of monarchical power : And, considering that the easiest, and safest way, of all others, for those, who aim at monarchy, or tyranny, is to gain the multitude by some gratifications, and to accustom them to be fed by the hand of the person, who distributes the possessions of the public, this he pursued : And, without communicating his design to any one, he determined to divide among the people certain lands of large extent, belonging to the public, which lay neglected, and were, then, in the possession of the richest men. If Cassius had been content to stop here, it is possible that his design might have succeeded ; but, by aiming at more, he raised a violent sedition ; the event of which proved fatal to himself : For he thought proper to comprehend in the division of these lands not only the Latines, but even the Hernici, who had been, just before, admitted citizens, in order to ingage these nations in his interest.

LXX. Having formed this plan, the day after his triumph, he called the people together ; and, ascending the tribunal, according to the custom of those who have triumphed, he, first, gave an account to them of his actions ; the sum of which was as follows : That, in his first consulship, he had subdued the Sabines, who claimed the sovereignty, and compelled them to become subject to the Romans : That, in the second, he had appeased the sedition, with which the commonwealth was then agitated, and brought back the people to their country ; and had ingaged the Latines, who, though of the same extraction

with the Romans, yet always envied their sovereignty and glory, to become their friends, by communicating to them the same rights with the Roman citizens ; so that, they looked upon Rome no longer as a rival, but as their country : That, being the third time invested with the same magistracy, he had, not only, compelled the Volsci, from enemies to be their friends, but had, also, induced the Hernici, a numerous, and warlike nation, and, by being situated near them, capable of doing them the greatest mischief, and the greatest service, to a voluntary submission. After he had displayed these things, and many others of the like nature, he desired the people to look upon him as a person, who then had, and always should have, a greater zeal for the interest of the commonwealth, than any others could pretend to. He concluded with saying that his design was to confer upon the people so many benefits, and of such a nature, as to surpass all those, who were commended for their affection to the plebeians, and concern for their preservation. And these things, he said, he would soon accomplish. He then dismissed the assembly ; and, without the least delay, caused the senate to meet the day after, who were already in suspense, and terrified with his discourse : And, before he entered upon any thing else, he laid open his intention, which he had concealed from the multitude, desiring the senate, that, as the people both by supporting their liberty, and by enabling them to command others, had done great service to the commonwealth, they would shew a regard for their interest, in dividing among them

them the conquered lands, which were, indeed, called public lands, but, in reality, were usurped by the most shameless among the patricians, contrary to all justice; and that the money paid for the corn, sent them by Gelo king of Sicily as a present, which, though it ought to have been divided among all the citizens in a gratuitous manner, the poor had purchased, might be repaid to the buyers, out of the treasury.

LXXI. While he was speaking, presently a great tumult arose, all the senators shewing their dislike, and impatience of what he proposed. And, when he had done, not only his colleague, Virginius, but the most ancient, and the most dignified senators, particularly Appius Claudius, exclaimed against him with great vehemence, for designing to raise a sedition. And these two continued, for a long time, inflamed, and uttering the severest reproaches against one another. The following days, Cassius, assembling the people frequently, gained their affections by his popular harangues, displayed the advantages, that would flow from the division of these lands, and laid himself out in invectives against his opposers. On the other side, Virginius assembled the senate every day, and concerted measures with the patricians to guard against his design, and to prevent its success, by a legal opposition. And each of the consuls was attended by a strong body of men, to secure them from being insulted. The poor, the mean, and such as were prepared for any daring enterprise, were under the command of Cassius: And those of the greatest birth, and character adhered to Virginius. For some time,

time, the worst side carried it in the assemblies of the people, by a great majority. After that, they became equal, the tribunes joining the best side; possibly, because they did not think it advantageous for the commonwealth that the people should be corrupted by bribes, and a distribution of the public lands, and thence grow idle, and profligate: Possibly also, through envy, because they themselves, who were the leaders of the people, had not been the authors of this liberality, but another person. However, there is no reason to conclude that they were influenced by any other motive, than the apprehension of this encrease of power in Cassius, which was greater than the interest of the commonwealth would admit. These now opposed, therefore, in every assembly of the people, the laws, which Cassius was introducing, with all their power: They represented to them that it was not just that those lands, which they had acquired by many wars, should be distributed among any but the Romans, and that, not only, the Latines, who had not been present in those wars, but the Hernici also, who had, but lately, entered into their friendship, and who, being brought into it by war, ought to be satisfied if they were not deprived of their own territories, should have an equal share of those conquered lands with the Romans themselves. The people, hearing this, sometimes assented to the representations of the tribunes, when they considered that the portion of the public lands, that would fall to the share of each, would be small and inconsiderable, if both the Hernici, and the Latines were to partake with them in this distri-

distribution : And, at others, Cassius, by his popular harangues, made them change their opinion, by telling them that the tribunes betrayed them to the patricians, and covered their opposition with this specious pretence, that an equal share of these lands was to be given to the Hernici, and the Latines, whom he himself had comprehended in his law, with a view of adding strength to the poor, and of defeating any attempt, that might, hereafter, be made to dispossess them of the lands that were granted to them; since he looked upon it to be better and safer for the people to continue in the undisturbed possession of a small share, than, by expecting a greater, to be disappointed of every thing.

LXXII. While Cassius, by these insinuations, wrought frequent changes in the minds of the multitude, Caius Rabuleius, one of the tribunes, a man of no mean abilities, presented himself before the people, and promised that he would, soon, put an end to this contest between the consuls, and shew the people their true interest. This being followed with great acclamations, and, after that, with silence, he said ;
 “ Are not these, Cassius, and Virginus, the chief points in
 “ dispute concerning this law ; the first, whether it is pro-
 “ per to distribute the public lands to every Roman ; and
 “ the other, whether the Latines, and the Hernici, ought to
 “ have a share of them ? And they acknowledging it to be
 so, he went on : “ This being allowed, you, Cassius, would
 “ have the people vote for both these ; and you, Virginus,
 “ let us know, in the name of the gods, whether you oppose
 “ that part of the law proposed by Cassius, which relates to
 “ the

“ the allies, as thinking that the Hernici, and the Latines
“ ought not to have an equal share with us ; or do you
“ oppose the other also, and insist that the public lands
“ should not be divided even among us ? Answer to these
“ questions without concealing any thing.” And Virginius
saying that he was against giving an equal share of these
lands to the Hernici, and the Latines, but consented to their
being distributed among the Roman citizens, if all the
people were of that opinion ; the tribune, turning to the
assembly, said ; “ Since, therefore, one part of the question is
“ approved of by both the consuls, and the other opposed by
“ one of them ; and, as both are equal in dignity, and neither
“ can force the other to come into his opinion, let us, now,
“ receive That, which both agree to give us, and put off the
“ other, concerning which they differ.” The people signify-
ing, by their acclamations, that his advice was the best that
could be given, and desiring him to strike out of the law that
part, which occasioned the contest, Cassius was at a loss what
to do ; and, being unwilling to retract his opinion, and unable
to maintain it, while the tribunes opposed him, he dismissed
the assembly for that time. The following days, he pretended
illness, and went no more to the forum ; but, continuing at
home, formed a design to get the law passed by force, and
violence ; and sent for as many of the Latines, and Hernici,
as he could, to come, and vote for it. These assembled in
great numbers ; and, presently, the town was full of strangers.
Virginius being informed of these things, ordered proclama-
tion to be made in the streets, that all, who were not inha-
bitants,

bitants, should forthwith depart the city. On the other side, Cassius ordered the contrary to be proclaimed, that all, who were intitled to the rights of citizens, should stay, till the law was passed.

LXXIII. There being no end of these contests, the patricians, fearing lest, when the law came to be proposed, the people should take arms, and have recourse to violence, and to such other forcible means, as are frequently used in divided assemblies, met in the senate to consider of such methods, as should, at once, put a stop to all these evils. Appius therefore, being, first, asked his opinion, opposed this distribution of the lands among the people, telling them that an idle multitude, accustomed to devour the public stock, would prove troublesome, and useless cohabitants, and never suffer any thing belonging to the public, whether lands, or money, to continue in the possession of the public: And that it would be a shameful thing, if the senate, who accused Cassius of introducing a wicked, and disadvantageous law, and of corrupting the people, should themselves, by common consent, establish that law, as just and advantageous: He desired them, also, to consider that the poor, if these lands were divided among them, would not, even, think themselves obliged to those, who gave their consent, and sanction to this law, but to Cassius, who, first, proposed it, and seemed to have compelled the senate to ratify it against their will. Having said this, and many other things to the same purpose, he ended with advising them to make choice of some of the most dignified senators to fix the bounds of

the public land upon the spot ; and, if they found that any private persons, by fraud, or force, either fed, or tilled, any part of it, to take cognizance of this abuse, and restore the land to the public : And, further, that the land, so bounded by them, should be divided into a certain number of shares, and distinguished by handsome pillars ; and that one part of this land should be sold, particularly that part, concerning which there was any contest with private persons ; so that, the purchasers might plead the determination of these commissioners against any, who should claim these lands ; and the other part be let for five years : And that the money, arising from these rents, be applied to pay the forces, and to the necessary expences of wars : “ For, says he, as things now stand, the envy of the
“ poor against the rich, who have usurped, and still continue in the possession of, the public lands, is well
“ grounded ; and it is not to be wondered at if they desire
“ those lands should be divided among all the citizens,
“ rather than usurped by a few, and those the most shameless
“ of all men : Whereas, if they see the persons, who now
“ enjoy them, quit possession, and the public lands, really
“ become public lands, they will cease to envy us, and relinquish their fondness for this general distribution of them,
“ when they know that these lands in the hands of the
“ public will be of greater advantage to them, than the
“ small portion, that will be allotted to each. Let us
“ shew them, therefore, how much their interest is here
“ concerned ; and that, if each of the poor receives for
“ his

“ his share a small piece of land, and happens to have
 “ troublesome neighbours, he neither will be able to culti-
 “ vate it himself by reason of his poverty, neither will he
 “ find any man to hire it of him, but a neighbour : Whereas,
 “ if large farms, requiring various, and considerable culture,
 “ are let by the public, they will bring in great revenues
 “ to the commonwealth : And that it is better for them,
 “ when they go to the field, to receive both provisions, and
 “ their pay from the treasury, than, out of their private
 “ fortunes, to pay in their contributions to the ⁴⁶ treasury,
 “ when pressed, as it often happens, with want, which will
 “ still be encreased by providing this money.”

LXXIV. After Appius had delivered this opinion, and gained great applause by it, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was called upon next, and said ; “ In the first place, I must
 “ commend Appius, as a man very capable of seeing future
 “ events at a great distance ; one, who always gives the
 “ most honourable, and the most useful advice ; firm, and
 “ unmoved in his resolutions ; and neither yielding to fear,
 “ nor swayed by favor : For I ever praise, and admire him,
 “ both for his prudence, and the courage he shews in the
 “ midst of dangers : Neither shall I myself offer any other
 “ advice ; but only add a few things, which Appius seems
 “ to have omitted : Nor am I of opinion that the Hernici, or
 “ the Latines, to whom we, lately, granted the rights of

⁴⁶. ΕΙΣ ΤΑΜΙΕΝ. Sylburgius has observed that *αποφέρειν* is, here, wanting, whic his very true : But I suspect that something else is wanting to complete

this sentence, which, as it now stands, does not run with the smoothness, and perspecuity, peculiar to our author.

“ Roman citizens, ought to have a share of our lands :
 “ For we have not acquired these, since they acceded to
 “ our friendship ; but long before, when, by our own
 “ dangers, without the assistance of any others, we gained
 “ them from our enemies. And let us give them this
 “ answer, that the lands, which each of us were before,
 “ respectively, possessed of, when we entered into the treaty
 “ of friendship, ought to remain in property, and unalienable
 “ to each : And that of Those we shall conquer with joint
 “ forces, since we made the treaty, each shall have his share.
 “ This method will give neither to our allies any just cause
 “ of complaining that they are injured, nor to the people any
 “ apprehension of appearing to prefer their interest to their
 “ reputation. As to the appointment of persons to fix the
 “ bounds of the public lands, I, intirely, agree with Appius :
 “ For this will set us at liberty with regard to the plebeians ;
 “ since they are, now, displeased on both these accounts,
 “ because they themselves reap no benefit from the public
 “ lands, and because some of us enjoy them, contrary to
 “ justice : Whereas, if they see these lands restored to the
 “ public, and the produce thereof applied to the necessary
 “ uses of the commonwealth, they will look upon it to make
 “ no difference to them, whether they enjoy the land, or
 “ the produce of it : For I need not inform you that some
 “ of the poor are more delighted with the losses of others,
 “ than with their own advantages. However, I do not
 “ think it sufficient to insert these two things in the decree ;
 “ but we ought, in my opinion, to gain their affections, and
 “ relieve

“relieve them by some other favor also, which I shall, presently, acquaint you with, after I have, first, laid before you the reason, or rather the necessity, that should induce us to come into this measure.

LXXV. “You remember, without doubt, what the
“tribune said in the last assembly of the people, when he
“asked Virginius, one of the consuls, what were his thoughts
“concerning the division of the lands, whether he consented
“to their being divided among the Roman citizens, but
“not among the allies; or do you oppose, says he, the
“distribution of our own public lands, even, among ourselves?
“And the other answered, that he did not oppose this
“distribution, so far as it related to the Romans, if all were
“of that opinion. This concession, not only, brought over
“the tribunes to our interest, but, changed the disposition
“of the people in our favor. What therefore should induce
“us to revoke, now, what we, then, consented to? Or
“what advantage will it be to us to establish generous, and
“noble institutions, and such as are worthy of our empire,
“if we cannot prevail with the people to observe them?
“But we shall not prevail with them; and this none of you
“are ignorant of: And we shall find those, who are disappointed in their hopes, and deceived by the nonperformance
“of our promises, more uneasy to us, than those, who do not
“obtain what they desire. Some other magistrate will start
“up, and, to flatter the people, will, again, bring in these laws,
“and, then, not one of the tribunes will assist us. Hear, therefore, what advice I give you, and what addition I make
“to

“ to the opinion of Appius ; but do not rise up, or create
“ any disturbance, before you have heard all I have to say.
“ After you have appointed commissioners, whether ten, or
“ whatever number, to inspect the land, and fix the bounds
“ of it, empower them to determine which, and how great
“ a part of it, ought to belong to the public, and, by being
“ let for five years, to encrease the revenues of the treasury ;
“ and, on the other side, how great a part of it, and which,
“ ought to be divided among the plebeians. And my advice
“ is, that, whatever land they shall appoint to be divided,
“ you order it to be divided accordingly, after you have
“ determined whether it shall be distributed among all the
“ citizens, or among those, who have no land, or who have
“ the smallest fortunes, or in what manner soever you shall
“ think proper : And, as to the appointment of the persons
“ to fix the bounds of the land ; and the order you shall
“ publish concerning the division of it, and every thing else
“ that is necessary, since the present consuls have but a short
“ time to continue in the magistracy, that their successors
“ take such order therein, as to them shall seem best : For
“ things of this nature require no short time to settle ;
“ neither can it be expected that the present consuls, who
“ are now divided, will be able to discover what is advan-
“ tageous with greater penetration, than their successors, if,
“ as we hope, they shall agree : For delay is, upon many
“ occasions, a useful thing, and, of all others, the least dan-
“ gerous ; and time, often, brings about great changes in
“ a single day : Besides, a good understanding between
“ those,

“ those, who preside in the state, produces the greatest advantages. Thus have I delivered my opinion : If any one has any thing better to propose, let him speak.”

LXXVI. When he had ended, all present applauded him; and not one of the senators, who were asked their opinion after him, gave any other advice. Upon which, the decree of the senate was drawn up to this effect: That ten of the most ancient consular senators be appointed to determine the boundaries of the public land; and to declare how much of it ought to be let, and how much to be divided among the people: That those, to whom the rights of citizens were granted, and their allies, have each their share, according to the treaties, of all such lands, as they shall, afterwards, conquer with joint forces: And that the succeeding consuls take care that the election of the decemvirs, the division of the lands, and every thing else, that is necessary, be performed. When this decree was laid before the people, it, not only, put a stop to the popular harangues of Cassius, but, also, prevented the growing sedition of the poor from making any further progress.

LXXVII. The following year, when the seventy fourth Olympiad was drawing near, at which Astyllus of Syracuse won the prize of the stadium, Leostatus being archon at Athens, and Quintus Fabius, and Servius Cornelius consuls at Rome, two patricians, young indeed with respect to their age, but the most distinguished of their body on account of the dignity of their ancestors, men of great power founded both on the number of their friends, and the greatness of their fortunes,

fortunes, and, for young men, inferior to none of mature age for their abilities in civil affairs, Caeso Fabius, brother of the then consul, and Lucius Valerius Poplicola, ⁴⁷ nephew to the person, who expelled the kings, being quaestors at the same time, and having, by virtue of that charge, a power of assembling the people, accused before them Spurius Cassius, the consul of the former year, who had dared to bring in the Agrarian laws, for aiming at tyranny: And, appointing a day, cited him to make his defence before the people. There being a great concourse upon the day appointed, the quaestors assembled them; and, entering into a detail of all his actions in public life, shewed them to flow from no good design: First, that, when he was consul, he had, not only, granted to the Latines, the privilege of Roman citizens, which they desired, and would have been contented with, and have thought it a great happiness even to obtain, but, also, ordered that they should have the third part of the spoils taken in war, when carried on with joint forces: Then, with regard to the Hernici, who, being subdued by war, ought to have been satisfied in not being punished with the loss of some part even of their own country, he had made them friends instead of subjects, and citizens instead of tributaries; and ordered they should receive another third part of the land, and the booty, that should, ever after, be acquired: So that, the spoils being divided into three shares, the subjects of the Romans, and strangers were to receive two of them,

⁴⁷ Αδελφίδης τῆς καὶ ἀλυσαντος τῆς βασιλῆς. See the first annotation on the seventh book.

and

and the natives, and their masters only one. They made it appear that, from hence, one of these most absurd things would befall them, if ever they should think fit to honour any other nations, by reason of their many great services, with the same grants, with which they had honoured, not only, the Latines, but the Hernici also, who had never done them the least service: For there being but one third left for them, they would either have no part to bestow upon their benefactors, or, if they granted them the same favour, they would reserve nothing for themselves.

LXXVIII. They added that Cassius, in proposing to divide the public lands, without the previous vote of the senate, or the consent of his colleague, shewed that his design was to get the law passed by force, which law was, not on this account alone, unprofitable, and unjust, That, when the previous vote of the senate was necessary, and, that being obtained, it ought to have been a common favor of all the magistrates, he had made it the favor of one man; but also on this account, which is a consideration, of all others, the most afflicting, that this, which was called a grant of the public lands to all the citizens, was, in reality, a deprivation; since the Romans, who had acquired these lands, were to receive but one third of them, and the Hernici, and the Latines, who had nothing to do with them, the other two. They charged him, further, that he had paid no deference, even, to the tribunes, when they opposed him, and desired him to strike out that part of the law, which gave an equal share of these lands to strangers; but con-

tinued to act contrary to the sense of the tribunes, of his colleague, of the senate, and of all, whose counsels were ever of the greatest advantage to the commonwealth. After they had gone through these heads of their charge, and called upon all the citizens to attest the truth of them, they, then, proceeded to the secret proofs of his having aimed at tyranny; that the Latines, and the Hernici had jointly supplied him with money, and provided themselves with arms; and that the most daring young men of these nations, perpetually, resorted to him, holding private councils, and acting for his service in many other instances: And, to prove the truth of these allegations, they produced many witnesses, both Roman citizens, and others belonging to the nations in alliance with them, persons neither mean, nor obscure. To these the people gave credit; and, without either suffering themselves to be moved with the speech of Cassius, which he made after great premeditation, or with compassion, though the appearance of his three sons, as well as the joint lamentations of his other relations, and friends, gave him a great opportunity of exciting their mercy, or paying any regard to his military actions, by which he had raised himself to the greatest honor, they condemned him: And they were so exasperated at the name of tyranny, that they could not moderate their resentment even in the degree of his punishment, but sentenced him to death: For they were afraid lest, if they had banished him, as he was the ablest general of his time, he might have followed the example of Marcius; and, by calumniating his country, and
forming

forming a conjunction among their enemies, have brought an irreconcilable war upon them. This being the event of his trial, the quaestors led the man to the top of the precipice that commands the forum ; and, in the presence of all the citizens, ⁴⁸ threw him down from the rock : For this was

⁴⁸. Ἐρίψαν κατὰ τῆς πέρας. We are now come to the death of Cassius, the author of the Agrarian law, in which he failed through his own want of conduct, and the superior skill of the patricians, and was involved in its ruin : However, this law had, afterwards, better success, when it fell into abler hands ; and, though the patricians had not the power to hinder the enacting of this law, they had the art to obstruct the execution of it. The pernicious design of Cassius in aiming at tyranny has cast an infamy on the law itself, and made it to be looked upon as a wicked measure, because it was the instrument to a wicked intention : By this means, it has happened that the Agrarian law, though just in itself, and reasonable in its circumstances, has suffered through the guilt of its author, and been loaded with an infamy not its own. In order, therefore, to be convinced of the justice, and reasonableness of this law, we must consider it unrelatively to the designs of its author, and inquire whether it was agreeable, or repugnant to the constitution of the Romans ; whether it was an innovation in, or a part of, that constitution ; whether the people had not a right to the effect of this law, before the law itself was proposed ; and whether there could be any reason

for opposing it, but the long prescription to the conquered lands, begun, and maintained by the patricians, contrary to justice, and to the very elements of their constitution. We shall be assisted in this inquiry by reflecting on what ^b our author has, already, said concerning the original distribution of lands made by Romulus in the infancy of their government : There we find that Romulus, after he had divided the whole body of the people into thirty curiae, divided, also, the land into thirty equal parts, one of which he allotted to every curia, reserving as much as was sufficient for religious uses, and some part of it for the public. This division, our author says, both of men and land, comprehended the greatest equality : This equality was settled by their constitution ; and, will any one say that the usurpation of the lands, which the Romans, afterwards, conquered, by the patricians without dividing any part of them among the conquerors, reserving any for religious uses, or appropriating any part to the public, was not contrary to that equality, and to the parent of that equality, their constitution ? And that it was so, is, we see, owned even by Appian, as well as by Sempronius. The purport of the law, proposed by Cassius, was to restore both by wresting these con-

^b B. ii. c. 7.

the established punishment, at that time among the Romans, for those, who were condemned to die.

LXXIX. This is the most probable account of any, that have been delivered down to posterity, concerning this man : However, I think myself obliged not to omit a less probable one, since this, also, is believed by many, and recorded in histories of good authority. It is said, therefore, by some that, while the measures he was pursuing to make himself tyrant, were as yet concealed from all the world, the father of Cassius was the first, who suspected him ; and, after making the strictest inquiry into the matter, he went to the senate ; then, ordering his son to appear, he became both the informer, and the accuser ; and the senate having, also, con-

quered lands from the patricians, and dividing them among the people, with whose blood they had been purchased. This is the true state of the question : For, neither the Cassian law, which was rejected ; the Licinian law, which passed 119 years after that time ; nor the Sempronian law, for proposing which the author of it was murdered by the patricians 353 years after the first attempt made by Cassius, had any relation to private possessions, but only to Those which belonged to the public. The only difference between the first law, and the two last, was this ; by the first, it was proposed to divide all the public lands among the people ; and by the two last, five hundred acres of those lands, and no more were allowed to the usurpers of them ; ⁱ *ne quis ex publico agro plus*

quam quingenta jugera possideret. That these laws related solely to the possessions of the public will appear manifestly, from the whole tenor of Cicero's speech against Rullus, particularly from these words, ^{*} *licebit enim, quod videbitur, publicum judicare; quod judicarint, vendere.* This will further appear from the Agrarian law passed by the interest, and violence of ¹ Julius Caesar, when he, and Bibulus were consuls, in the year of Rome 695 : By which, two large tracts of land lying in Campania, and both belonging to the public, were divided among 20,000 Roman citizens : *Campum Stel-latam majoribus consecratum, agrum-que Campanum ad subsidia reipublicae vectigalem relictum divisit extra sortem, ad xx millibus civium, quibus terni pluresve liberi essent.*

ⁱ Liv. Epitom. B. lviii.

^{*} C. 3.

¹ Suet life of Jul. Caes. c. 20.

demned

demned him, he carried him to his own house, and put him to death. The severe, and inexorable resentment of fathers against their offending sons, particularly in the Romans at that time, will not suffer us to reject, even, this account; since, before this transaction, Brutus, who expelled the kings, condemned both his sons to die the death of malefactors, and they lost their heads, because they appeared to have been accomplices in the conspiracy for restoring the kings: And, after that, Manlius, while he commanded in the⁴⁹ Gallic war, honoured, indeed, his son with the crowns, that were due to his superior valor; yet accused him of disobedience for not staying in the fort, in which he was posted, but for leaving it, contrary to the command of his general, in order to engage the enemy; and inflicted on him the punishment established against soldiers who quit their post, by putting him to death. And many other fathers, some for greater, and others for lesser faults, have shewn neither mercy, nor compassion to their sons: For this reason, I would not, as I said, reject this account, as improbable. But the following arguments, which are of no small weight, have a contrary influence, and lead me to the other opinion: The house of Cassius, after his death, was demolished; and, to this day, the place where it stood remains void, except that part of it, on

⁴⁹ τῷ Γαλατικῷ πολέμῳ. ^m Livy, who gives a very particular account of this transaction, says, it happened in the war with the Latines. On the other side, Sallust, whom it is very possible our author followed, makes

Cato say in his speech to the senate, when the fate of Catiline's accomplices was in debate: *Apud majores nostros Aulus (Titus) Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum, quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnasset, necari jussit.*

ⁿ B. viii. c. 7.

which

which the Romans, afterwards, built the temple of the Earth, which stands in the street leading to the ⁵⁰ Carinae: And his fortune was also confiscated; which the state employed in founding the first offerings in different temples, and, also, in dedicating the brazen statues to Ceres, which, ⁵¹ by their inscriptions, shew of whose fortune they were the first offerings: Whereas, if his father had been the informer, the accuser, and the executioner of his son, his house would not have been demolished, nor his fortune confiscated: For the Romans have nothing in property, during the lives of their fathers, who may dispose both of the fortunes, and persons of their sons, as they think proper: So that, the state would never have taken away, and confiscated the fortune of the father, who had given information of the design of tyranny, for the offences of the son: For these reasons, therefore, I prefer the former account: But I have mentioned both of them, to the end the reader may adhere to which he pleases.

LXXX. There being an attempt made by some people to involve the sons of Cassius in the punishment of their father, the senate looked upon it as a cruel, and pernicious precedent; and, being assembled, they ordered the youths to be acquitted, and to live with all impunity, without being subject to banishment, disgrace, or any other calamity: And, from henceforth, this custom was established among the Romans, and is observed to this time, that the sons

⁵⁰. Καρίνας. See the 217th annotation on the first book.

Livy has given us the inscriptionⁿ:
EX CASSIA FAMILIA DATVM.

⁵¹. Ανδριανίας επιγραφαις δηλυνίας.

ⁿ B. ii. c. 41.

shall be exempt from all punishment, whose fathers are offenders, whether they happen to be the sons of tyrants, of parricides, or of traitors, which, among them, is the greatest of all offences. And those, who attempted to abolish this custom in our time, after the end of the Marfic, and civil wars, and prohibited the sons of such, as had been proscribed by Sylla, from standing candidates for their fathers honors, and from being admitted into the senate as long as their domination lasted, were looked upon to have been guilty of an action deserving both the indignation of men, and the vengeance of the gods: For which reason, in process of time, a blameless punishment, the avenger of their crimes, pursued them, by which they themselves were brought down from the greatest height of glory, to the lowest degree of obscurity; and none, even, of their race are now left, but women. However, ⁵² the person, who overcame these men, restored this custom to its ancient vigor: This law is not in use among all ⁵³ the Greeks; but some of them think

⁵² Ο τῶν καθελῶν. Le Jay says, in his marginal note, that the person here meant was Augustus. I think it was Julius Caesar, who may be, properly, said to have overcome the Syllan faction revived in Pompey, as the Marian faction revived in him. By the Cornelian law, enacted by ° Sylla, when he was dictator, the sons, and grandsons of the proscribed were incapacitated to enjoy any magistracy. In contradiction to this law, ^p Julius Caesar, when he was invested with the same dignity, admitted them to honors; *admisit ad honores et prescriptorum liberos.*

⁵³ Παρ' Ἑλλήσι. Sylburgius observes, from ^q Aristotle, that it was a custom among the Greeks to put to death the innocent sons of offenders; to which purpose the latter cites this verse,

Νηπιος, ὅς πατέρα κτενας παίδας καὶ αἰετοί.

Sylburgius, also, cites the example of Achilles, who sacrificed twelve Trojans to the manes of Patroclus. This last example does not seem much to the present purpose: However, the two French translators have appropriated this note to themselves, without any thanks to Sylburgius.

° Plutarch. Life of Sylla.

^r Suetonius Life of J. Caesar, c. 41.

^q *Philos.* B. i. & ii.

it reasonable to put to death the sons of tyrants, together with their fathers ; and others punish them with perpetual banishment : As if it was contrary to the course of nature for virtuous sons to be the offspring of wicked fathers, or wicked sons of virtuous fathers. But, concerning these things, whether the Greek, or Roman custom deserves the preference, I leave to the consideration of those, who think fit to employ their thoughts that way : And, now, return to the subsequent events.

LXXXI. After the death of Cassius, those, who sought to extend the power of the aristocracy, grew more daring, and shewed greater contempt of the plebeians : On the other side, the obscure, and the lower sort, were cast down ; and, finding themselves, now, deprived of the best guardian of the plebeian party, accused themselves of great folly in having condemned him. The cause of this was, that the consuls did not carry the decree of the senate concerning the division of lands into execution, by which they were directed to appoint the decemvirs to fix the bounds of the land, and to move the senate to determine how great a part of that land, and among whom, it should be distributed. Upon which, numerous meetings were held by the people, where they, perpetually, complained of this imposition, and accused the former tribunes of having betrayed the commonwealth. And the tribunes, now in charge, frequently assembled the people, and demanded a performance of those promises. The consuls, being informed of this, determined to remove the disorderly, and tumultuous part of the people, under the color of a war :

For

For it happened that the territories of the commonwealth were, at that time, harraſſed with robberies, and incurſions from the neighbouring cities. To revenge theſe injuries, they expoſed the ſignals of war, and began to levy forces: But the poorer ſort reſuſing to ſerve, and the conſuls finding themſelves unable to make uſe of the compulſion of the law againſt the diſobedient (for the tribunes defended the people, and were prepared to oppoſe any attempt to ſeize either the perſons, or the effects of thoſe, who reſuſed to ſerve) after many threats againſt all, who ſhould excite the people to ſedition, they gave reaſon for a ſecret ſuſpicion that their deſign was to create a dictator; who, by abrogating the other magiſtracies, ſhould alone be inveſted with a tyrannical power, and ſubject to give no account of his conduct. As ſoon as the plebeians entertained this ſuſpicion, they, fearing leſt Appius, a fierce, and rigorous man, ſhould be the perſon appointed, reſolved to bear any ſeverity rather than this.

LXXXII. After the armies were raiſed, the conſuls led them out againſt the enemies. Cornelius made an irruption into the territories of the Veientes, and carried off all the booty they had left there: After which, the Veientes ſending embaſſadors, he gave them leave to redeem their priſoners, and made a truce with them for a year. Fabius, at the head of the other army, marched into the country of the Acqui; and, from thence, into That of the Volſci: Theſe ſuffered their lands to be plundered, and laid waſte, for ſome time; after which, deſpiſing the Romans, as their army was not

numerous, they ran to arms, and marched out of the territories of the Antiates, in a body, to the relief of their country ; which was a resolution taken with greater precipitation, than regard to their security. If, indeed, they had surpris'd the Romans, while they were dispers'd, they might have given them a great defeat : But the consul, being informed of their approach by his scouts, suddenly called in his men, then dispers'd in pillaging, and drew them up in proper order. The Volsci, coming on with a contempt of the enemy, and with confidence, when, contrary to their opinion, they saw their whole army in a disposition to receive them, they were struck with fear at the unexpected fight ; and, without any consideration of the common safety, every man consult'd his own : Turning back, therefore, they fled with all the speed they could, some one way, and some another ; and the greatest part saved themselves by retiring to the city of Antium : But a small body of them, which was least in disorder, gained the top of a hill ; and, standing to their arms, continued in that posture the following night. Some days after, the consul having invest'd the hill with his forces, and secured every pass with guards, they were compelled by hunger to surrender, and deliver up their arms : After which, he order'd the quaestors to sell the booty he had taken, the spoils, and the prisoners, and to pay in the money to the treasury : And, not long after, withdrawing his forces from the enemy's country, he return'd with them to Rome, it being the end of the year. The election of magistrates drawing near, and the patricians,

patricians, perceiving the people were exasperated, and repented of their having condemned Cassius, resolved to guard against them, lest, by being flattered with the hopes of donatives, and of the Agrarian law by some powerful demagogue, supported with the dignity of consul, they might create fresh disturbances: And they judged that the most effectual means to prevent these desires of the people was to raise their greatest enemy to the consulship: Having taken this resolution, they engaged Cæso Fabius, one of the two persons who had accused Cassius, and brother to Quintus, who was then consul; and, among the other patricians, Lucius Aemilius, one of the aristocratical party, to stand candidates for the consulship. When these offered themselves for that dignity, the plebeians had not power to hinder their election; but left the comitia, and withdrew from the field of Mars, where they were held: For, when the people were assembled in their centuries, the votes of the most considerable persons, and of those who had the greatest fortunes, carried every question: And it, rarely, happened that they had recourse to the votes of those of middling fortunes: And the last century, which was the most numerous, and in which the poorest of the plebeians gave their suffrages, had but one vote,⁵⁴ as I said before, which was, always, the last called for.

LXXXIII. For these reasons, therefore, Lucius Aemilius, the son of Mamercus, and Cæso Fabius, the son of Cæso, were created consuls this year, being the two hundred and seventieth year from the building of Rome, when Nicodemus

⁵⁴ Ως και πολλοτερον ειρηλαι μοι. See the fifty ninth chapter of the seventh book.

was archon at Athens: Whose consulship, according to their wish, happened not to be disturbed with civil dissensions, the commonwealth being surrounded with foreign wars. In all nations, and places, as well among the Greeks, as Barbarians, a cessation from foreign evils produces civil, and domestic wars: And this happens, chiefly, to those, who chuse a military, and toilsome life, as they are actuated with a desire of liberty, and dominion: For a spirit of ambition, confirmed by use, when restrained from its usual employments, grows impatient. For which reason, the wisest governors are, always, feeding the flames of some foreign quarrels, from a persuasion that it is better to make war in an enemy's country, than at home. It happened therefore, as I said, very fortunately at that time for the consuls, that the subjects of the Romans again took arms against them. For the Volsci, either relying on the domestic commotions of the Romans, and imagining the plebeians to be in a state of war with the magistrates, or stung with the shame of their former defeat, received without striking a stroke, or elated with the appearance of their forces, which were very numerous: Or induced by all these motives, resolved to make war upon the Romans: And, drawing together the youth of all their cities, they marched, with one part of their army, against the towns of the Hernici, and Latines; and, with the other, which was the most numerous, and consisted of the best troops, they proposed to receive the enemy, when they came to besiege their own. The Romans, being informed of these things, determined to divide their army,
also,

also, into two bodies; and, with one of them, to preserve the territories of the Hernici, and the Latines from the inroads of the enemy; and, with the other, to lay waste Those of the Volsci.

LXXXIV. The consuls having drawn lots for the command of the armies according to custom, That of the body, designed to go to the relief of their allies, fell to Cæso Fabius; and Lucius put himself at the head of the other, and marched towards Antium. When he drew near the hills, and had a view of the enemy's army, he, presently, incamped opposite to them, upon an eminence. The following days, the enemy, frequently, quitted their camp; and, coming into the plain, challenged the consul to fight, who, when he saw his time, led out his army; and, before they engaged, he harangued his troops a considerable time; and, having encouraged them to do their duty, he ordered the trumpets to sound a charge: And the soldiers, shouting as usual, attacked in close array, both horse, and foot. After they had spent all their spears, and javelins, with the rest of their missile weapons, they drew their swords, and closed; both sides shewing an equal intrepidity, and eagerness for the victory. Their manner of fighting was, as I said before, alike; and, neither the skill, and experience of the Romans in engagements, by which they were, generally, victorious, nor their constancy, and endurance of toil, acquired by many battles, gave them any advantage upon this occasion: For all these the enemy possessed, since they had been commanded by Marcius, the greatest general among the Romans: But both
stood

stood firm, without quitting the ground, on which they, first, were placed. Afterwards, the Volsci began to retire a little, but in order, and in their ranks, and received the Romans as they pressed upon them: But this was a stratagem to make these break their ranks, and to draw them to the foot of an eminence, from whence they might be charged with advantage.

LXXXV. The Romans, thinking they were beginning to fly, followed them slowly, and in good order also: But, when they saw them running towards their camp, they too, pursued them swiftly, and in disorder: And those, who were behind, and had the charge of the rear, began to strip the dead, as if they had, already, conquered; and ran to plunder the country. The Volsci no sooner observed this, but such, as had feigned a flight, faced about as soon as they approached their intrenchments, and stood their ground; and, at the same time, those, who had been left to guard the camp, opened the gates, and ran out in great numbers from several parts. And, now, the fortune of the day was turned; the pursuers fled, and the fugitives pursued. Here many brave Romans lost their lives, as may well be imagined, being forced down a descent, and a few incompassed by many: The others, who had employed themselves in spoiling the dead, and in plundering, suffered the same fate, being deprived of the opportunity of making an orderly, and regular retreat: For these, being intercepted by the enemy, some of them were killed, and others made prisoners: And as many as were saved both of these, and of the others, who
had

had been forced down the hill, the horse coming to their relief, returned to the camp, when it was late. A violent storm of rain bursting from the clouds, and a darkness, like That produced by thick mists, seemed to have preserved them from being all put to the sword; which made the enemy unwilling to pursue them any farther, as they were unable to see what passed at a distance. The following night, the consul decamped, and drew off his army in silence, and good order, with a design to conceal his march from the enemy; and, late in the evening, he incamped near a town, called Longula, chusing an eminence of strength sufficient to keep off the enemy, if these should attack him. While he remained there, he employed himself both in recovering the wounded with proper remedies, and in raising the spirits of those, who were disheartened with the shame of their unexpected defeat, by administering comfort to them.

LXXXVI. This was the condition of the Romans. As for the Volsci, when it was day, and they knew the enemy had left their camp, they advanced, and formed theirs: And, having stripped the dead, and carried off those, who, though half-dead, gave hopes of life, and buried their own men, they retired to Antium, the city that lay next to them; where, singing songs of triumph for their victory, and offering sacrifices in all their temples, they passed the following days in entertainments, and pleasures. If, therefore, they had been contented with this victory, and attempted nothing further, they might have put an end to the war with advantage:

vantage : For the Romans would not have dared, any more, to come out of their camp to give them battle ; but would have thought themselves happy in being able to retire out of the enemy's country, and have preferred an inglorious flight, to certain death : But the Volsci, aiming still at more, lost even the glory of their former victory : For, being informed by their scouts, and by deserters, that the Romans, who had saved themselves, were very few in number, and the greatest part of these wounded, they entertained a great contempt of them, and, presently, took their arms, and ran to attack them : Many unarmed people, also, came out of the city, and followed them, as spectators of the engagement, and from an expectation of plunder, and booty. But, when arrived at the eminence, they invested the camp, and endeavoured to pull up the palisades, first the Roman horse, obliged, from the nature of the ground, to fight on foot, sallied out upon them ; and, behind the horse, those they call the Triarii, with their files doubled : These are the oldest soldiers, to whom they commit the guard of the camp when they go out to fight, and, to these, as to their last hope, they are forced to have recourse, when there happens any great slaughter of the younger sort, for want of other succour. The Volsci, at first, sustained their onset, and continued the fight for a long time with great bravery : After which, having the disadvantage of the ground, they gave way ; and, at last, after they had done small damage to the enemy, and That not worth mentioning, and they themselves suffered a much greater, they retired to the plain :
Where

Where they incamped the following days, and often drew up in order of battle, challenging the Romans to fight : But these stirred not out of their camp. When the Volsci saw this, they held them in contempt ; and, sending for the forces of all their cities, prepared to force their camp by numbers ; and they might, easily, have performed a great action, by taking both the consul, and the Roman army either by force, or composition (for there was a want of provisions in the camp) had they not been prevented by the succours received by the Romans, which hindered the Volsci from putting an end to the war with the greatest glory : For the other consul, Cæso Fabius, hearing to what streights the army, which had been engaged with the Volsci, was reduced, proposed to march, that instant, with all his forces, and fall upon those, who were besieging the camp ; but, while he was offering sacrifice, and consulting the augurs, it happened that the victims, and omens were not favourable ; and the gods opposing his march, he himself staid behind ; however, he sent his best squadrons of horse to his colleague : These, taking by-roads, and marching, generally, in the night, got into the camp without being perceived by the enemy. The arrival of these succours gave new life to Aemilius. On the other side, the enemy, emboldened both by the encrease of their forces, and because the Romans did not come out to fight, doubled their files, and began to ascend the eminence : The Romans, suffered them to come up at their leisure, and to spend their strength in endeavouring to pull up the palisades ; but, when the signal of battle was

given, they threw down the intrenchments in several places, and fell upon the enemy ; and those, who came to a close fight with them, made use of their swords, while others threw stones, javelins, and spears at them from the intrenchments, none of which missed their mark, the enemy being crouded in a narrow compass. By this means, the Volsci were forced from the hill with considerable loss ; and, flying, saved themselves with great difficulty by retiring to their camp. The Romans, finding themselves now secure, went down to harrafs their country, from whence they supplied their camp with every thing they wanted.

LXXXVII. When the time for the election of magistrates was come, Aemilius staid in the camp, being ashamed to enter the city after his ignominious defeat, in which he had lost the best part of his army ; but his colleague, leaving his inferior officers to command in the camp, went to Rome ; and, assembling the people in order to the election, he declined proposing those persons, on whom they desired the consulship should be conferred, who were consular persons, since these were unwilling to stand for it ; but called the centuries to give their suffrages in favor of such as sought that dignity, and took their votes. These were the men the senate had made choice of, and ordered to stand for the consulship, who were not very agreeable to the people. By this means, Marcus Fabius, son of Caeso, the younger brother of the consul, who presided at the election, and ⁵⁵ Lucius Valerius, the son of Marcus, the same person who had brought Cassius

55. Λυκίος Ουαλερίος Μάρκου υἱός. See the first annotation on the seventh book.

to his trial, after he had been thrice consul, for aiming at tyranny, and caused him to be put to death, were chosen consuls for the following year. These, having taken possession of their dignity, desired the senate to order that recruits might be raised to replace those, who had lost their lives in the war against the Antiates, that the deficiencies in the several companies might be completed; and, having obtained a decree of the senate for that purpose, they appointed a day, on which they ordered all, who were of the military age, to appear. Upon this, there was a great tumult in every part of the city, and seditious discourses were held by the poorer sort, who refused either to comply with the orders of the senate, or to obey the commands of the consuls, because they had violated the promises made to them concerning the division of the lands; and, going in great numbers to the tribunes, they upbraided them with treachery; and, with great clamors, implored their assistance. The tribunes, in general, did not think it a proper season, when they were engaged in a foreign war, to renew the flames of civil contests: However, one of them, by name Caius Manius, said, that, for his part, he would not betray the plebeians, nor suffer the consuls to raise an army, unless they should, first, appoint commissioners for fixing the bounds of the public lands, draw up the decree of the senate for the division of them, and lay it before the people. The consuls opposing this, and excusing themselves, on account of the present war, from granting any thing he desired, the tribune replied that he would pay no regard to them, but hinder them, with all

his power, from making levies: And he kept his word; but could not effect what he proposed: For the consuls, going out of the city, ordered their consular chairs to be placed in the adjacent field, and there enlisted the soldiers; and, since it was not in their power to seize the persons of such, as refused obedience to the laws, they fined them; and, if they were owners of estates, they laid them waste, and demolished their country houses; and, if farmers, they carried away every thing, that was necessary for their employment, their oxen, cattle, beasts of burden, and all the implements, with which the land is tilled, and their crops brought home; the tribune, who opposed the raising of men, having, no longer, any power: For those, who are invested with the tribuneship, can exercise no kind of authority without the city; their jurisdiction being confined within the walls; neither is it lawful for them even to pass a night out of the city, unless at a particular time, when all the magistrates of the commonwealth offer up a common sacrifice to Jupiter upon the Alban hill, for the prosperity of the Latin nation. This custom, by which the tribunes are not allowed to exercise any sort of authority without the city, continues to this day. And the cause, among many others, of the civil war among the Romans, which happened in our time, and was the greatest they were ever engaged in, was thought to be this, which appeared of consequence enough to divide the commonwealth; that some of the tribunes, complaining of their having been forcibly

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bly driven out of the city by the ⁵⁶ person, who then governed Italy, in order to deprive them of any further power, fled to the ⁵⁷ general, who, at that time, commanded the armies

⁵⁶. Προς τὴν τοῖς καίτοις τὰ καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. So we must read this sentence with the Vatican manuscript. Le Jay must have been very little acquainted with the transactions of this important period, to say, in his note upon this passage, that some particular discontent must have obliged Pompey to drive the tribunes out of Rome; *il faut que quelque mécontentement particulier eût obligé Pompée de chasser de Rome les tribuns*. This particular discontent, as he calls it, was nothing less than the intercession of the tribunes to the decree of the senate, by which Caesar was commanded to disband his army. These tribunes, fearing the resentment of the senate on account of their intercession, fled from Rome, and went to Caesar, complaining, as our author says, that Pompey, or, which is the same thing, the senate by his direction, had forced them to leave the city. This will be explained in the following note.

⁵⁷. Ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Γαλιῇ τὰ στρατοπεδὰ καίτοις. Caesar himself is the last author we must consult, if we have a mind to unfold his ambitious views, and to strip them of the false colors, with which he, all along, endeavours to disguise them from the eyes both of the age he lived in, and of posterity. In his history of the civil wars, he, indeed, relates the facts, but conceals the motives; particularly his own; and gives false motives, and private views

to all his opposers: Thus he says that Cato opposed him, from an ancient enmity, and the resentment of his repulse; *Catonem veteres inimicitiae Caesaris incitant, et dolor repulsae*: He means the repulse Cato met with by the means of Caesar, and his friends, when he stood candidate for the praetorship. The reason why Pompey, and Crassus, then consuls, and acting in conjunction with Caesar, would not suffer Cato to obtain that dignity, is very well explained by ⁵Dion Cassius: They suspected that he would not bear their administration, and were unwilling to add a legal power to his opposition, ὑπ᾿απέναντον τε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τὰ γινόμενα, καὶ καὶ ἐθέλησαν ἰσχυρὸν αὐτῷ ἐννομον πρὸς τὰς ἀντιλογίας προσθῆναι. If, therefore, we are to believe Caesar, he himself was the patriot, who had no other view than to support the laws of his country; and Cato was his opposer, from no other motive than private enmity, and resentment. This endeavour in Caesar to justify himself shews there is such a native beauty in virtue, that the most profligate men are desirous to shelter themselves under the appearance of it. Caesar had the same advantage with many other men, who have done bad things with worse motives; and then justified themselves by saying that what they did was according to the laws of their country: This is catching at the forms of law, and losing the spirit of it; in consequence

in Gaul, as to their only refuge: Who, laying hold on this opportunity, and pretending to support, with piety and

of which, such men have often (though not often enough) felt, at last, the weight of both. When the senate passed the memorable decree, by which Caesar was ordered to disband his legions, and Pompey to keep his on foot, only two senators dissented, Caecilius, an obscure man, and Curio, a creature of Caesar, from whom he had brought a plausible letter to the senate. Notwithstanding this almost unanimous consent of the senate, the decree could not regularly pass, because two of the tribunes of the people interceded, as they called it, that is, they opposed it: These were Antony, afterwards so much known, and Quintus (not Caius) Cassius. This they, certainly, had a power to do by law: Nay the intercession of a single tribune was sufficient to obstruct a decree of the senate. Their opposition, therefore, was constitutional: But the disregard shewn by the senate to their opposition was, certainly, not so; much less the threats of the senate against these opposers, and their expelling them afterwards. The tribunes, apprehending the consequence of these threats, left Rome together with Curio, and Caecilius; and went to Caesar, who was then, as he says, at Ravenna. This irregular, and, if I may call it so, injudicious proceeding of the senate gave an appearance of law, and popularity to the enterprise of Caesar, who, though he made the most of this oppression of the tribunes, as he terms it, would, in all probability, have invaded

his country, if his adversaries had never furnished him with so plausible a pretence. That he magnified this circumstance appears from his speech to his soldiers, when he is begging them, in other words, to assist him against his country: He there complains of this innovation, by which the tribunitian intercession was censured with arms, and oppressed; *novum in republicâ introductum exemplum queritur, ut tribunitia intercessio armis notaretur, atque opprimeretur.* This had the desired effect with his soldiers, who cried out that they were ready to revenge the injuries done to their general, and to the tribunes; *sepe paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorumque plebis injurias defendere.* If I said that the use made by Caesar of this flight of the tribunes was only a pretence to cover his own ambition, I am justified in it by his conduct, not long after, to two other tribunes of the people: These were C. Epidius, and L. Cestius Flaccus, who, not only, prosecuted one of his mob for calling him king, but caused public notice to be given, that they could not perform the duties of their function with freedom, and security: These tribunes he procured the senate to depose, and expel out of their house; which they had no more power to do, than they had, before, to pass a decree for the expulsion of the other tribunes: But these he protected, because they served his ambition; and punished the former, because they opposed it.

* Dion Cassius, B. xli. p. 171.

* B. i. c. 5.

* Id. ib. c. 7.

* Dion Cassius, B. xliv. p. 277.

justice,

justice, the sacred magistrates of the people, who had been deprived of their authority, contrary to the oaths of the ancient Romans, he himself entered the city in arms, and restored the tribunes to the functions of their magistracy.

LXXXVIII. The plebeians, finding, upon the occasion I before mentioned, no relief from the Tribunitian power, were humbled; and, coming to the persons appointed to raise the levies, took the sacred oath, and lifted under their ensigns. When the deficiencies in the several companies were completed, the consuls drew lots for the command of the armies: To Fabius was allotted the army, which had been sent to the assistance of their allies: And to Valerius That, which lay incamped in the country of the Volsci, to which were added the new levies. When the enemy were informed of his arrival, they resolved to send for another army, to incamp in a place of greater strength, and not, rashly, to expose themselves to the same danger, from a contempt of the Romans. These resolutions were soon executed, and the generals of both armies entertained the same opinion of the war; which was to defend their own intrenchments if they were attacked, but not to attempt Those of the enemy, from an expectation of carrying them by assault; and the fear of attempting any thing against each other kept them both inactive, for a considerable time: However, they were not able to continue their resolutions to the last: For, whenever any detachments were sent out to bring in provisions, or any thing else, that was necessary to both armies, these met, and fought, the same detachments
not

not having, always, the same advantage; and these skirmishes happening often, not a few were killed, and more wounded. But the Romans received no succours from any parts to replace their numbers, that were continually lessening; while the army of the Volsci was greatly encreased by the arrival of fresh forces successively; and their generals, elated with this, led out their army with a resolution to fight.

LXXXIX. The Romans having done the same, and drawn up their forces, a sharp engagement ensued, as well of the horse, as of the foot, and the light armed men, all shewing equal valor, and experience, and every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone. By this time, many, fallen on the spot where they had been placed, lay dead on both sides, and many more half dead; and those, who continued the fight, and yet faced the dangers of the field, were reduced to a small number; and even these not capable of performing their duty, while their shields, loaded with the darts that stuck in them, weighed down their left hands, and would not suffer them to sustain the onset of the enemy; the edge of their swords was blunted, and some of them were shivered to pieces, and now useless; and the toil, which to those who had fought the whole day, was excessive, slackened their sinews, and weakened their strokes; and sweat, thirst, and want of breath, all which must happen to such, as fight long in the suffocating heat of summer, afflicting both armies, the event of the battle was, in no degree, considerable; and both, as soon as their generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, willingly returned to
their

their camps. From this time, neither ventured out to fight ; but, sitting still, observed each other's motions, when any went out for necessaries. It was thought, however, and the report was common at Rome, that the Roman army had it, then, in their power to conquer ; but declined performing any great action, from their hatred to the consul, and their resentment against the patricians, for having imposed upon them in regard to the division of the public lands : And the soldiers themselves, sending letters to their friends, accused the consul, as unfit to command. These were the transactions in the field : But in Rome itself divers prodigies happened, which manifested the divine wrath, both by voices, and unusual sights : All which concurred in this (as the augurs, and the interpreters of holy things, by assisting one another with their experience, declared) that some of the gods were displeased, because they did not receive their customary honors, neither was their worship performed with purity, and sanctity. Upon this, strict inquiry was made by every one ; and, at last, the pontifs were informed that one of the vestals, who preserve the holy fire, by name, ^{s8} Opimia, had lost her virginity, and polluted the holy rites : The pontifs, having by tortures, and other proofs, found the information to be true, took from her head the fillets ; and, conducting her through the forum, buried her alive within the walls of the city ; and, causing the two men, who had

^{s8}. Οπιμία. † Livy calls this vestal virgin, *Oppia*.

† B. ii. c. 42.

been convicted of debauching her, to be whipped in public, they ordered them, presently, to be put to death. After which, the sacrifices, and the auguries were favourable, the wrath of the gods being appeased.

XC. When the time for the election of magistrates was come, and the consuls were returned to Rome, there was a great contest, and struggle between the people, and the patricians, concerning the persons, who were to be invested with the supreme magistracy: For the latter desired to promote to the consulship such of the young men, as were active, and least inclined to the interest of the plebeians; and, by their direction, the son of Appius Claudius, who was esteemed the greatest enemy of the people, stood for that dignity; a person excessively proud and daring, and the most powerful man of his time by the number of his friends, and clients. On the other side, the people named such of the elder senators, and of those, who had, already, given proofs of their moderation, as were likely to consult the good of the commonwealth; and desired to make them consuls. The magistrates were, also, divided, and sought to invalidate one another's authority: For, when the consuls assembled the people, in order to name the candidates for the consulship, the tribunes, in virtue of their power to forbid all proceedings, dismissed the comitia: And again, when these assembled the people to chuse their magistrates, the consuls would not suffer them to proceed, since they had the power of calling the centuries together, and
of

of giving them their votes. Mutual accusations, and continual quarrels passed between them; each side being supported by those of their own faction: So that, even, blows were exchanged in their passion; and the seditious were very near proceeding to arms. The senate, being informed of these things, deliberated, for a long time, what course to take in this juncture, being neither able to force the people to a submission, nor willing to submit to them. Those, who were for carrying things with a high hand, advised to create a dictator on account of the election, one, whom they should most approve of; and that the person invested with this power should banish the authors of this distemper; and, if the former magistrates had been guilty of any fault, that he should reform it; and, after he had regulated the government in such a manner, as he should think fit, appoint the best men to be magistrates. But the more moderate proposed to chuse interreges, consisting of the most ancient, and the most dignified senators; who should be directed to take care that the election of magistrates be carried on in the best manner, as it was, formerly, practised after the demise of their kings. This advice being approved of by the majority, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus was created interrex by the senate; and all the other magistracies ceased. After he had governed the commonwealth without any sedition, as many days as he was authorized by his commission, he appointed another interrex, according to their custom, and named Spurius Lartius to that dignity; who, assembling the

people in their centuries, and giving them their votes according to the valuation of their fortunes, returned for consuls, with the approbation of both parties, ⁵⁹ Caius Julius, surnamed Iulus, a man in the interest of the people; and Quintus Fabius, the son of Caeso, for the second time, who was in that of the aristocracy. The people, who had not been ill treated by him in his former consulship, suffered him to obtain this honor a second time, through their hatred to Appius, and the great satisfaction they received from his disgrace: And the aristocratical party, who had concerted measures to advance to the consulship a man of activity, and one, who should relax in nothing to the people, looked upon the event of the sedition to have been favourable to their designs.

XCI. During the consulship of these persons, the Aequi, making a predatory irruption into the territories of the Latines, carried off a great number of slaves, and cattle: And a people of Tyrrhenia, called the Veientes, plundered a great part of the country belonging to the Romans. The senate resolved to put off the war against the Aequi, and to demand satisfaction of the Veientes. The former, finding their first attempt successful, and that no one appeared to obstruct them in the prosecution of it, grew elated with a groundless presumption; and, resolving to act, no longer,

⁵⁹ Γαίον Ιούλιον τον επικαλημενον Ιούλον.
So we must read this passage with the
Vatican manuscript; because he is

called C. Julius Iulus in the *Fasti consulares*.

like robbers, they marched with a numerous army to ⁶⁰ Hortona, and took it by storm; and, after they had plundered both the country, and the city, returned home with a great booty: As to the Veientes, the answer they gave to the Roman ambassadors was, that the people, who had laid waste their country, did not belong to their nation, but to the other Tyrrhenian cities; and, then, dismissed them, without giving them any sort of satisfaction: And the ambassadors, in their return, met the Veientes, as they were bringing home the booty they had taken in the Roman territories. The senate, being informed of these things from the ambassadors, came to a resolution, not only, to declare war against the Veientes, but that both the consuls should command their army. This resolution of the senate raised a great contest, and many opposed their engaging in this war; and put the plebeians in mind of the division of the public lands, of which they had been defrauded after a vain hope, notwithstanding the decree of the senate, passed near five years before for carrying it into execution: They shewed them, also, that the war they were going to declare, would become a general war, if all Tyrrhenia, by joint consent, should resolve to assist their countrymen. However, these seditious representations had no effect; the people confirmed the decree of the senate, pursuant to the opinion, and advice

⁶⁰ *Oglaſa*. * Cluver has shewn that *tona*, a city of the Latines near Praeneste, we ought thus to read the name of this town, which the Romans called *Hortona*.

* B. iii. p. 969.

of Spurius Lartius. Upon which, the consuls marched out with their forces, and incamped apart, at no great distance from the city of Veii: And, after they had continued there several days, and the enemy did not come out to fight them, they ravaged as great a part of their country as they could, and returned home with the army. And nothing else worth notice happened, during their consulship.

The end of the Eighth Book.



ERRATA in VOL. III.

PAGE 1. L. 4. For *in which*. Read *at which*.

P. 2. last line. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.

P. 17. L. 5. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.

P. 35. L. 12. f. Malachus. r. Malacus.

P. 42. L. 6. f. of. r. on.

P. 46. Note 20. no point after *Estora*.

P. 50. L. 5. f. Echetrani. r. Ecetrani.

P. 53. L. 3. f. in which. r. at which.

P. 64. last line but three. f. they. r. the *Æqui*.

P. 74. last line but three. f. dependance. r. dependence.

P. 75. L. 10. for in which. r. at which.

P. 87. last line but two. f. avaritious. r. avaricious.

P. 93. Column 2. L. 5. f. Gelon. r. Gelo.

P. 109. L. 18. f. these. r. them.

P. 129. L. 2. a comma after *thing*.

P. 141. last line but three. f. The Women, also. r. Even the women.

P. 146. L. 2. f. superintendence. r. superintendence.

P. 152. L. 1. f. Licinnius. r. Licinius.

P. 159. last line but one. dele. *own*.

P. 161. last line but one. no comma after *those*.

P. 165. L. 11. f. umbrellos. r. umbrellas.

P. 177. L. 2. f. or. r. nor.

P. 191. L. 12 and 16. f. ediles. r. *ediles*.

Ib. last line but one. f. plebeians. r. patricians.

P. 192. L. 15. for the first *they*. r. the patricians.

Ib. L. 22 and 25. f. ediles. r. *ediles*.

P. 193. L. 18. f. devastations. r. devastations.

P. 195. L. 7. a comma after *proof*, and then insert *by*.

P. 202. L. 13. f. the. r. their.

Ib. L. 19 and last. f. ediles. r. *ediles*.

P. 203. L. 1 and 6. f. of. r. on.

P. 208. C. 2. L. 7. f. ediles. r. *ediles*.

P. 214. last line but two. f. plebians. r. plebeians.

Ib. last line. f. to this place. r. in this place.

P. 215. L. 10. f. secrefy. r. secrecy.

P. 216. L. 1. a comma after *those*.

P. 223. L. 7. f. desire. r. intreat.

P. 235. L. 4. a comma after *and*. and f. that. r. since.

P. 237. L. 5 and 6. f. by another, that. r. by that, which.

Ib. L. 11. f. dependants. r. dependents.

P. 243. L. 10. f. seperate. r. separate.

P. 252. L. 14. f. of. r. on.

P. 253. L. 1. f. Marcins r. : And.

Ib. L. 2. after *desired*. r. he.

P. 261. last line. f. seperated. r. separated.

P. 265. last line but three. f. For. r. Since.

P. 273. L. 11. f. hand and hand. r. hand in hand.

P. 277. L. 17. and 21. f. sacrificed and sacrifice. r. sacrificed and sacrifice.

Ib. last line. f. flayed. r. flayed.

P. 285. L. 11. f. great expence. r. vast expence.

P. 289. L. 4. f. Volscians. r. Volsci.

Ib. L. 21. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.

P. 299. L. 21. after *approving*. r. of.

P. 307. L. 22. f. conquerers. r. conquerors.

P. 310. L. 9. a comma after *walls*.

P. 311. C. 1. L. 12. after *and*, insert *now says*.

Ib. C. 2. L. 17. after *be*. r. had.

P. 338. L. 18. f. Longola. r. Longula. (and in the note.

Ib. last line. f. Echetra. r. Ecetra.

P. 362. L. 15. f. sacrifice. r. sacrifice.

P. 382. L. 9. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.

Ib. L. 15. confider. r. consider.

P. 388. L. 12. f. him. r. his person.

P. 403. C. 1. L. 3. f. whic is. r. which is.

P. 426. L. 6. f. in. r. into.

P. 435. L. 3. no comma after *own*.



T H E
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
O F
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS,

Translated into ENGLISH;

WITH

N O T E S and D I S S E R T A T I O N S.

B Y

E D W A R D S P E L M A N, Esq.

V O L. IV.

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M D C C L V I I I.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE NINTH BOOK.

THE following year, a dispute arising between the people, and the senate, concerning the persons, who were to be created consuls (for the latter desired that both of them should be chosen out of the aristocratical party, and the people, out of such, as were agreeable to them) after many contests, wherein they discovered each other's strength, they agreed that a consul should be chosen out of each party. And Caeso Fabius, who had accused Cassius of aiming at tyranny, was elected consul for the second time on the part of the senate, and Spurius Furius on That of the people, in the seventy fifth Olympiad, Calliades being

ANNOTATIONS on the Ninth Book.

1. Φυρσιος. The Vatican manuscript calls this consul Φυρσιος, but I believe it is a mistake; because the consuls of this year are thus set down in the *Fasti consulares*, K. Fabius Vibulanus 2. Sp. Furius Fufus.

VOL. IV.

B

archon

archon at Athens, and ² the same year that Xerxes undertook his expedition against Greece. They had no sooner taken possession of their dignity, but the ambassadors of the Latines came to the senate, desiring they would send to them one of the consuls with an army to restrain the insolence of the Aequi: The senate were, also, informed that all Tyrrhenia was in motion, and would, soon, declare war against them: For there had been a general assembly of that nation, in which, after many intreaties of the Veientes to assist them in the war against the Romans, a decree passed that all the Tyrrhenians, who were willing, might engage in their service: And a considerable number of volunteers were prepared to assist the Veientes. Upon this information, the senate resolved to raise forces, and that both the consuls should take the field; one to make war upon the Aequi, and to assist the Latines; and the other, to march with an army into Tyrrhenia. All this was opposed by Spurius ³ Icilius, one of the tribunes, who, assembling the people every day, demanded of the senate the execution of their promises relating to the division of the lands; and said he would suffer none of their decrees, whether they concerned military, or civil regulations, to take effect, unless they would, first, appoint the decemvirs to fix the bounds of the

² Καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐστράτευσε Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. See the twenty fourth annotation on the sixth book.

³ Ικίλιος. Sigonius thinks, very justly, that we must read the name of this tribune in the manner I have corrected

it, instead of Σικίλιος in the editions. For the same reason, he would have us read Icilius for Licinius, which, in the editions, is the name ² Livy gives to this tribune.

² B. ii. c. 43.

public lands, and divide them among the people, as they had promised. The senate being at a loss, and not knowing what resolution to take, Appius Claudius suggested this expedient to them, which was to consider by what means the other tribunes might dissent from Icilius, telling them there was no other method of putting a stop to the power of a tribune, who opposes, and obstructs the decrees of the senate, and whose person is sacred, and his authority legal, unless some other tribune, invested with the same dignity, and the same power, withstands him, and opposes the negative, given by the former. And he advised all succeeding consuls to do this, and to consider by what means they might, always, gain the affection, and friendship of some of the tribunes; saying, that the only method of destroying the tribunitian power, was to sow dissension among the tribunes.

II. This advice being given by Appius, and approved of by the consuls, and the rest of the men in power, they courted the tribunes so effectually, as to engage the other four in the interest of the senate: These, at first, endeavoured to persuade Icilius to desist from pressing the division of lands, till the wars they were engaged in, should be ended. But, when he rejected their solicitations with an oath, and had the assurance to utter these outrageous words in the presence of the people, that he had rather see the Tyrrhenians, and the rest of their enemies masters of the city, than dismiss the usurpers of the public lands; they thought this a fair opportunity of restraining so great an

insolence both by their words, and actions; and even the people shewing themselves not well pleased with his declaration, they said they opposed their negative; and, openly, pursued such measures, as were agreeable both to the senate, and consuls: And Icilius, being deserted by his colleagues, had, no longer, any authority. After which, the army was raised, and every thing, that was necessary for the war, was supplied, partly by the public, and partly by private persons, with all possible alacrity: And the consuls, after drawing lots for the command of the armies, presently took the field; Spurius ^a Furius, marching against the cities of the Aequi, and Caeso Fabius against the Tyrrhenians. Every thing succeeded according to the desire of Spurius, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement; so that, in this expedition, he had an opportunity of taking a great booty, both in money, and slaves: For he overrun almost all the enemy's country, carrying, and driving off every thing; and gave all the spoils to the soldiers: And, being esteemed, even before, a lover of the people, he gained their affection, still more, by his conduct in this command. And, when the season for action was over, he brought

^a Φαριος ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰκανῶν πόλεις. ^b Livy makes *Fabius* march against the *Aequi*, and *Furius* against the *Veientes*. This Sigonius, in his notes upon this passage of Livy, says is the reading of an old manuscript. If the French translators had read this note, they would not have said that this was a modern correction. The reading Si-

^b B. ii. c. 43.

gonius contends for is, certainly, confirmed by ^c Livy, where he makes the Tyrrhenians say that the Roman consul had been deserted by his army after he had overcome the *Aequi*, which happened to Fabius, *consensu exercitus traditam ultrò victoriam victis Aequis; signa deserta; imperatorem in acie relictum; injussu in castra reditum*.

^c Id. ib. c. 44.

home his army undiminished, unhurt, and enriched with spoils.

III. Caeso Fabius, the other consul, though he performed the duty of a general with no less ability, was deprived of the praise due to his actions, not by any fault of his own, but because the plebeians were not well affected to him from the time he had caused Cassius, a consular person, to be condemned, and put to death for affecting tyranny: For they never shewed any alacrity either in those things, in which soldiers ought to yield a quick obedience to the orders of their general, or when a becoming eagerness was requisite to seize places by force, or where it was necessary to gain, by stealth, advantageous posts, or in any thing else, from whence the general might derive honor, and reputation. Their uniform conduct, by which they were, continually, insulting their general, was not very uneasy to him, or extremely hurtful to the commonwealth: But the last action they were guilty of, brought no small danger, and great disgrace, to both: For the two armies coming to a general engagement in a valley between the two hills, on which both their camps were placed, and the Romans having performed many gallant actions, and forced the enemy to give way, they refused both to pursue them, notwithstanding the repeated orders of their general, and to stay till they had taken the enemy's intrenchments; but, leaving a glorious action unfinished, they returned to their own camp. And, when some of the men attempted to salute the
the

the consul, ^s emperor, all the rest joined in loud exclamations against him, and upbraided him with the loss of many brave men through his want of ability to command: And, after many other reproachful, and passionate expressions, they demanded of him to break up the camp, and lead them back to Rome, pretending they were unable, if the enemy should attack them, to maintain a second engagement: Neither would they hearken to the remonstrances of their general, when he endeavoured to persuade them to change their resolution; or regard his intreaties, when he lamented, and supplicated; or were terrified with the violence of his threats, when he made use of these also; but still continued exasperated notwithstanding all these attacks; and the whole army possessed with such a spirit of disobedience, and such a contempt for their general, that they got up about midnight; and, without orders, struck their tents, took their arms, and carried off their wounded.

IV. When the general was informed of this, he was forced to give the word of command for all to march; so great was his apprehension of their disobedience, and audaciousness. The men retired with as great precipitation, as if they had saved themselves by flight, and approached the city about day break. The guards, who were posted upon the walls, not knowing these were their own people,

5. *Αυτοκρατορα*. This was the title of *Imperator*, conferred by the soldiers on their general after a victory, which was very different from the title of the same name granted by the senate to

^d Julius Caesar after his victory at *Munda*: The latter was given to him, and his posterity, and used by his successors.

^d Dion Cassius, B. xliii. p. 266.

ran to arms, and called to their companions, all the rest of the citizens being full of trouble, and confusion, as if some great misfortune had happened: And the guards did not open the gates to let them in, till it was broad day, and they could distinguish their own army: So that, besides the ignominy they incurred in deserting their camp, they, also, exposed themselves to great danger, in returning through the enemy's country in the dark, and without observing any order. And, if the Tyrrhenians had been informed of this, and pursued them in their return, nothing could have hindered the army from being intirely destroyed. The motive of this unaccountable retreat, or flight, was, as I have said, the hatred of the people against the general, and the envy of his honor, lest, by being adorned with a triumph, he should acquire the greatest glory. The next day, the Tyrrhenians, having intelligence of the retreat of the Romans, stripped their dead, and carried off their wounded with all the warlike stores they had left in their camp, which were in great quantity, as having been prepared for a long war; and, like conquerors, laid waste the adjacent country of the enemy, and, then, returned home with their army.

V. The succeeding consuls, Cneius Manlius, and Marcus Fabius, for the second time, being ordered by the senate to march against the Veientes with the greatest army they could raise, appointed a day for levying the forces. Tiberius Pontificius, one of the tribunes, opposing this levy, and calling upon them to put in execution the order of the senate

senate for the division of the lands, they applied themselves to court some of his colleagues, as their predecessors had done before, and divided the tribunes: And, after that, they executed the orders of the senate with full liberty. The levies being completed in a few days, the consuls took the field; each of them having with him two legions raised in the city itself, and a body not less numerous, sent by their colonies, and subjects: There came, also, from the Latines, and the Hernici, double the number of auxiliaries they had ordered. However, they did not make use of all these forces; but, giving them great thanks for their zeal, they dismissed one half of the succours they had sent. Besides, they appointed a third army, consisting of two legions of young men, to incamp before the city, with orders to guard the country, in case any other army of the enemy should, unexpectedly, make its appearance. And they left in the city such as were above the military age, who had, yet, strength sufficient to bear arms, as a garrison to defend the citadels, and the walls. After this, the consuls advanced at the head of their armies near the city of Veii, and incamped on two hills not far asunder. The enemy's army, consisting of great numbers of good troops, had, also, taken the field, and lay incamped before the city: For the men of the greatest power throughout all Tyrrhenia had joined them with their dependents; by which means, the Tyrrhenian army was, considerably, more numerous than That of the Romans. When the consuls saw the numbers of the enemy, and the lustre of their arms, they were, greatly, afraid lest their own forces,

forces, rent with faction, might not be able to prevail over Those of the enemy, whose minds were united: For which reason, they determined to fortify their camps, and to prolong the war, in expectation of some opportunity of acting with advantage, which the assurance of the enemy, elated with an inconsiderate contempt of them, might afford. In the mean time, there were continual skirmishes, and engagements of the light armed men in small parties, but no considerable, or illustrious action.

VI. The Tyrrhenians, being uneasy at this prolongation of the war, upbraided the Romans with cowardise, since they declined coming out to fight; and, looking upon the enemy to have quitted the field to them, they grew exceedingly elated. Their contempt of the Roman army, and their scorn of the consuls were further encreased by the opinion they entertained, that they themselves were assisted even by the gods: For the lightning, falling upon the general's tent of Cneius Manlius, one of the consuls, tore it in pieces, overturned the altar, tarnished some of the arms, scorched others, and some it quite consumed: It killed, also, the finest horse belonging to him, the same he used in battle, and some of his domestics: And the augurs saying that the gods portended the taking of the camp, and the death of the most considerable persons in it, Manlius removed with his forces to the other camp about midnight, and posted himself with his colleague. The Tyrrhenians, hearing the general had decamped, and being informed, by some of the prisoners, of the reasons of that motion, grew still more elated,

elated, from an opinion that the gods made war upon the Romans, and entertained great hopes of overcoming them : For their augurs, who are thought to have examined meteors with greater accuracy, than any other people, from whence the flashes of lightning come, what quarters receive it when it flits after the stroke, to which of the gods each kind of lightning is assigned, and what good, or evil they portend, advised them to attack the enemy, and interpreted the omen, which had happened to the Romans, in the following manner : Since the flash of lightning had fallen upon the consuls tent, which was That of the general, and utterly demolished it, even to the altar, the gods portended to their army, the demolition of their camp after it was taken by storm, and the death of the principal persons in it : If, therefore, said they, the enemy had continued in the place, where the lightning fell, and not removed their ensigns to the other army, the god, who is incensed against them, had satisfied his anger with the taking of one camp, and the destruction of one army : But, since they have endeavoured to be wiser than the gods, and removed to the other camp, deserting that place, as if the god had signified that the calamities should fall not upon the men, but upon the places, the divine wrath shall be extended to all of them, to those, who removed, and to those, who received them : And since, when it was, inevitably, portended by the gods that the other camp should be taken by storm, they had not waited for their fate, but had themselves abandoned it to the enemy ; the camp, which had received the deserters of
their

their own, should be taken by storm, instead of That which they had deserted.

VII. The Tyrrhenians, hearing these things from their augurs, sent a detachment to possess themselves of the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, with a design to make use of it, as a place of strength to annoy the other : For the situation of it was exceeding strong, and lay very convenient to cut off all communication betwen Rome and the enemy's camp. After they had made other dispositions also, calculated to give them an advantage over the enemy, they led out their army, and advanced into the plain : But the Romans remaining quiet, the boldest of the Tyrrhenians rode up to their camp; then, standing near it, called them all women ; and, saying that their leaders resembled the most cowardly of all animals, they abused them, and desired they would do one of these two things ; either come down into the plain, if they pretended to the title of valiant men, and decide the contest by one battle ; or, if they owned themselves to be cowards, deliver up their arms to those, who were superior to them in valor ; and, after suffering the punishment they deserved, renounce, for ever, their pretensions to all that was great. This they repeated every day ; and, when it had no effect, they resolved to draw a line of contravallation round their camp, with a design to starve them into a surrender. The consuls suffered them to go on for a considerable time ; not through any want of courage, or resolution (for they were both men of spirit, and of military accomplishments) but from a suspicion

of the unwillingness of their men to do their duty, and of their want of alacrity, which still remained in the minds of the plebeians ever since they had raised the sedition, on account of the division of the public lands: For the ears, and eyes of their generals were still astonished with the shameful actions, unworthy the dignity of the commonwealth, which the soldiers had been guilty of the former year, through their resentment to the consul, when they yielded up the the victory to the conquered, and sustained the pretended ignominy of a flight, in order to deprive their general of a triumph, the consequence of a victory.

VIII. Desiring, therefore, at once to banish sedition from the army, and to re-establish a general harmony; and, making this single point the object of all their counsels, and of all their care, since it was not in their power, by punishing some of them, to reform the rest, who were numerous, bold, and armed, or to persuade those, who were resolved not to be persuaded, they concluded that the two following motives would reclaim the seditious; that those of milder tempers (for there was a mixture of these, also, among so great a multitude) would be wrought upon by the shame of being abused by the enemy, and that such, as were not, easily, induced to tread the paths of honor, by that, which terrifies all mankind, necessity. And to effect both these, they suffered the enemy to insult them by their words, and behaviour, while they called their inaction cowardise, that, by repeated instances of scorn, and contempt, they might compel those to be brave, who were not disposed to be so of
their

their own accord : For these insults being continued, they entertained great hopes that all the soldiers would flock to the general's tent ; and, fired with resentment, and indignation, would demand of the consuls to lead them against the enemy ; which happened accordingly : For, when the latter began to barricade the gates of the camp with palisades, and ditches, the Romans, resenting the attempt, ran to the tents of the consuls, first, in small numbers, and, then, in a body ; and, crying out, accused them of treachery, and said that, if none would lead them, they themselves would take arms, and, without their commanders, fall out against the enemy. This being the general cry, the consuls thought this the opportunity they had waited for, and ordered the lictors to call the troops together, when Fabius, advancing, spoke to them as follows :

IX. “ Soldiers, and officers, your indignation at the in-
 “ fults you have received from the enemy, is slow ; and
 “ this general eagerness to attack them, by shewing itself
 “ much too late, becomes unseasonable. Then was the time
 “ for you to do this, when you, first, saw them come down
 “ from their intrenchments, and desire to begin the battle.
 “ Then would the contest for sovereignty have been glo-
 “ rious, and worthy of the Roman spirit : But now it is
 “ become necessary ; and, however successful, will not be,
 “ equally, glorious. But, even now, you do well in desiring
 “ to repair your slowness, and recover your forgotten vigor ;
 “ and great thanks are due to you for your eagerness in the
 “ pursuit of glory, if it flows from virtue : For it is better
 “ to

“ to begin late to do one’s duty, than never. I wish you
“ had all the same sentiments of what is advantageous, and
“ that you were all animated with the same ardor : But
“ we are afraid lest the disgust of the plebeians against the
“ senate concerning the division of lands may be the cause
“ of great mischief to the commonwealth : And we suspect
“ that this clamor, and indignation concerning your going
“ out to the charge, do not spring from the same motive in
“ all of you : But, that some desire to go out of the camp,
“ in order to take revenge on the enemy ; and others, to
“ run away. The reasons, that have induced us to entertain
“ these suspicions, are neither divinations, nor conjectures ;
“ but plain facts, not of ancient date, but which happened
“ last year, as you all know ; when a numerous, and brave
“ army having taken the field against this very enemy, and
“ the event of the first battle proving most successful to us,
“ Cæso, the consul, and my brother, who then commanded,
“ had it in his power to take the enemy’s camp, and to
“ triumph after a most glorious victory ; when some, envy-
“ ing his glory, because he was not a popular man, nor
“ pursued such measures, as were agreeable to the poorer
“ sort, struck their tents the night after the battle ; and,
“ without orders, fled out of the camp, not considering
“ either the danger they were exposed to in a disorderly
“ retreat, without a general, through an enemy’s country,
“ and that in the night, or the ignominy they were sure to
“ sustain in yielding, as far as in them lay, the sovereignty
“ to the enemy ; and in submitting, when conquerors, to
“ the

“ the conquered. Being afraid, therefore, tribunes, centu-
 “ rions, and soldiers, of these men, who are neither able to
 “ command, nor willing to obey, and who are numerous,
 “ bold, and armed, we have avoided a battle hitherto, and
 “ dare not, even now, with such assistance, hazard a decisive
 “ engagement, lest they obstruct, and prejudice those, who
 “ are performing their parts with all possible alacrity. But,
 “ if some god should reform their inclinations, and induce
 “ them to lay aside their divisions, from which the com-
 “ monwealth, at this time, receives great prejudice, or to
 “ defer them till peace shall be restored, and redeem their
 “ passed shame by their present valor, nothing shall, then,
 “ hinder us from engaging the enemy with great hopes of
 “ victory. To obtain which we have many advantages, but
 “ the most considerable, and the most to be confided in is
 “ the folly of the enemy ; who, far exceeding us in the
 “ number of their forces, and, by that alone, enabled to
 “ withstand our valor, and experience, have deprived them-
 “ selves of this only benefit by consuming the greatest part
 “ of their army in garrisons. In the next place, when they
 “ ought to act with caution and prudence in every thing,
 “ knowing what kind of men, far superior to them in valor,
 “ they have to deal with, they run boldly, and inconsider-
 “ ately to the battle, as if they were invincible, and we in-
 “ timidated : This appears by their barricading the gates of
 “ our camp ; by their riding up to our intrenchments, and
 “ insulting us so frequently, both by their words, and ac-
 “ tions. Consider these things ; remember the many
 “ glorious

“ glorious battles, in which you have overcome them, and
“ go on with alacrity to this engagement also: And let
“ every one of you look upon the spot, on which he shall
“ be posted, as his house, his land, and his country: Let
“ him, who saves his next man, think he saves himself;
“ and who forsakes him, conclude that he delivers himself
“ up to the enemy: But, above all, remember this, that,
“ of those who stand their ground, and fight, few are
“ slain; but of those who give way, and fly, very few are
“ saved.”.

X. While he was yet displaying these incentives to bravery, and accompanying his words with many tears, calling by name every one of the centurions, tribunes, and foldiers, who, he knew, had performed some gallant action in former battles, and promising many great rewards to such, as should distinguish themselves in this engagement in proportion to their actions, as honors, riches, and other advantages, they all cried out to encourage him, and desired he would lead them on to the battle. As soon as he had done speaking, there came out from the throng a man, called Marcus Flavoleius, a plebeian, and bred to country work, though not of mean condition, but celebrated for his virtue, and military bravery and, on both these accounts, honoured with the most considerable command in one of the legions, which command the sixty centuries are enjoined by the law to follow, and obey: These officers are called by the Romans, in their own language, *Prinipili*.

⁶ *Primipili*. This man, who, besides his other qualifications, was tall, and a comely person, standing where all might see

⁶ Πριμοπιλος. These officers were called by the Romans, *primopili*, or *primipili*. They were the first officers in a legion next to the tribunes. The reader has already seen ^c that a legion, as instituted by Romulus, consisted of 3000 foot, and 300 horse: This number was afterwards augmented; and instances may be found in ^f Livy, where the senate ordered what number both of horse, and foot each legion should consist of; which number in the war with Perseus they extended to 6000 foot, and 300 horse. ^g I have, in a former note, spoken of the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*, who composed the three lines of heavy armed men, in which every legion was drawn up. If I repeat it now, my reason is, because I have since found that some learned men have been misled by the word *Principes*, and from thence concluded that these constituted the first line. But this is a mistake: For they were certainly drawn up in the order they are here mentioned. If the reader pleases to turn to the 193^d page of a noble performance, the idea of a patriot king, he will find this mistake to have crept in there among a thousand beauties. But, in order to explain what our author means when he says that the *primipili* commanded the sixty centuries of every legion, it will be necessary to dissect the constituent parts of a legion. Every legion consisted of thirty divisions, called by the Romans, *ordines*, ten of the *bastati*, ten

of the *principes*, and ten of the *triarii*; each of these *orders* was subdivided into two centuries, consequently there were sixty centuries in every legion. The post of honor in a legion, though in the rear, was That of the *triarii*; next in rank were the *principes*; and the last the *bastati*: By this means, it happened that the lowest officer in a legion was the centurion of the tenth order, or of the twentieth century of the *bastati*, called in Latin, *decimus bastatus posterior*; and the first officer after the tribunes was the first centurion of the *triarii*, otherwise called, *primipilus*. There is a speech made by Sp. Ligustinus in ^h Livy, where he gives an account of his rising from a common soldier to the degree of a *primipilus*; which account contains a gradation, that will confirm what I have asserted; *biennium miles gregarius fui—tertio anno virtutis causâ mihi T. Quintius Flamininus decimum ordinem bastatum assignavit—hic me imperator dignum judicavit, cui primum bastatum prioris centuriae assignaret—a Man. Acilio mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est assignatus—a Ti. Graccho rogatus, in provinciam ii. quater intra paucos annos primum pilum duxi*. As I have mentioned the legionary tribunes, it may be necessary to speak of their number: There were six tribunes in every legion; these were, at first, created by the generals; afterwards, that is, in the year of Rome 392, Q. Servilius Ahala, and L. Genucius being consuls, both for

^c See the sixteenth annotation on the second book.
^f See the twenty seventh annotation on the fourth book.

^g B. xlii. c. 31.

^h B. xlii. c. 34.

him, spoke in the following manner: "Are you afraid, consuls, that our actions will not agree with our words? I will be the first to give you, in my own name, the greatest assurance for the performance of my promise: And, fellow-citizens, and partakers of the same fortune, as many of you as resolve to support your words by your actions, you will not err in following my example." Having said this, he held up his sword, and took the oath in use among the Romans, and esteemed by them the most sacred of all others, by engaging his own faith, That he would return to Rome victorious, or not at all. After Flavoleius had taken this oath, they all gave him great applause: And, presently, both the consuls did the same, as did, also, the inferior officers, the tribunes, and centurions, and, last of all, the soldiers. This being done, they all felt great alacrity, great friendship for one another, confidence, and spirit: And, going from the assembly, some bridled

the second time, a law passed, by which this power was transferred from the generals to the people; ⁱ *et quum eo anno primum placuisset tribunos militum ad legiones suffragio fieri (nam et antea sicut nunc, quos rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant) secundum in sex locis tenuit (T. Manlius.)* This power was, upon some occasions, restored to the generals by the consent of the people. However, we find ^k, by the last passage of Livy, that the generals were possessed of it in his time: Which is not to be wondered at, since Augustus would certainly not have suffered the

people to chuse the principal officers of an army, raised and maintained to perpetuate their slavery.

⁷ Τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐαυτῶν πίσιν. The Latin translators have rendered this, *bona fides*. I have never met with this oath in any Roman author; which I am surprised at, since Dionysius says it was, among the Romans, the most binding of all oaths. ¹ Livy makes Flavoleius swear by Jupiter, Mars, and the other gods; *Si fallat, Jovem patrem, Gradivumque Martem, aliosque iratos invocat deos.*

ⁱ Livy, B. vii. c. 5.

^k Id. ib.

¹ B. ii. c. 45.

their

their horses; others sharpened their swords, and spears; and others cleaned their defensive arms: And, in a short time, the whole army was ready for the battle. The consuls, after invoking the gods by vows, sacrifices, and prayers, to be their guides in falling forth, led the army out of the camp in a proper disposition, and order. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them quit their intrenchments, were surprised at it, and marched out with their whole army to meet them.

XI. When both armies were come into the plain, and the trumpets had sounded a charge, they gave a shout, and engaged: And, the horse charging the horse, and the foot closing with the foot, they fought; and great was the slaughter on both sides. The right wing of the Romans, commanded by Manlius, one of the consuls, repulsed that part of the enemy, that stood opposite to them; and the horsemen, quitting their horses, fought on foot. But their left was surrounded by the right wing of the enemy: For the line of the Tyrrhenians on this side outflanked That of the Romans, and was considerably deeper: The troops of the latter, therefore, were broken in this part, and many wounded: This wing was commanded by Quintus Fabius, who was, then, ^s legate, and proconsul, and had been twice

^s. Πρεσβυτης. In Latin *Legatus*, the next officer to the consuls. I chuse to call this officer *a legate* rather than *a lieutenant*, with le Jay, or *a lieutenant-général*, with M.***, as I before said: For, if we are to give modern names to all the military establishments of the Romans, we must, by the same rule, call a legion, a regiment. Le Jay has

translated *ἐπιστάτης*, *propréteur*, because Portus has rendered it so; however, both le Jay, and his guide are mistaken: For a consul, after the expiration of his magistracy, might indeed be a proconsul, but never a *propraetor*, which was a title peculiar to those, who had arrived to no higher dignity than to That of praetor; and

consul: He maintained the fight a long time, and received wounds of all kinds; till, being struck in the breast with a spear, the point of which pierced his bowels, he fell through loss of blood. When Marcus Fabius, one of the consuls, who commanded in the center, was informed of this, he took with him the best of his foot, and, calling to Caeso Fabius, his other brother, to follow him, he passed before his own line; then, advancing a considerable way, when he had got beyond the enemy's right wing, he turned upon those, who were surrounding his men; and, charging them, he made a vast slaughter of all he encountered, and put to flight those who were at a distance: And, finding his brother, still breathing, he took him up: However, he died presently after. The desire of revenging his death inflamed the two brothers, still more, against the enemy; and, regardless now, of their own life, they rushed with a few among the thickest of them, and made large heaps of their dead bodies. Here the Tyrrhenian army suffered; and those who, before, had forced the enemy to give ground, were, now, repulsed by the conquered. But, in the left wing, where the Tyrrhenians, opposed to Manlius, were already spent, and beginning to run away, they put to flight those they were engaged

Q. Fabius had, we see, been twice consul. M. *** has not translated *ἀντιστρατήγος* at all, because Sylburgius has omitted it.

9. Κυκλαμενός. This word must be taken actively in this place, and relates to the Tyrrhenians, who were surrounding the Romans; which is plain from the following sentence, *ἐμπέσαν*

δε αὐτοῖς, etc. However, Sylburgius, and consequently M. *** have taken it passively. This obliged the former to say in the next sentence, *in hostes irruens*, and the latter to explain these words, by *il fond sur les Tyrrhéniens*; neither of which are in the Greek text, where, as our author has used *κυκλαμενός* actively, they are not wanted.

with:

with : For Manlius being wounded in the knee with a javelin, the point of which reached to his ham, those about him took him up, and carried him to the camp. The enemy, thinking the Roman general slain, took heart, and the rest coming to their assistance, they pressed hard upon the Romans, who, now, had no commander. This obliged the two Fabii to quit the left wing, and fly to the relief of the right : And the Tyrrhenians, seeing them advance in a strong body, gave over the pursuit. However, they doubled their files, and fought in good order ; and, losing a great number of their own men, they killed, also, many of the Romans.

XII. In the mean time, the Tyrrhenians, who had possessed themselves of the camp abandoned by Manlius; as soon as the signal was given by their general, ran with great expedition, and alacrity to the other camp of the Romans, from an opinion that it was not guarded with a sufficient force ; neither was their opinion groundless : For, besides the ¹⁰ Triarii, and some young men, the rest of the number then in the camp, consisted of merchants, servants, and artificers : And many being crowded into a small place (for the battle was at the gates of the camp) a sharp, and severe engagement ensued, and several fell on both sides. In this action, Manlius, the consul, coming out with the cavalry to the relief of his men, his horse fell, and he falling with him, and being unable to rise through the number of his wounds, he died ; and many brave young men were slain by his side. After this misfortune, the camp was soon taken : And the

¹⁰ Τριᾶριον. See the twenty seventh annotation on the fourth book.

Tyrrhenian prophecies were fulfilled: If, therefore, they had made a proper use of their present good fortune, and secured the camp, they had remained masters of the enemy's baggage, and forced them to a shameful retreat: But, instead of that, by amusing themselves with plundering what was left, and taking refreshment, as most of them did after the action, they suffered a fine booty to escape out of their hands: For, as soon as the other consul heard the camp was surprised, he hastened thither with a body of chosen men, both horse, and foot. The Tyrrhenians, being informed of his arrival, lined the intrenchments quite round the camp; and a sharp battle was fought, while these endeavoured to recover their own, and the others were afraid of being all put to the sword, if the camp was taken. The action lasting a considerable time, and the Tyrrhenians having many advantages (for they stood upon an eminence, and had to do with men spent with fighting the whole day) Titus¹¹ Sicinus, the legate, and proconsul, after communicating his design to the consul, ordered a retreat to be founded, and that all the men should assemble in one body, and assault that side of the camp, which was the weakest. He gave over the attack of those parts next the gates from a reasonable consideration, that did not deceive him; which was, that, if the Tyrrhenians had a prospect of

¹¹ Σικινος. The Vatican manuscript has Σικιλιος, and Lapus and Gelenius Σικινιος. As our author calls him *ἀντιστρατηγον*, which I translate procon-

ful, I suppose him to be the same person, who was ^m consul with C. Aquilius in the year 267.

^m See the eighth book, c. 64.

safety,

safety, they would abandon the camp ; whereas, if they despaired of it, by seeing themselves invested on all sides, and no way left to escape, necessity would make them brave. The attack, therefore, being directed against one place only, the enemy, no longer resisted ; but, opening the gates, saved themselves by retiring to their own camp.

XIII. The consul, after he had dispelled this mischief, returned to the assistance of those, who were in the plain. This battle is said to have been the most considerable the Romans had, till then, been engaged in, with regard to the numbers of the combatants, the time it lasted, and the sudden turns of fortune : For their army consisted of about twenty thousand foot, all inhabitants of Rome, the flower, and choice of their youth ; of twelve hundred horse appointed to the four legions ; and of the same number from their colonies, and allies. The battle began a little before noon, and lasted till sun set ; and the fortune of it continued long in suspense ; and, by inclining sometimes to this side, and sometimes to that, dispensed victories, and defeats to both : One of the consuls was slain, with a legate, who had himself been twice consul, and a greater number of other officers, tribunes, and centurions, than had, ever before, been killed in one action. However, the Romans seemed to have had the victory, for no other reason, than because the Tyrrhenians decamped the following night. The next day, the former plundered the camp, which the Tyrrhenians had abandoned ; and, having buried their dead, returned to their own : Where, in an assembly of the soldiers, they distri-

distributed to those, who had distinguished themselves in the battle, the honors due to their valor. First, to Caeso Fabius, the consul's brother, who had performed great, and wonderful exploits ; next, to Sicinus, who had given occasion to the recovery of their camp ; and, in the third place, to Marcus Flavoleius, the primipilus, on account both of the oath he had taken, and the bravery he had shewn in the midst of dangers. After this was done, they staid a few days in the camp ; and, no enemy appearing to give them battle, they returned home. At Rome, all being desirous to honour the surviving consul with a triumph, in consideration of the most glorious event, in which the greatest battle they ever fought, had terminated, he himself refused this honor, alledging that it was neither pious, nor lawful for him to triumph, and wear a crown of laurel after the death of his brother, and the loss of his colleague. Having, therefore, laid up the ensigns, he discharged the soldiers ; and, though two months yet remained to complete his year, he abdicated the consulship, as incapable of performing the functions of that magistracy : For he was still exceeding ill of a large wound, and obliged to keep his bed.

XIV. Upon this, the senate chose interreges to preside at the election of magistrates, and the second interrex having assembled the people in the plain, Caeso Fabius was created consul for the third time, the same who had been the first man honoured for his bravery in the last action, and brother to the person, who had abdicated that magistracy ; and, with him, Titus Virginius. These, having drawn lots for the
com-

command of the armies, took the field: Fabius marching against the Aequi, who, then, annoyed the territories of the Latines; and Virginius against the Veientes. The former, when they heard that the army was preparing to invade them, presently evacuated the enemy's country, and returned to their own cities; after which, they suffered their territories to be pillaged: So that, the consul, as soon as he entered them, possessed himself of large sums of money, many slaves, and a great booty. But the Veientes staid, at first, within their walls, till, finding a proper opportunity, they fell upon the enemy, as they were dispersed about the country, and employed in plundering: And, attacking them with a numerous army in good order, they, not only, took away their booty, but, also, killed, or put to flight all who durst oppose them: And, if Titus Sicinus, who was then legate, had not come up to their relief with a body of foot, and horse in good order, and put a stop to the progress of the enemy, nothing could have hindered the army from being, totally, destroyed: But he giving them a check, the rest of the troops, which had been dispersed, presently got together; and, being now all in a body, they possessed themselves of an eminence when it was late in the evening, and continued there the following night. The Veientes, elated with this success, stood to their arms at the foot of the eminence, and sent for the forces in the city, imagining they had shut up the Romans in a place, where they could get no provisions; and that they should, soon, force them to deliver up their arms. Their numbers being now

considerably encreased, they formed two armies, and posted them opposite to the sides of the eminence, that seemed the weakest; and, against the stronger parts, they placed many smaller detachments: So that, every place was full of armed men. The other consul, being informed by the letters of his colleague, that the army, which was shut up on the hill, was reduced to the last extremity, and in danger of being taken by famine if they were not relieved, decamped, and marched against the Veientes with all expedition; and, if he had come but one day later, his arrival would have been ineffectual, and he had found the army there, utterly, destroyed: For those, who were upon the hill, being oppressed with the want of necessaries, were come down, resolving to die in the most glorious manner: And, having engaged the enemy, they were, then, fighting; the greatest part of them being oppressed with hunger, thirst, want of sleep, and every other evil. After a short time, when the army of Fabius, which was very numerous, was seen coming up in order of battle, they brought confidence to their own people, and terror to the enemy; who, not thinking themselves able to encounter a brave and fresh army, retired, and abandoned their camps. After the two armies of the Romans were joined, they formed a large camp in an advantageous place, near the city of the Veientes; and, having continued there several days, and plundered the best part of their country, they returned home. As soon as the Veientes heard that the forces of the Romans were disbanded, they marched with such of their own youth, as were prepared for expedition, and

and already assembled, and That of their neighbours, which was then present, and made an incursion into the plains, that lay contiguous to their own territories ; and these being full of corn, cattle, and men, they plundered them : For the husbandmen had come down from the places of strength, in order to get feed for their cattle, and till their lands, depending upon the protection of their own army, which then lay encamped between them, and the enemy : And, after this army was retired, they had made no haste to return with their herds, as not expecting the Veientes, after such repeated defeats, would be so soon in a condition to make an attempt, in their turn, against the enemy. This irruption of the Veientes into the Roman territories was indeed short, with respect to the time it lasted ; but of the greatest consequence, in regard to the large tract of land they overrun ; which gave the Romans an unusual concern mixed with shame, the enemy advancing as far as the river Tiber, and mount Janiculum, which is not even twenty stadia from Rome : And there were no forces, then, on foot to stop their further progress : For the Veientes came upon them before the Roman army could be got together, and divided into companies.

XV. Upon this, the consuls assembled the senate ; and, after considering in what manner the war should be carried on against the Veientes, it was the opinion of the majority to keep an army constantly assembled upon the frontiers, which should guard the entrance into the Roman territories, and always continue in arms : But the expence of maintaining

these guards, which would be very considerable, made them uneasy, the public treasury being exhausted by the continual expeditions they had been engaged in, and their private fortunes wasted in furnishing contributions : And their uneasiness was still encreased by the consideration of the manner, in which the guards, proposed to be sent, should be raised ; there being little probability that any particular persons would, voluntarily, expose themselves in the defence of all, and, without being succeeded by others, undertake a continual fatigue. While the senate were anxious on both these accounts, the two Fabii assembled all those of their family ; and, having consulted with them, they promised the senate that they themselves would, voluntarily, undertake this danger in defence of all the citizens ; and, with their clients and friends, and at their own expence, continue in arms as long as the war lasted. All admired their generous zeal, and placed their hopes of victory in this single action ; and the whole city celebrating their praise, and offering up vows, and sacrifices for their success, they took their arms, and went out. They were commanded by Marcus Fabius, who had been consul the preceding year, and overcame the Tyrrhenians in the last action : Their number consisted of about four thousand, the greatest part of whom were their clients, and friends ; and, of the Fabian family, three hundred and six persons. They were soon after followed by the Roman army under the command of Cæso Fabius, one of the consuls.

consuls. When they came near the river ¹² Cremera, which is not far from the city of the Veientes, they built a fortress upon a steep and craggy hill, of strength sufficient to be defended by so numerous a garrison, surrounded it with a double ditch, and fortified it with many towers: The fortress was called Cremera from the river. As many hands were employed in this work, and the consul himself assisted them, it was finished sooner than could have been expected. After that, the consul marched out of the fortress with his army, and went to the opposite side of the country of the Veientes, that lies next to the other part of Tyrrhenia, where the Veientes kept their herds, not expecting that a Roman army would ever penetrate into that country; and, having possessed himself of a great booty, he caused it to be transported to the new erected fortress; which booty gave him great pleasure for both these reasons; the first, that he had taken a swift revenge on the enemy; and the other, that he should supply the garrison with every thing they wanted, in great abundance: For he neither brought any part of the spoils to the treasury, nor divided any to the soldiers, who served under him; but granted all the cattle, the beasts of burden, the yokes of oxen, the iron, and the other instruments of husbandry, to the guards of the Roman territories. After he had performed these things, he returned home with the army.

¹² Κρεμύσα. This river rises out of the lake Baccanensis, now called *Baccano*, and falls into the Tiber on the Tuscan or west side. This river is now called ^a *la Varca*, or *la Valca*; near the south side of which stood the fortress about five Roman miles from Rome.

^a Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 536.

The Veientes found themselves in great streights after this fortress was erected to awe their country : Since, from this time, they could neither till their land with security, nor receive any provisions imported from abroad : For the Fabii had divided their army into four bodies ; one of which they left as a guard to the fortress ; and, with the other three, they, continually, harassed the enemy's country : And, whether the Veientes attacked them, openly, with a considerable force, which often happened, or endeavoured to draw them into an ambush, the Fabii had the advantage in both ; and, after killing many of them, retired in safety to the fortress : So that, the enemy durst, no longer, encounter them ; but continued shut up within their walls during the greatest part of the time, and only ventured out by stealth. And thus ended that winter.

XVI. The following year, Lucius Aemilius, and Caius Servilius being consuls, the Romans were informed that the Volsci, and the Aequi had entered into an agreement to attack them at the same time ; and that it would not be long before they made an irruption into their territories. This information was true : For each of these people marched sooner than could have been expected into that part of the Roman territories, that lay contiguous to their own, and laid it waste ; as thinking it impossible that the Romans would be able to support themselves under the Tyrrhenian war, and to repulse them. At the same time, they received intelligence from others that all Tyrrhenia was upon the point of declaring war against them, and preparing to send joint succours to the Veientes :

Veientes: For these, finding themselves unable to destroy the fortrefs by their own strength, had fled to them, putting them in mind of the relation, and friendship, that was between them; and enumerating the many wars they had maintained with united forces. In consideration of all these things, they desired they would assist them in the war against the Romans, they being, by their situation, as a barrier to all Tyrrhenia, and an obstacle to the torrent of the war, which, in its course from Rome, would overwhelm their whole country. The Tyrrhenians, prevailed upon by these reasons, promised to send them as great a number of auxiliaries, as they desired. The senate, being informed of this, resolved to send three armies into the field: And these being soon levied, Lucius Aemilius was sent against the Tyrrhenians; Caeso Fabius, who had lately abdicated the consulship, went with him, having obtained leave of the senate to join his relations at Cremera, whom his brother had conducted to the fortrefs, as a garrison, and to partake of the same dangers with them; and, being honoured with the dignity of proconsul, he set out with his dependents: Caius Servilius, the other consul, marched against the Volsci: And Servius Furius, the proconsul, against the Aequi. They had each two Roman legions, and the same number of Latines, Hernici, and their other allies. The war, to which Servius the proconsul was appointed, succeeded according to his wish, and was soon over: For, in one battle, he totally defeated the Aequi, and that without any trouble, having terrified them at the first onset; and they taking refuge in
their

their strong places, he employed the rest of his time in laying waste their country. But Servilius, one of the consuls, having engaged the Volsci with precipitation, and rashness, found himself much deceived in his expectation, the enemy making a very stout resistance : So that, after losing many brave men, he was forced to refrain from fighting ; and resolved to continue in his camp, and to prolong the war by skirmishes, and engagements of the light armed men. Lucius Aemilius, who had been sent against Tyrrhenia, finding the Veientes incamped before their city, together with a great number of auxiliaries of the same nation, he resolved to fight without delay ; and, staying but one day after he had formed his camp, he led out his army to the engagement, and was received by the Veientes with great resolution : The battle continuing doubtful, Aemilius put himself at the head of the horse, and charged the right wing of the enemy ; and, having disordered them, he went to the other wing ; fighting on horseback, where the ground would allow it, and, where it would not, on foot : Both the enemy's wings being, now, broken, the center, no longer, stood their ground, but was forced by the Roman foot ; and, after that, they all fled to their camp. Aemilius followed them close with his army in good order, and killed many of them. When he came to the camp, he attacked it by a succession of fresh troops, and staid there all that day, and the following night. The day after, the enemy being spent with labor, with wounds, and want of sleep, he made himself master of their camp : For the Tyrrhenians, when they saw the
Romans

Romans mount the palisades, left their camp, and fled, some to the city, and others to the neighbouring hills. That day the consul staid in the enemy's camp: And the day after, he rewarded those, who had distinguished themselves in the actions, with magnificent presents, and gave to the soldiers all the beasts of burden, and slaves the enemy had left in the camp, together with the tents, in which there was a great quantity of riches. By which means, the Roman army found themselves in greater opulence, than from any former battle: For the Tyrrhenians were, even then, a luxurious and expensive people, both at home, and in the field, and carried with them, besides necessary things, implements of pleasure, and luxury of all kinds, curiously wrought, and enriched.

XVII. The following days, the Veientes, now broken with their misfortunes, sent the most ancient of their citizens, with the ensigns of suppliants, to the consul to treat of a peace: These, lamenting, and intreating, and, with many tears, urging every motive, that could move compassion, prevailed on him to let them send ambassadors to Rome, in order to treat with the senate concerning peace; and, in the mean time, and untill the ambassadors returned with the senate's answer, to do no injury to their country. And, to obtain these concessions, they promised to supply the Roman army with corn for two months, and with their pay for six, as the conqueror had commanded. The consul, after he had received the contributions agreed on, and divided them among his men, consented to the truce. The senate, having heard the ambassadors, and received the letters

of the consul, in which he earnestly desired, and recommended to them to put an end to the war with the Tyrrhenians as soon as possible, came to a resolution to grant them peace, as the enemy had desired; and that Lucius Aemilius, the consul, should settle the terms of that peace in such a manner, as he should think fit. The consul, having received this answer, concluded a peace with the Veientes, with greater lenity to the conquered, than advantage to the conquerors: For he neither took from them any part of their country, nor imposed any further contributions on them, nor compelled them to give hostages, as a security for the performance of their agreement. This proceeding exposed him to great censure, and was the occasion of his not receiving from the senate the reward due to his success: For, when he requested the triumph, they opposed it, and objected to him the arrogance he had been guilty of in making the last treaty, which he had concluded without their concurrence: But, lest he should think this opposition proceeded from anger, or contumely, they ordered him to march with his army against the Volsci to the assistance of his colleague, giving him, by that means, an opportunity, if he succeeded in that war (for he was a very brave man) of extinguishing their resentment for his former errors. But Aemilius, exasperated at this disgrace, inveighed, violently, against the senate in the assembly of the people, accusing them of being displeased that the war against the Tyrrhenians was ended; and this, he said, proceeded from their contempt of the poor, and from an insidious design against them, lest,
when

when freed from foreign wars, they should demand the performance of their promises concerning the division of the lands, with which they had been amused by them for so many years. After he had gratified his ungovernable resentment by laying himself out in these, and the like reproaches against the patricians, he, not only, disbanded the army he himself had commanded, but sent for the forces, that lay incamped in the territories of the Aequi under the command of Furius, the proconsul, and dismissed them likewise: By which, he administered a fresh occasion to the tribunes to accuse the senate in the assemblies of the people, and to sow dissension between the poor, and the rich.

XVIII. These consuls were succeeded by Caius Horatius, and Titus Menenius, in the seventy sixth Olympiad, at which Scamander of Mitylene won the prize of the stadium, Phaeton being archon at Athens. These were, at first, hindered from performing the functions of their magistracy by a popular tumult, the people being exasperated, and not suffering any public affair to be transacted, till there was a distribution made of the public lands. But, afterwards, these commotions, and disturbances gave way to necessity, and the people came in, voluntarily, to be inrolled: For the eleven nations of the Tyrrhenians, which had not been comprised in the peace, holding a general assembly, accused the Veientes for having put an end to the war with the Romans without the general consent of the nation, and desired they would do one of these two things, either cancel the agreement they had made with the Romans, or make

war against the Tyrrhenians in conjunction with the former. On the other side, the Veientes transferred the accusation upon the necessity they had been under to make peace, and desired the assembly to consider by what means they might break it with decency. Upon this, one of the assembly suggested this expedient to them, which was, to complain of the erecting the fortress of Cremera to annoy them, and that the Romans had not withdrawn the garrison from thence: Then, to persuade them to evacuate the place; and, if they refused, to besiege it, and make that enterprise the beginning of the war. These points being settled, they left the assembly; and, not long after, the Veientes sent ambassadors to the Fabii to demand the fortress; and all Tyrrhenia was in arms. The Romans, being informed of these things by the Fabii, resolved that both the consuls should take the field; one to command in the war, that was coming upon them from Tyrrhenia; and the other to prosecute That, which was, already, begun with the Volsci. Horatius, therefore, marched against the Volsci with two legions, and a sufficient number of their allies: And Menenius was preparing to march against the Tyrrhenians with the same number of forces: But, while he was making his preparations, and losing time, the fortress of Cremera was taken, and the family of the Fabii destroyed. There are two accounts concerning the misfortune, that befell these persons: one, less probable; the other, coming nearer to the truth: I shall give them both, as I have received them.

XIX. Some say that, at the time appointed for a customary sacrifice peculiar to the Fabian family, they went out of the fortress, attended with a few clients, to perform this sacrifice; and advanced without ordering the roads to be visited, or marching in a regular manner under their ensigns, but negligently, and unguarded, as in time of peace, and as if they were going through the territories of their allies: And that the Tyrrhenians, being previously informed of their design to go out of the fortress, placed one part of their army in ambush upon the road, and followed them, soon after, with the other in good order; and, when the Fabii came near the ambush, the Tyrrhenians, who were placed there, discovered themselves, and attacked them, some in front, and others in flank; and, not long after, the rest of the Tyrrhenian army fell upon their rear; and, encompassing them on all sides, they overwhelmed them with a shower of stones, arrows, darts, and javelins, and put them all to death. This account appears to me the least probable: For it cannot either be supposed that so many persons actually upon duty, would have ventured to return from the camp to the city on account of a sacrifice without leave from the senate, when this sacrifice might have been performed even by others of the same family, who were more advanced in years; or, if they were all at Cremera, and no part of the Fabian family left at home, was it probable that all, who garrisoned the fortress, should abandon it; since, if three, or four of them had returned to Rome, they would have been enough to perform the sacrifice for the whole family: For these reasons, there-

therefore, to me this account does not seem to be credible.

XX. The other, relating to the destruction of the Fabii, and the taking of the fortress, which, in my opinion, comes nearer to the truth, is this : As they went out, frequently, to pillage the country, and advanced still further as their success encouraged them, the Tyrrhenians assembled a numerous army, and incamped in the neighbourhood, unperceived by the enemy : Then, sending out of their strong places, flocks of sheep, herds of oxen, and studs of mares, in appearance to pasture, they allured them with these : Upon which, the garrison, coming out, seized the herdsmen, and drove away the cattle. The Tyrrhenians doing this often, and drawing the enemy still further from their camp, after they had extinguished in them all regard to their security by inticing them with a constant booty, they, in the night, placed ambuscades in proper places, and others possessed themselves of the eminences, that commanded the plains. And, the next day, sending some armed men, as if designed for a guard to the herdsmen, they drove out a great number of herds from their fortresses. As soon as the Fabii had intelligence that, if they passed over the neighbouring hills, which they might soon do, they would find the plain covered with cattle of all sorts, and no sufficient guard to defend them, they went out of the fortress, leaving a competent garrison therein : And, marching with speed, and alacrity, they soon came to the place, and presented themselves before the guards of the cattle in good order :
These

These never staid to be attacked, but fled immediately. And the Fabii thinking themselves now secure, made the herdsmen prisoners, and carried off the cattle. In the mean time, the Tyrrhenians, rising up from their ambuscades, appeared in many places, and fell upon them on all sides. The greatest part of the Romans, being dispersed, and unable to assist one another, were killed upon the spot : But those who were in a body, endeavoured to gain some secure place ; and, hastening to the hills, fell into another ambuscade, that lay concealed in the woods, and vallies. Here a sharp battle was fought, and great was the slaughter on both sides : However, the Romans beat these also ; and, having filled the valley with dead bodies, ran up to the top of a hill not easy to be taken ; where they passed the night in want of every thing.

XXI. The day after, those, who had been left to guard the fortrefs, being informed of the misfortune of their companions, that the greatest part of the army had been destroyed in their pursuit of plunder, and that the bravest of them were besieged, and shut up on a desert mountain, and, if not presently relieved, would soon be taken through the want of provisions, went out in all haste, leaving very few of their men to guard the fortrefs. These the Tyrrhenians, falling out from their strong places, intercepted before they could join their companions ; and, surrounding them, they, at last, put them all to death, after they had performed many brave actions. Not long after, those also, who had possessed themselves of the hill, being oppressed both with
hunger,

hunger, and thirst, resolved to charge the enemy: And a few engaging with many, they continued fighting from morning to night, and made so great a slaughter of the enemy, that the heaps of dead bodies, dispersed in many places, were a hindrance to them in fighting. By this time, the Tyrrhenians had lost above a third part of their army; and, fearing to lose the rest, gave the signal for a short cessation of arms; and, sending heralds to the Romans, offered them their lives, and a free passage to Rome, if they would lay down their arms, and evacuate the fortress: But they refusing these conditions, and chusing a glorious death, the Tyrrhenians renewed the fight by turns, and no longer closed with them, but assailed them with a shower of javelins, and stones at a distance, which fell upon them as thick as hail: The Romans, forming deep files, rushed upon the enemy, who did not stand their ground, while the others supported themselves under the many wounds they had received from those, who stood round them. When several of their swords were become useless, some being blunted, and others broken, the borders of their shields hacked in pieces, and they themselves for the most part bloodless, and overwhelmed with missive weapons, and their limbs relaxed through a multitude of wounds, the Tyrrhenians despised them, and came to close fight. And the Romans, running furiously at them like wild beasts, grasped their spears, and broke them; and, laying hold on the edge of their swords, wrenched them out of their hands; then, twining round their bodies, threw them to the ground, and fell with them, thus continuing the
the

the fight with greater rage, than strength: So that, the enemy, astonished at their perseverance, and terrified at the fury they had borrowed from despair, ventured, no longer, to fight with them hand to hand; but, retiring again, they all at once threw at them, sticks, stones, and every thing else they could meet with; and, at last, overwhelmed them with the multitude of missile weapons. After they had put them to death, they ran to the fortrefs, carrying with them the heads of the most considerable persons, and not doubting but they should make the garrison prisoners at their first appearance; however, this attempt did not succeed according to their expectation: For the men, who had been left there, emulating the glorious death of their friends, and relations, came out of the fortrefs, though very few in number; and, after fighting a considerable time, were all put to death, in the same manner as the others: And, when the Tyrrhenians took the place, they did not find a man in it. This account appears to me much more credible than the former: However, both of them are to be found in Roman histories of good authority.

XXII. But there is a circumstance added by some to this relation, which, though ¹³ neither true, nor probable, but formed by the vulgar from some report, I have not thought

¹³ Οὐτε ἀληθες ἐν, ἢ ἐπιθανόν. I find by a note in M. * * *, that ° Perifonius is of a different opinion from our author in this respect: As I neither have, nor can get a sight of, Perifonius in the country, I must refer the reader

to him; and shall only add, that it is a very dangerous thing for modern writers, with fewer materials, and less parts, to contradict ancient authors of acknowledged authority.

• Animad. Hist. c. 5.

proper to pass by without examination: For it is said by some that, after the three hundred and six Fabii were slain, there was only one young son left of the whole family: Which is a thing, not only, improbable, but, even, impossible; since it is not possible that all the Fabii, who went out of Rome to the fortrefs, should have been all childless, and unmarried: For there was an old law among the Romans, that obliged all of a proper age, both to marry, and to bring up all their children: And the Fabii would not have been the only persons to violate a law, which had been observed by their ancestors to their time. But, if any one would allow even That, yet he could never grant this also, that none of them had any brothers, who were then children. These things resemble fables, and theatrical fictions. Besides, would not as many of their fathers as were still of an age to beget children, after so great a desolation of their family, both willingly, and unwillingly, have begotten other children, to the end that neither the sacrifices of their ancestors might be abandoned, nor so great a reputation of the family extinguished? ¹⁴ But, if none even of their fathers were left, and the whole family was included in those three hundred and six persons, yet is it impossible that none of these should have left either infants behind them, wives with child, or

¹⁴ Εἰ μὲν ἀρα ἔδε παῖδες αὐτῶν τισὶν εἰλεπόντο. I am surpris'd that none of the translators saw the absurdity of this reasoning; that is, if the text is not corrupted, which I much suspect. Our author first supposes that none of their fathers were left, and then says

that it is impossible none of the Fabii should have left either infant children, wives with child, brothers, *or fathers*: These last words, therefore, I have omitted in the translation. Le Jay has left them out in both places.

brothers

brothers too young to bear arms. When, therefore, I consider this circumstance in the light I have mentioned, I do not think it true: But this I think true; that, of the three brothers, Caeso, Marcus, and Quintus, who had been consuls seven years successively, Marcus alone left a son, who was then an infant; and nothing hinders this son from being the same, who is said to have been left of the Fabian family: And, because this son, when he came to be a man, was the only famous, and illustrious person of those who survived, the generality of mankind entertained this opinion that he was the only one left of the Fabian family; not, that no other was left, but none like the Fabii; and they judged of their relation to that family by virtue, not birth. But I have said enough of these things.

XXIII. After the Tyrrhenians had put these men to death, and made themselves masters of the fortress of Cremera, they marched against the other army of the Romans: For Menenius, one of the consuls, lay incamped not far off in an insecure post: And, when the family of the Fabii, and their clients were cut off, he was only thirty stadia from the place, where that misfortune happened: Which gave many people reason to believe that, though acquainted with the distress of the Fabii, he had taken no care of them, from the envy he bore to their virtue, and glory. For which reason, when he was, afterwards, brought to his trial by the tribunes, this was the chief cause of his condemnation: For the Roman people greatly lamented the loss of so many brave men; and were severe and inexorable to all, whom they

suspected to have occasioned their calamity. They look upon the day, on which that defeat happened, as black and inauspicious; and will begin no good work on that day, esteeming the misfortune of it as ominous. When the Tyrrhenians advanced near the Romans, and observed the situation of their camp, which lay under the side of a hill, they despised the inexperience of their general, and willingly laid hold on the advantage presented to them by Fortune: They, presently, marched up the opposite side of the hill with their horse, and gained the summit without opposition. Then, having possessed themselves of the eminence, that commanded the camp of the Romans, they stood to their arms, secured the ascent of the rest of their army, and formed their own camp, which they fortified with high palisades, and a deep ditch. If, therefore, Menenius, after he was sensible of the advantage he had given the enemy, had corrected his error, and removed his army to a more secure post, he had acted wisely; but, being ashamed to be thought to have erred, and continuing obstinate to all, who advised him to alter his measures, he drew upon himself a misfortune, that deservedly covered him with ignominy: For, as the enemy were, constantly, sending out detachments from those places, that commanded the camp of the Romans, they had great advantages in surprising the convoys, which the merchants were bringing thither, and in attacking their men, as they went out for forage, or water: And, at last, the consul had it not in his power to chuse either the time, or place of combat; which seems to be a great argument of the in-

incapacity of a general : Whereas, the Tyrrhenians had the command of both. And, even then, Menenius would not suffer the army to remove from thence ; but, leading out his men, he drew them up with a design to fight, in contempt of all who suggested advantageous counsels. The Tyrrhenians, looking upon the folly of this general as a great happiness, came down from their camp, being double in number to the enemy. When they engaged, there was a great slaughter of the Romans, who were unable to keep their ranks : For the Tyrrhenians forced them out of the line, as having, not only, the advantage of the ground, but, also, That of being pushed forward with violence by those, who stood behind them ; for their army was drawn up with a great depth. The most considerable, therefore, of the centurions being slain, the rest of the Roman army gave way, and fled to the camp : The others pursued them, took their ensigns, and made themselves masters both of their wounded, and dead : Then, shutting them up in their camp, they besieged them there ; and, continuing the attack of it all the rest of the day, and even the following night, they possessed themselves of the camp, which the Romans had abandoned, and took many prisoners, and a great quantity of effects : For those who fled, had not been able to carry off any thing, but were glad to save themselves, many not keeping even their arms.

XXIV. When they heard at Rome that their army was destroyed, and the camp taken (for the first, who had saved themselves in the general defeat, arrived there while it was yet

yet night) they were greatly alarmed, as may well be imagined: And, expecting the enemy every moment at their gates, they took arms; and some lined the walls; others posted themselves before the gates, and others took possession of the eminences in the city: The inhabitants ran in disorder through every street, and a confused cry was heard: The tops of the houses were covered with the people of every family, prepared to defend themselves, and annoy the enemy: The fires they made were so close to one another, it being in the night, and dark, and such a number of torches were lighted in the rooms, and on the tops of the houses, that, at a distance, it seemed one continued blaze, and had the appearance of a town on fire. And, if the Tyrrhenians, at that time, had despised the booty they found in the camp, and followed the Romans close when they fled, the whole army, which had been sent against them, would have been cut off: But, instead of that, they fell to plunder the camp of every thing, which had been left there, and took their rest: By which, they deprived themselves of the glory of a great action. The next day, they marched towards Rome; and, when they were about sixteen stadia from it, they possessed themselves of a hill called Janiculum, from whence the city may be seen: And, sending detachments from thence, they harraßed the territories of the Romans without controll, holding them in great contempt, till the other consul Horatius appeared with the army, which had been employed against the Volsci. Then the Romans thought themselves secure; and, arming the youth that was in the city,

city, they took the field: And, having, in the first battle, which was fought at the distance of eight stadia from the city near the temple of Hope, overcome the enemy, and beaten them out of the field; and, after that, fought them again near the gate called Collina, the Tyrrhenian army being more numerous than the former, and behaved themselves with great bravery, they recovered from their fear. And thus ended this summer.

XXV. The following year, the consuls, Spurius Servilius, and Aulus Virginius, both men of experience in war, entered upon their magistracy in ¹⁵ the month of June, about the summer solstice: To whom the Tyrrhenian war, however considerable and difficult, appeared advantageous in com-

¹⁵ Περὶ τὰς Θερμὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς Σεξτίλις μηνός. So this sentence stands in all the editions, and manuscripts; but this cannot, possibly, be the true reading, because all the world knows that the summer solstice falls on the twenty first of June, and not in the month Sextilis, August. Sylburgius, in his note upon this passage, which both the French translators have rendered in their language, without mentioning his name, thinks we ought to read *περὶ τὰς χειμερινὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς, δεκεμβρίου μηνός*: But this is writing for our author rather than correcting an error in his transcribers. I would, therefore, make a less violent alteration in the text, and read *Ἰουνίῳ*, instead of *σεξτίλιῳ*, and the difficulty is solved. Le Jay has explained, or endeavoured to explain, this passage by the prettiest

conceit imaginable. He has, first, rendered it, *vers les jours les plus chauds de l'esté au mois d'Aoust*; and then supports this translation by the following reasoning, which is so curious, that I am afraid of disfiguring some beauty in it, if I give it in any words but his own; *Ce qui peut encore favoriser l'interprétation que je donne à ce passage, est l'adverbe μάλιστα joint à l'adjectif Θερμὰς, qui ne peut signifier autre chose que très-chauds, ce qui convient parfaitement au mois d'Aoust, pendant lequel les plus grandes chaleurs se font sentir. Dans le système que je prends icy il faut entendre le terme Grec τροπή, non pas de la conversion annuelle du soleil, du Midy au Septentrion, et du Septentrion au Midy, mais la conversion journalière de l'Orient à l'Occident, et de l'Occident à l'Orient.*

parifon

parifon of the civil diforders: For the land having been unfown the former winter, by reason of the camp, which the enemy had formed upon the neighbouring hill, and the continual excurfions they had made from thence; and the merchants, no longer, importing any provifions from abroad, a great fcarcity of corn was felt at Rome, which was then full, not only, of the conftant inhabitants, but, alfo, of fuch, as had retired thither from the country: For the number of the citizens, who were men grown, amounted to above one hundred and ten thoufand, as appeared by the laft cenfus; and the women, children, domestics, the foreign merchants and artificers, did not amount to lefs than treble the number of the citizens; it not being lawful for any of the Romans either to follow the bufinefs of a merchant, or to exercife the trade of an artificer. To this multitude it was not eafy to adminifter comfort, as they were exasperated at this misfortune, and gathering together in the forum, clamouring againft the magiftrates, running in a body to the houfes of the rich, and endeavouring to feize the provifions, that were laid up there, without paying for them. In the mean time, the tribunes affembled the people; and, by accusing the patricians of contriving always fome mischief againft the poor, and calling them the authors of all the evils, which had ever happened according to the courfe of fortune, whose attacks human prudence can neither forefee, nor guard againft, they infpired them with insolence, and refentment. The confuls, oppreffed with thefe evils, fent proper perfons with large fums of money to the neighbouring parts

parts to purchase corn ; and, having ordered all those, who had laid up more than was sufficient for the moderate subsistence of their families, to produce their corn, they fixed a reasonable price on it. By these, and many other the like expedients, they put a stop to the disorders of the poor, and had leisure to return to the preparations for the war.

XXVI. In the mean time, the provisions they expected from abroad being delayed, and those of every sort in the city consumed, and there being no other means of averting these evils, but to chuse one of these two things, either to hazard an engagement with all their forces, in order to drive the enemy out of their country ; or, by shutting themselves up within their walls, to perish both by famine, and sedition ; they chose the least of these evils, and resolved to meet That, which arose from the enemy. Marching, therefore, out of the city with their forces, they passed the river about midnight on rafts ; and, before it was broad day, incamped near the enemy. The day after, they came out of their camp, and drew up their army in order of battle ; Virginius commanding the right wing, and Servilius the left. The Tyrrhenians, seeing them prepared for the engagement, greatly rejoiced, from an expectation that, if this battle succeeded to their wish, they should subvert the Roman empire, as they knew that all the best of their forces were to engage upon this occasion, and entertained hopes (in which there was great presumption) of defeating them with ease, since they had overcome the troops of Menenius, when these fought upon a disadvantageous ground. The armies,

therefore, engaging, a sharp and long battle ensued, and the Tyrrhenians, after having killed many of the Romans, and lost many more of their own men, retreated leisurely to their camp. Upon this, Virginus, who commanded the right wing, would not suffer his men to pursue the enemy ; but contented himself with the advantage he had gained : However, Servilius, who commanded the other wing, pursued those on his side, and followed them a great way : When he came to the rising ground, the Tyrrhenians faced about ; and, being assisted by those in the camp, they charged the Romans : These, after a short resistance, turned their backs ; and, being pursued down the hill, and dispersing themselves, many were slain. When Virginus was informed of the condition of the left wing, he advanced with all his forces in order of battle ; and, wheeling to the left, marched along the side of the hill : Then, being in the rear of those, who were pursuing the Romans, he left a part of his forces there, to prevent any relief from the camp, and himself attacked the enemy with the rest. In the meantime, the troops under Servilius, encouraged by the arrival of their companions, faced about, and, standing their ground, engaged. The Tyrrhenians, being thus surrounded by both, and unable either to advance, by reason of those who attacked them in front, or to retire to their camp, by reason of those who charged them in the rear, fought with greater bravery than success, and were almost all cut in pieces. As the victory, which the Romans had obtained, was a melancholy victory, and the event of the battle not altogether fortunate,

the

the consuls incamped before the dead bodies, and there passed the following night. In the mean time, the Tyrrhenians, who were in possession of the hill Janiculum, no succours coming to them from their own country, resolved to abandon the fortress; and, decamping in the night, marched to the city of the Veientes, which was the nearest Tyrrhenian city. The Romans having possessed themselves of their camp, took all the baggage, which the others could not carry away with them in their flight, and, also, many of their wounded, some of whom had been left in the tents, and others lay scattered all over the road: For these underwent the fatigue of this march from a desire of returning to their country, and supported it beyond their strength in following their companions; afterwards, when their limbs failed them, they dropped down half dead: These, the Roman horse, advancing a good way upon the road, took up. And no enemy appearing after this, the army rased the fortress, and entered the city with the spoils, carrying with them the bodies of those, who had been slain in the action; a fight that drew tears from all the citizens, on account both of the number, and valor of the dead. So that, the people did not think proper either to rejoice, as for a victory, or to mourn, as for a great, and irreparable calamity. The senate ordered the customary sacrifices to be offered to the gods, but refused the honor of a triumph to the consuls. A few days after, the city was supplied with a plenty of all sorts of provisions; some of which were sent by the ambassadors employed for that purpose by the public,

and others imported in great quantity by those, who used to carry on this trade. So that, all the citizens enjoyed the same abundance as before.

XXVII. The foreign wars being now ended, the civil dissension was renewed by the tribunes, who were, at this time, raising fresh disturbances among the people. However, the patricians, by opposing every step they took, defeated all their measures, except That, which related to the trial of Menenius, the late consul, which, notwithstanding all their endeavours, it was not in their power to prevent: So that, he was brought to his trial by ¹⁶ Quintus Confidius, and Titus Genucius, two of the tribunes; and, being called upon to give an account of his conduct, as general in the preceding war, the event of which had been neither fortunate, nor honourable; and, particularly, charged with having occasioned the destruction of the Fabii, and the loss of Cremera, he was condemned by the people; who passed judgement upon him in their tribes, a great majority of which voted against him, though he was the son of Agrippa Menenius, who brought home the people after their secession, and reconciled them with the patricians, whom the senate, after his death, honoured with a most magnificent funeral at the expence of the public, and for whom the Roman matrons mourned a

¹⁶. Κοψιδίς. P Livy calls this tribune Q. Confidius. This reading Sigonius, in his note upon this passage of Livy, supports with this reason, that the

Quintilian family, Κοψιλίης, which stands in the Greek text, were patricians, and, consequently, incapable of being chosen tribunes of the people.

whole year, laying aside their purple, and gold. However, they did not condemn him to death, but only imposed a fine on him, which, if a judgement was to be formed of it by the manner of living, that prevails at this time, would appear ridiculous; but, to the men of that age, who worked with their own hands, and aimed at no more than the necessities of life, particularly to Menenius, who had inherited poverty from his father, it was a large, and heavy fine, as it amounted to ¹⁷ two thousand *asses*; the *as* was a brass coin weighing a pound: So that, the whole fine amounted to ¹⁸ sixteen talents of brass in weight. And this appeared invidious to the men of those days; who, in order to redress it, abolished all pecuniary fines, changing them to payments in sheep, and oxen, and limited, even, the number of these in all future fines to be imposed upon private men by the magistrates. From this condemnation of Menenius, the patricians took a fresh occasion of resentment against the people, and would neither suffer the division of the lands to

¹⁷. Διαχίλιων ασσариων. The Roman *as*, at this time, was a brass coin weighing a pound. And ⁹ Livy, like our author, in speaking of the fine imposed on Menenius, says it amounted to two thousand *asses*, or pounds of brass; *duo millia aeris damnato mulctam edixerunt*. Arbuthnot makes the *as* to amount to no more than three farthings and one tenth of our money; consequently, two thousand *asses* will make no more than 6*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*

¹⁸. Ταλαντων εκκαιδεκα. Calaubon has a note upon this passage, which

M. *** has, according to his custom, translated without acknowledging his obligation to him. Casaubon shews, from Hesychius and Suidas, that the talent, considered as a weight, weighed 125 pounds: So that, if 2000 be divided by 125, the quotient will be 16. However, it must be considered that the Roman pound consisted only of 12 Avoirdupois ounces. This pound, Arbuthnot says, weighed no more than ten ounces, eighteen penny weight, and thirteen grains, five sevenths, Troy weight.

⁹B. ii. c. 52.

procced,

proceed, nor make any other concession in their favor. And it was not long before the people themselves repented of their having condemned him, when they were informed of his death : For, from that time, he neither came into company, nor was seen in any public place. And, when he had it in his power, by paying his fine, not to be excluded from any public employments (for many of his friends were willing to pay it) he would not accept their offer, but changed his fine into a capital punishment; and, staying at home, and admitting no one, died through dejection, and abstinence. These were the transactions of this year.

XXVIII. Publius Valerius Poplicola, and Caius Nautius being consuls, Spurius Servilius, another patrician, who had been consul the former year, was tried for his life, not long after the expiration of his magistracy. The persons, who cited him to his trial before the people, were Lucius Caedicius, and Titus Statius, two of the tribunes, who called upon him to give an account, not of any crime, but of fortune ; because, in the battle against the Tyrrhenians, he had pushed on to the enemy's camp with greater resolution, than prudence ; and, being pursued at once by all who were in the camp, he had lost the flower of the youth. The patricians looked upon this trial, as the most grievous of all others : They had frequent meetings, in which they expressed their resentment ; and said they had every thing to fear, if generals, who acted with resolution, and declined no danger, were to be accused, because Fortune had opposed their designs, of cowardice, and backwardness by those, who
had

had not been present at the battle: That, if their generals were restrained from inventing new stratagems, their liberty of acting would be taken away, and their power subverted: And that trials of this kind would, infallibly, produce these mischiefs. At the same time, they exhorted the people, with great earnestness, not to condemn the man; telling them, they would do great prejudice to the commonwealth, if they punished their generals for being unfortunate. When the day appointed for the trial was come, Lucius Caedicius, one of the tribunes, appeared, and accused Servilius of having, through his folly, and inexperience in the duty of a general, led his forces to manifest destruction, and lost the best, and choicest troops belonging to the commonwealth; and, if his colleague had not, presently, been informed of the misfortune, and, by coming up with his forces in all haste, stopped the progress of the enemy, and saved the other army, nothing could have hindered them from being all cut in pieces, and the commonwealth from losing half the number of her citizens: Having said this, he produced as witnesses all the centurions, who had escaped; and some of the soldiers, who, in order to obliterate their own ignominy, arising from that defeat, and flight, were willing to attribute the unfortunate event of the action to their general: Then, having raised great compassion for the calamity of those, who had lost their lives upon that occasion, exaggerated the defeat, which the commonwealth had received, and, with great contempt of the patricians, insisted upon every thing else, which, by exposing their whole order to envy, was sure to dis-

discourage all, who should pretend to intercede for the man, he gave him an opportunity of making his defence.

XXIX. This being granted, Servilius said : “ If you have
“ called me to a trial, citizens, and desire an account of my
“ conduct in the command of the army, I am ready to
“ make my defence : But, if to a punishment already de-
“ termined, and no advantage is to accrue to me in con-
“ vincing you that I am guilty of no crime, take my person,
“ and treat it in the manner you have long resolved : Since
“ it is better for me to die without a trial, than after I have
“ made my defence, and not persuaded you of my innocence :
“ For I shall then seem to suffer, deservedly, whatever you
“ shall have determined against me : And you yourselves
“ will be more excusable in not suffering me to make my
“ defence, and indulging your passion, while it is yet un-
“ certain whether I have offended you in any thing. Your
“ disposition, therefore, will discover itself by the manner,
“ in which you hear me ; as This is either tumultuous, or
“ quiet, I shall judge whether you have called me to a
“ punishment, or a trial.” Having said that, he stopped.
This being followed by a general silence, and, presently, the
greatest part calling out to him to take courage, and say
what he thought fit, he resumed his discourse, and said :
“ Since, then, citizens, you are to be my judges, and not
“ my enemies, I make no doubt but I shall, easily, convince
“ you that I am guilty of no crime. I shall begin my dis-
“ course from those facts, which you are all acquainted with.
“ I was created consul with Virginus, a most worthy man,
“ at

“ at the time when the Tyrrhenians, having fortified the
 “ hill, that commands your city, were masters of all the
 “ country, and entertained hopes of subverting your empire
 “ in a short time. There was, at that juncture, a great
 “ famine, and a sedition in the city, and a general irresolu-
 “ tion concerning the measures to be pursued. In so tur-
 “ bulent, and so formidable a crisis, I together with my
 “ colleague overcame the enemy in two engagements, and
 “ obliged them to abandon the fort, and leave the country.
 “ The famine I soon put an end to, by supplying the markets
 “ with a plenty of provisions, and delivered to my successors
 “ the country free from hostile arms, and the city recovered
 “ from all the political distempers, with which the dema-
 “ gogues had infected it. What offence, therefore, have I
 “ been guilty of, unless to overcome your enemies is to
 “ offend you? If some of the soldiers happened to lose
 “ their lives, after they had fought with success, in what
 “ has Servilius offended the people? For no god is surety
 “ to generals for the lives of all, who are going to engage :
 “ Neither do we receive the command of armies upon such
 “ terms, and conditions, as to overcome all our enemies, and
 “ lose none of our own men: For what man, as such, would
 “ dare to take upon himself all the events both of conduct,
 “ and fortune? So far from it, that we always purchase
 “ great successes with great dangers.

XXX. “ I am not the first to whom this misfortune has
 “ happened in battle; but almost all, who have ventured
 “ to encounter armies superior in number to their own,

“ have been exposed to it: For some, after they had pur-
“ sued the enemy, have themselves been put to flight; and,
“ after they had killed many of their adversaries, have lost still
“ more of their own men. I shall not add that several, even,
“ after an intire defeat, have returned home with ignominy,
“ and great loss: None of whom were punished because
“ they were unfortunate: For the calamity itself is a suf-
“ ficient punishment; and to receive no praise, if there was
“ nothing else in it, is a great, and grievous chastisement
“ to a general. However, I am so far from pretending,
“ what all reasonable men will allow to be just, that I ought
“ not to give an account of fortune, that, though no other
“ person ever ventured to undergo such a trial, I alone do
“ not decline it, but consent that my fortune may be in-
“ quired into, as well as my conduct; and shall only pre-
“ mise this: I observe that a judgement is always formed
“ of human actions, whether successful, or otherwise, not
“ from the particular measures that have been pursued,
“ which are many and various, but from the event: And,
“ when this is prosperous, though even the intermediate ope-
“ rations, which are many, may not be applauded, yet I find
“ the actions themselves not the less praised, emulated by
“ all, and looked upon as the effects of good fortune: But,
“ if the event is unsuccessful, though every thing that pre-
“ ceded it, was carried on with the greatest success, those
“ actions are ascribed not to the good, but to the ill fortune
“ of their authors. Make use of this maxim yourselves; and,
“ by that, judge of my fortune also with regard to the war:
“ And,

“ And, if you find me vanquished by the enemy, call my
 “ fortune bad ; but, if victorious, call it good. Concerning
 “ fortune, therefore, I could add many things ; but, as I
 “ am not ignorant that every argument, which can be
 “ offered upon that subject, is disagreeable, I shall say no
 “ more.

XXXI. “ But, since they censure my conduct also, not
 “ daring indeed to accuse me of treachery, or cowardice, for
 “ which other generals are often tried ; and charge me with
 “ inexperience in the duty of a general, and imprudence, for
 “ having exposed myself to an unnecessary danger in pursuing
 “ the enemy to their camp ; I will answer this charge also,
 “ which I could do very readily, by saying that it is an
 “ exceeding easy thing, and in the power of every man to
 “ censure past actions ; but difficult, and of which few are
 “ capable, to attempt great things with danger : And that
 “ future events do not appear what they will be, in the
 “ same manner as past events appear what they are ; but
 “ these we discover by our senses, and our sufferings, and
 “ those we form conjectures of by divination, and opinions,
 “ in which there is great deceit : And that it is the easiest
 “ thing in the world for people to play the general in dis-
 “ course, when they are at a distance from the danger ;
 “ which is the case of my accusers. But I wave all this ;
 “ and desire, in the name of the gods, that you will tell me
 “ whether you look upon me as the first, or the only man,
 “ who ever attempted to force intrenchments, and led his
 “ men against an eminence ? Or have not many other of

“ your generals done the same; some of whom have suc-
 “ ceeded in these attempts, and others not? Why, there-
 “ fore, do you not try them as well as me, if you look upon
 “ these actions to prove the incapacity, and imprudence of
 “ a general? How many other enterprises, more daring
 “ than this, have generals thought fit to attempt at a
 “ juncture, which least of all admits of safe counsels, and
 “ deliberation? Some have snatched the ensigns from their
 “ own men, and thrown them among the enemy, in order
 “ to force the backward, and cowardly to do their duty,
 “ when they knew that those, who did not recover their
 “ ensigns, were sure to suffer an ignominious death by the
 “ orders of their generals. Others, after they had made an
 “ irruption into the enemy’s country, have broken down the
 “ bridges over which they had passed, to the end that those,
 “ who had any thoughts of saving themselves by flight,
 “ might be inspired with boldness, and resolution from their
 “ despair of effecting it. And others, by burning their tents,
 “ and baggage, have imposed a necessity on their men of
 “ supplying themselves with every thing they wanted out
 “ of the enemy’s country. I omit many instances of
 “ the like nature, and all the other daring actions, and
 “ designs of generals, which we have learned both from
 “ history, and our own knowledge; for which, when they
 “ did not succeed, none yet was ever punished: Unless
 “ any of you can object to me that, when I exposed others
 “ to manifest destruction, I kept myself out of danger:
 “ But, if I charged with the rest, came off last, and shared
 “ the

“ the same fortune with others, what crime am I guilty of?

“ And let this suffice concerning myself.

XXXII. “ Now, concerning the senate, and the patri-
“ cians, I think it necessary to say a few words to you, since
“ the general hatred you bear to them all, by reason of the
“ opposition that has been made to the division of the lands,
“ affects me also, and this hatred my accuser was so far from
“ concealing, that he made it no small part of his accusation
“ against me. Let me speak to you upon this subject with
“ freedom: For it is consistent neither with my temper to
“ speak, nor with your advantage to hear me, in any other
“ manner. You act contrary both to justice, and piety,
“ plebeians, in not acknowledging the many great benefits
“ you have received from the senate, and in resenting their
“ refusal of some of your desires, which, if granted, would
“ bring great prejudice to the public, when this refusal does
“ not proceed from their envy to you, but from their re-
“ gard to the advantage of the commonwealth. Whereas,
“ the best thing you could have done was to have paid a
“ deference to their resolutions, as flowing from the best of
“ motives, and calculated for the general good, and to have
“ desisted from your earnestness: But, if you were unable
“ to conquer your unprofitable desires by prudent confi-
“ derations, you ought to have aimed at obtaining the same
“ things by persuasion, and not by violence: For voluntary
“ presents are, not only, more agreeable to those who grant
“ them, than such as are extorted, but, also, more lasting to
“ those who receive them: Which is a thing, I call the
“ gods

“ gods to witness, you do not consider ; but are agitated by
“ your demagogues, like the sea by various winds perpetually
“ succeeding one another, and provoked to rage, and will
“ not suffer the commonwealth to enjoy even the least quiet,
“ and tranquillity. This has made us prefer war to peace ;
“ since, when we are in war, we hurt our enemies ; but,
“ when in peace, our friends. However, plebeians, if you
“ look upon all the resolutions of the senate to be advantageous to the commonwealth, as they really are, why do
“ you not look upon this resolution also in the same light ?
“ But, if you are of opinion that the senate do not take the
“ least consideration of any thing that is incumbent on them,
“ but govern the commonwealth dishonourably, and unskilfully, why do you not remove them all at once, take
“ the government upon yourselves, consult, and make war
“ in support of your own sovereignty, rather than pare them,
“ destroy them by degrees, and take off the most considerable men by your sentences ? Since it is better for all of
“ us in general to be attacked by open war, than for every
“ one in particular to be circumvented by calumnies.
“ However, you are not the cause of these disorders, as I
“ said, but the demagogues who inflame you, and who are
“ both unwilling to obey, and unable to command. And
“ their imprudence, and inexperience have often exerted all
“ their power to overset this ship ; but the senate, who have
“ been reviled by them in the severest terms, corrected their
“ errors, and kept the commonwealth upright. Whether
“ these things are agreeable to you, or displeasing, they
“ have

“ have been uttered, and hazarded by me with the greatest
 “ truth: And I had rather lose my life by using a freedom
 “ of speech, that may be advantageous to the common-
 “ wealth, than save it, by flattering you.”

XXXIII. After he had spoken in this manner, he neither lamented, nor bewailed his misfortune, nor, by intreaties, and casting himself at the feet of any one indecently, appeared dejected; but, without shewing the least mark of an infirm mind, gave way to those, who were willing to speak, or bear witness in his favor. Upon which, many presented themselves, and made his innocence appear; particularly Virginus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, and was looked upon to have been the cause of the victory: He, not only, shewed him to be innocent, but represented him both as the bravest of men, and the ablest of generals, and, as such, deserving to be applauded, and honoured by all. And he said that, if they thought the war was happily concluded, they ought to thank them both; but, if unhappily, to punish them both; since their counsels, their actions, and their fortune had been the same. The people were moved both with this speech, and with the character of the man who spoke it, which was established by virtuous actions of every kind: To this was added a sympathizing look, which raised the greatest commiseration, such a look, as appears in the faces of those very persons, who either actually suffer, or are going to suffer, great miseries: So that, even the relations of the men, who had lost their lives in the action, and seemed irreconcilable
 to

to the author of their misfortune, were softened, and laid aside their resentment, which they soon made appear : For the votes of the people being taken, not a single tribe condemned him. This, therefore, was the event of the danger, to which Servilius had been exposed.

XXXIV. Not long after, an army of the Romans marched against the Tyrrhenians under the command of Publius Valerius, one of the consuls : For the forces of the Veientes were again assembled, and the Sabines had joined them ; who, though unwilling, till then, to assist them in a war, the object of which they looked upon as impossible for them to attain, when they heard both of the flight of Menenius, and of the erecting the fort upon the hill close to the city, they concluded that, not only, the forces of the Romans were overcome, but that their spirit, also, was humbled ; and, espousing the cause of the Tyrrhenians, sent them a great number of auxiliary troops. The Veientes, confiding both in their own forces, and in Those of the Sabines, which had lately joined them, desired, while they were expecting succours from the rest of the Tyrrhenians, to march directly to Rome with the greatest part of their army, from a persuasion that none would oppose them, but that they should take the city either by force, or famine. However, Valerius prevented their design, while they were delaying the execution of it, and waiting for the arrival of those allies, who had not yet joined them, by putting himself at the head of the bravest Roman youth, and of their allies, and marching out of the city, not openly, but in such a manner

manner as to conceal his march from the enemy as much as possible: For, coming out late in the evening, and passing the Tiber at a small distance from the city, he incamped: Then, marching in order of battle about midnight, he attacked one of the enemy's camps before it was day: For there were two camps at no great distance from one another, one of the Tyrrhenians, and the other of the Sabines: The first camp he attempted was That of the Sabines, in which most of the men being asleep, and no sufficient guard appointed (the place, where they lay, being the country of their allies, and they entertaining a great contempt of the enemy, of whom they had received no account) he took it by storm. Some of the Sabines were slain in their beds; others, just as they were getting up, and taking their arms; and others, after they were armed, but, while they were dispersed, and fighting without order: The greatest part of them, endeavouring to escape to the other camp, were intercepted by the Roman horse, and cut in pieces.

XXXV. The camp of the Sabines being thus taken, Valerius marched to the other, where the Veientes lay, the place not being very strong. Here it was not possible for them to approach the camp without being seen: For it was, now, broad day, and the Sabines who escaped, had acquainted the Tyrrhenians both with their own calamity, and the design of the Romans to attack them: So that, it was, now, become necessary to depend upon their courage in charging the enemy. Here the Tyrrhenians fighting before their camp with all possible bravery, a sharp action

infused with great slaughter on both sides, the victory being doubtful, and for a long while inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other: But, at last, the Tyrrhenians were broken by the Roman horse, and retired to their camp. The consul followed: And, when he came near their intrenchments, which had been ill fortified, and the place, as I said, not very secure, he assaulted them in many parts at once, and continued the assault all the rest of that day, without resting even the following night. The Tyrrhenians, spent with continual toil, left their camp the next day, as soon as it was light; some taking refuge in their city, and others dispersing themselves in the neighbouring woods. The consul, having made himself master of this camp also, rested his army all that day: The day after, he distributed the spoils he had taken in both the camps, which were in great quantity, among those who had fought for them; and honoured such, as had distinguished themselves in the two actions, with the customary crowns. The man, who was looked upon to have fought with the greatest bravery, and put the troops of the Veientes to flight, was Servilius, the consul of the former year, who had been acquitted by the people, and was, at that time, legate to Valerius, and, in consideration of the superior valor he shewed upon this occasion, was the first, who received those rewards, which among the Romans are the most esteemed. After that, the consul, having ordered the enemy's dead to be stripped, and his own to be buried, marched out with his army; and, incamping near the city of
of

of the Veientes, he challenged them to come to an engagement; but none venturing out to fight, and he looking upon it as a work of difficulty to take by assault a town exceeding strong, laid waste a great part of their country, and then invaded That of the Sabines. And, having, also, laid waste their territories, which had been untouched for many days, the carriages of his army being, now, heavily loaded with booty, he returned home. The people met him a good way from the city crowned with flowers; and, perfuming the road, as he passed, with frankincense, received the army with bowls of Hydromel: And the senate decreed to him the honor of a triumph. The other consul, Caius Nautius, to whom the defence of the Latines, and the Hernici, their allies, had been allotted, had delayed taking the field; not from any irresolution, or apprehension of danger, but because he was waiting the event of the war with the Veientes, which was then undecided; to the intent that, if any misfortune should befall the army employed against them, the commonwealth might have another in readiness to hinder them from making an irruption into the country, in case they should, like those who had before marched to Rome, attempt to fortify any places in order to annoy the city. In the mean time, the war, brought upon the Latines by the Aequi, and the Volsci, was also happily concluded; and news was brought that the enemy, being defeated, had quitted the country of their allies, who, no longer, stood in need of any assistance for the present. However, Nautius, after their affairs in Tyrrhenia had taken a happy turn,

marched out with his army: Having invaded the country of the Volsci, and overrun a great part of it, which they had abandoned, he made himself master of a few slaves, and cattle; and, having set fire to their corn, which was then ripe, and done other considerable damage to their country, as none appeared to oppose him, he brought back his army. Such were the transactions, that happened during the consulship of these persons.

XXXVI. Their successors, Aulus Manlius, and Lucius Furius, after the senate had ordered that one of them should march against the Veientes, drew lots, according to custom, who should command in this expedition: And the lot falling to Manlius, he presently took the field, and incamped near the enemy. The Veientes, being shut up within their walls, defended themselves for some time; and, sending ambassadors both to the other cities of Tyrrhenia, and to the Sabines, who had, lately, assisted them, desired they would immediately send them succours: But, finding themselves refused by all, and having consumed their provisions, the most ancient, and the most dignified among them, compelled by famine, came out of the city; and, presenting themselves before the consul with the ensigns of suppliants, begged of him to put an end to the war. Upon this, Manlius ordered them to furnish the army with their pay for a year, and with provisions for two months; and, after they had complied with this, to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to treat of peace with the senate; and they, having accepted these conditions, and presently brought the pay for the
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the army, together with the money allowed by the consul to be paid by them instead of the corn, they went to Rome: And, being introduced into the senate, they asked forgiveness for what had passed, and to be freed from the war for the future: And, after many arguments on both sides, it was carried to put an end to the war by a treaty; and a truce was granted to them for forty years. Upon which, the embassadors returned, having made great acknowledgements to the commonwealth for the peace they had obtained. And Manlius coming to Rome requested the ¹⁹ Ovation for having put an end to the war, which was granted to him. There was, also, a census in this consulship; and the number of the citizens, who registered their own names, their fortunes, and the names of their sons, who were arrived to manhood, amounted to a little more than one hundred and thirty three thousand.

XXXVII. These consuls were succeeded by ²⁰ Lucius Aemilius Mamercus for the third time, and Vospiscus Julius Iulus, who entered upon their magistracy in the seventy seventh Olympiad, at which Datis of Argos won the prize of the stadium, Chares being archon at Athens. The administration of these consuls was exceeding uneasy and tumultuous: It was indeed attended with peace abroad (for all their enemies were quiet) but, through civil dissensions, both they themselves were exposed to dangers, and the

¹⁹ Τον πρῶτον θριαμβῶν. See the thirty ninth annotation on the fifth book.

²⁰ Λευκίος Αἰμιλῖος Μάμερκος το τρίτον, καὶ Ουοπίσκος Ἰβλῖος. The names of these

consuls stand thus in the *Fasti consulares*, Lucius Aemilius Mamercus 3. Vopiscus Julius Iulus.

commonwealth was almost ruined by their means: For, as soon as the people had a respite from military expeditions, they, presently, pursued the division of the public lands. The person, who inflamed this passion in the poor, was one of the tribunes, a bold man, and not uneloquent, whose name was Cneius Genucius: This man was, constantly, assembling the people, captivating the minds of the poorer sort, and endeavouring to oblige the consuls to carry into execution the orders of the senate, concerning the division of lands. These refused to do it, alledging that this commission was given by the senate not to them, but to Cassius, and Virginius, who were then consuls, and to whom even those orders were directed; they added that the resolutions of the senate were not laws designed to continue in force for ever, but temporary institutions, the efficacy of which lasted only one year. The consuls making use of these evasions, Genucius found himself unable to employ compulsion against those, who were invested with a superior authority, and took a bold resolution: For he exhibited a public charge against Manlius, and Furius, the consuls of the former year, and summoned them to appear before the people, and make their defence, declaring, openly, the crime they were accused of, which was, that they had wronged the people in not appointing the decemvirs directed by the senate to divide the lands. He gave very plausible reasons for his not having accused any of the other consuls, when there had been twelve consulships since the senate had passed this order, and for his charging these men only with the breach of
promise:

promise: He ended with saying that the only way to compel the present consuls to divide the lands, was to let them see some others punished by the people, which would put them in mind that they, also, might expect the same treatment.

XXXVIII. After he had said this, he exhorted all the plebeians to be present at the trial; and, having sworn by the holy rites that he would assuredly persist in his resolution, and accuse these persons with all possible vigor, he appointed a day for the trial. The patricians seeing this, were under great fear, and anxiety concerning the measures they were to take both to procure these men to be acquitted, and put a stop to the boldness of this demagogue: And the resolution they came to was, to oppose the people with force, if they attempted to pass any vote to the prejudice of the consular power, and, even, to have recourse to arms, if that should be necessary. However, they were under no necessity of using any violent means, the danger being dispelled in a sudden, and unexpected manner: For, the day before the trial, Genucius was found dead in his bed, ²¹ without

²¹ Σημειον ουδεν εχων ελε σφωρης, &c. Livy says, not only, that the senators caused Genucius to be put to death, but, also, that they were so far from repenting of the murder, that those among them who had no share in it, bragged of their having committed it; *nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam. adeoque neminem noxae poenitebat, ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, pa-*

lamque ferrent malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem. This victory of the senate was truly what Livy calls, in the next sentence, *peffimi exempli victoria.* Here we see a great contradiction in the conduct of the senate. Fifteen years before, they had, with a noble firmness, refused to concur with the people in recalling Coriolanus, when he was at their gates with a victorious

¹ B. ii. c. 54.

the least appearance of his having been stabbed, strangled, poisoned, or put to death by any other insidious means. As soon as this accident was known, and the body brought into the forum, the event was looked upon as a kind of providential obstacle to the trial, which was presently dismissed: For none of the other tribunes had the boldness to revive the sedition; on the contrary, they looked upon Genucius to have been guilty of a great madness. If, therefore, the consuls had not, after this, overacted their part, and awakened the sedition, which heaven had laid asleep, they would have drawn upon themselves no further danger: But, by giving themselves up to pride, and a contempt of the plebeians, and by desiring to shew the whole extent of their power, they were the occasion of great mischiefs: For, having appointed a day to make levies, and endeavoured to compel the disobedient to give in their names by various punishments, and by causing them to be whipped with rods, they drove the greatest part of the plebeians to despair, which broke out upon the following occasion.

XXXIX. A certain plebeian, celebrated for his valor, called Publius Volero, who had commanded a century in the late wars, was, now, lifted by them as a common soldier; which he refusing to submit to, and declining a less honourable employment, when he had been guilty of no misbehaviour in the former campaigns,

army of Volsci; and here they descend to the meanest of all actions, the assassination of an adversary: They had resolution enough to resist the

terror of a victorious enemy; but not virtue enough to resist the suggestions of a party spirit.

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the consuls, offended at the liberty he took, ordered the lictors to strip him, and tear his body with rods. The young man called upon the tribunes, and, if he was guilty of any crime, desired to be tried by the people. But the consuls, regardless of what he said, repeated their orders to the lictors to take him away, and whip him; when he, impatient of the insult, revenged his own wrongs; and, striking the first lictor, who came near him in the face with his fist, as he was young and strong, he knocked him down, and treated the next in the same manner: And, when the consuls, in a rage, commanded all the lictors at once to seize him, the plebeians, who were present, thought it a heinous thing; and, gathering together in a body, and inflaming one another's resentment with their cries, they rescued the young man, and repulsed the lictors with blows: At last, they ran to the consuls; and, if these had not left the forum, and fled, they had, that instant, done some irreparable mischief. This affair divided the whole city, and those tribunes, who, till then, had been quiet, grew wild with rage, and inveighed against the consuls. Thus the contest concerning the division of lands was changed into another contest of greater consequence, that concerned the very form of their government: For the patricians, who looked upon this attempt as the subversion of the consular power, resented it no less than the consuls, and insisted that the man, who had dared to lay hands on the lictors, should be thrown down the Tarpeian rock. On the other side, the plebeians assembling, clamoured against the patricians, and exhorted one another

not to betray their liberty, but to carry the matter before the senate, to accuse the consuls, and endeavour to obtain some justice against them for their usage of a free man, and a citizen, whom, after he had implored the assistance of the tribunes, and desired to be tried by the people if he had been guilty of any crime, they had deprived of both these rights, treated him like a slave, and ordered him to be whipped. While, therefore, the two parties thus opposed one another, and neither were disposed to yield, all the remaining part of this consulship was consumed without being adorned either with military actions worthy to be celebrated, or with political worthy to be related.

XL. The time for the election of magistrates being come, Lucius Pinarius, and Publius Furius were created consuls. In the beginning of this year, there happened many prodigies, and omens, which filled the city with a kind of superstition, and fear of the gods; and all the augurs, and the interpreters of holy things declared that these were the signs of divine anger, some rites not having been performed with sanctity, and purity. And, not long after, a distemper, supposed to be pestilential, attacked the women, particularly such as were with child, and more of them died than had ever been known before: For, as they miscarried, and brought forth dead children, they died together with their infants: And neither supplications at the statues, and altars of the gods, nor expiatory sacrifices, performed on behalf of the public, and of private families, gave the women any relief. While the commonwealth was suffering under so
strange

strange a calamity, information was given to the pontifs by a slave, that one of the Vestal virgins, who have the care of the perpetual fire, by name Urbinia, had lost her virginity, and, though impure, performed the public sacrifices : And the pontifs, having removed her from the ministry, brought her to a trial ; and, after she was convicted, they ordered her to be whipped with rods, to be carried through the city, and buried alive. One of the two men, who had been the accomplices in her crime, killed himself ; the other the pontifs seized, and ordered him to be whipped in the forum like a slave, and then put to death. After these punishments, the distemper, which had attacked the women, and caused so great a mortality among them, presently ceased.

XLI. But the sedition raised by the plebeians against the patricians, which had long continued in the city, was renewed : The person who renewed it was Publius Volero, one of the tribunes, the same who, the year before, had disobeyed the consuls Aemilius, and Julius, when they would have lifted him for a common soldier instead of a centurion : The reasons, that induced the poorer sort to chuse him tribune of the people, were chiefly these (for he was both ignobly born, and brought up in great obscurity, and want) because he was looked upon as the first private man, who, by his disobedience, had humbled the consular power, which was till then invested with the royal dignity ; and particularly by reason of the promises he had made, when he stood candidate for that magistracy, to deprive the patricians of their power. This man, therefore, as soon as

he was at liberty to perform the functions of his office, the divine anger having ceased, assembled the people, and proposed a law concerning the election of the tribunes, by which that election was to be transferred from the assemblies of the curiae, called by the Romans, *Comitia Curiata*, to the assemblies of the tribes: The difference of which is this: In order to render the resolutions, taken in the ²² assemblies of the curiae, valid, it was necessary that the senate should make the previous order, and that the people, voting in their curiae, should confirm it, and that, after both these, the heavenly signs, and auspices should not oppose it: Whereas, in the assemblies of the tribes, neither the previous order of the senate was necessary, nor the ratification of the holy rites, and auspices, but only that the resolutions there taken should be finally determined by the members of the tribes in one day. Now, two of the other four tribunes joined with Volero in proposing this law: So that, by engaging these two, he carried it against the others, who differed from him in opinion, and were inferior in number. On the other side, the consuls, the senate, and the patricians, to a man, opposed the law: And, coming to the forum in a body, on the day appointed by the tribunes for enacting this law, they made harangues of all sorts, the consuls, the most ancient senators, and every one, who desired it, enumerating the absurdities contained in the law. The tribunes answered, and the consuls replied; and the debate having

²² Τας μὲν Φρατρίαντας Ψηφροφας, etc. See the 122^d annotation on the second book.

lasted a long while, and night coming on, the assembly was dismissed. The tribunes having, again, appointed the third market day for the consideration of the law, and greater numbers than before flocking to the forum on that day, the same thing happened again. Volero seeing this, resolved not to suffer either the consuls to find fault with the law, or the patricians to be present, when the people were to give their votes: For the patricians, with those of their faction, and of their body, together with their own clients, who were not a few, took up a great part of the forum; and, both by animating those who blamed the law, and interrupting those who justified it, and by many other actions, they created disorders, and shewed they were resolved to force the people to vote as they desired.

XLII. But another calamity, sent from heaven, put a stop to his designs, that were tyrannical: For a pestilential distemper attacked the city, which was, indeed, felt in other parts of Italy, but no where so severely as at Rome. No human assistance could relieve the sick; but, whether remedies were administered to them with the greatest care, or none at all applied, they died equally: No supplications to the gods, nor sacrifices; no private, nor public expiations, to which mankind, under such calamities, are compelled at last to have recourse, then availed. The distemper made no distinction of age, or sex, of strong or weak constitutions, or between the neglect, or application of the medicinal art, or of any thing else, from whence relief might be expected; but seized both women and men, old
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and young. However, it lasted not long, which preserved the city from utter desolation; but, like a torrent, or a conflagration, it overwhelmed mankind at once; suddenly came, and suddenly departed. As soon as the calamity ceased, Volero, whose magistracy was near expiring, since it was not in his power to get the law enacted during the remainder of it, and the election of magistrates drew near, endeavoured to get himself rechosen for the following year, by making many large promises to the people: And he was again chosen tribune, together with two of his colleagues. The patricians, in order to defeat the consequences of this election, contrived to advance to the consulship a man of a severe temper, and an enemy to the people, and one who was not like to lessen, in any respect, the power of the aristocracy; this was Appius Claudius, the son of Appius, who gave the greatest obstruction to the return of the people; and, though he strongly opposed the design of the patricians, and, even, refused to be present at the election, the senate, nevertheless, came to a previous resolution to raise him to that dignity though absent, and appointed him consul.

XLIII. His election being carried with great ease (for the poorer sort left the place as soon as they heard his name) Titus Quintius Capitolinus, and Appius Claudius Sabinus entered upon their magistracy; men of different tempers, and different principles: For Appius was of opinion that the idle and the poor ought to be kept employed in foreign wars; to the end that, while they enjoyed a plenty of those
daily

daily necessities, of which they were in the greatest want, and with which they supplied themselves out of the enemy's country by their own activity; and while they were performing actions, that tended to the advantage of the commonwealth, they would, least of all, be ill disposed and uneasy to the senators, who had the administration of the public affairs; and he shewed that every pretence of making war would be justifiable in a commonwealth, that claimed the sovereignty, and was envied by all: He, also, desired they would form a reasonable judgement of the future by the past; adding that all the commotions, which had already been raised in the city, had happened during the respites from war. Quintius, on the contrary, thought they ought not to be the aggressors in any war, but rest satisfied if the people, when called upon to engage in necessary dangers, and those that were brought upon them by others, obeyed their summons; and he shewed them that, if they attempted to force the disobedient, they would drive the plebeians to despair, as their predecessors had done; by which they would expose themselves to one of these two evils; either to extinguish the sedition with blood, and slaughter, or to submit to a shameful adulation of the people. Now, it happened that Quintius had the command during that month; so that, the other consul could do nothing without his consent. In the mean time, Volero, and the other two tribunes, impatient of any longer delay, proposed again the law, which they had not been able to get enacted the year before, with this addition, that the aediles should, also,

also, be chosen in the same comitia, and that every thing else, that was to be done, and enacted by the people, should be determined in the same manner, by the members of the tribes; which was, indeed, openly to destroy the power of the senate, and to establish That of the people.

XLIV. When the consuls were informed of this, they grew anxious, and considered by what means the commotion, and sedition might speedily, and safely, be removed. Appius advised to summon to arms every man, who desired the constitution might be preserved; and, if any refused to take arms, to look upon them as enemies. But Quintius was of opinion they ought to apply persuasion to the plebeians, and convince them that, through ignorance of their interest, they were led into pernicious resolutions: And he said that it was the greatest of follies to aim at obtaining from their fellow-citizens against their will those things, which they might receive by their consent. The advice of Quintius being approved of by the rest of the senators, the consuls went to the forum, and desired the tribunes would give them leave to be heard, and appoint a time for it: And, having obtained both with difficulty, when the day they had desired them to fix was come, the forum being filled with a great concourse of people of all sorts, which the magistrates on both sides had prepared, and invited to come to their assistance, the consuls presented themselves, in order to shew the ill consequences of the law. Then Quintius, who was, in all respects, a man of moderation, and master of that eloquence, which was the most adapted to
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gain the affections of the people, first desired leave to speak; and then made a speech suited to the occasion, and agreeable to all: So that, those, who spoke in favor of the law, were under great difficulties, having nothing to offer, that was more just, or more reasonable. And, if his colleague could have prevailed upon himself not to meddle in this affair, the people, conscious of the injustice, and illegality of their pretensions, would have rejected the law: But, instead of that, his speech was so full of haughtiness, and so offensive to the ears of the poorer sort, that they grew outrageous, and implacable, and broke out into greater animosity than ever: For he did not talk to them as if they had been free men, and his fellow-citizens, who had the power either to enact, or reject the law; but, domineering over them as if they had been a vile populace, foreigners, or men, whose liberty was precarious, he uttered sharp, and insufferable reproaches, upbraiding them with the abolition of their debts, and their revolt from the consuls, when, snatching up the sacred ensigns, they left the camp, and ran away of their own accord: He put them in mind of the oaths they had entered into, when they took arms in defence of that country to which they owed their birth, and against which they turned those very arms: For which reason, he said, it was not to be wondered at, if, after they had been guilty of perjury to the gods, deserted their generals, dispeopled the city as far as in them lay, and grounded their return on the dissolution of public faith, the subversion of the laws, and the destruction of the constitution, they used no moderation, nor could behave them-

selves like good citizens; but were, always, aiming at something advantageous to themselves, and unwarrantable by the laws; sometimes, desiring the power of creating magistrates out of their own body, and making these unaccountable for their actions, and all sacred; sometimes, bringing to trial such of the patricians as they thought fit, under the most shameful accusations, and transferring the legal jurisdiction, which the commonwealth had, before, made use of in causes that relate to death, or banishment, from the most uncorrupt tribunal, to the vilest populace; and, sometimes, bringing in tyrannical, and wicked laws against men of birth, they, who were mechanics, and had no habitation, without leaving to the senate the power even of voting previously concerning those laws, but depriving them of this honor also, which they had, always, enjoyed undisputed under both kings, and tyrants. After he had uttered these things, and many others of the like nature, and abstained from no sharp reproach, or injurious appellation, he concluded with this declaration, which gave greater offence to the people than all the rest, that the commonwealth would never cease to be divided upon every thing, but, always, some new distemper would succeed the old, as long as the tribunitian power lasted; and said, great care ought to be taken that the commencements of every political, and public affair be pious and just (for from good seeds, is produced good and wholesome fruit, and from bad, evil and pernicious.)

XLV. “ If, therefore, says he, this magistracy found its
“ way into the commonwealth by concord; was calculated
“ for

“ for the good of all, and received the sanction both of the
 “ auspices, and the religious rites, it would have produced
 “ among us many great advantages, beneficence, harmony,
 “ wholesome laws, hopes of blessings from heaven, and a
 “ thousand other benefits: But, since it was introduced by
 “ violence, a contempt of law, sedition, the apprehension
 “ of a civil war, and by every thing mankind most abhors,
 “ how can it be expected that this institution should ever
 “ be good, or salutary, when such were its commencements?
 “ So that, it is in vain for us to seek for a cure, and for
 “ those remedies, which human reason suggests against the
 “ evils that are, continually, springing out of it, so long as
 “ the pernicious root remains: For we shall have no end,
 “ no deliverance from the divine wrath, while this envious
 “ fury, this cancer, rankling in our constitution, taints and
 “ destroys every virtuous effort. But this subject shall be
 “ treated at a more proper season. Now, since it is my
 “ duty to compose the present disturbances, I say this to
 “ you without dissimulation: Neither this, nor any other
 “ law shall be enacted in my consulship without the previous
 “ order of the senate; and I will contend for the aristocracy,
 “ not only in words, but, if it shall be necessary to proceed
 “ to actions, I will not yield to her adversaries even in
 “ these: And, if you did not know, before, the extent of
 “ the consular power, you shall learn it under my con-
 “ sulship.”

XLVI. Thus Appius spoke: When the most ancient, and the most respectable person among the tribunes, by name,

Caius ²³ Laetorius, a man of acknowledged valor in war, and of political abilities, rose up to answer him : And, beginning from the earliest transactions, he spoke long in favor of the people : That the poor, whom Appius had loaded with injurious appellations, had made many severe campaigns, not only, under their kings, when the necessity of serving might be imputed to them, but, also, after their expulsion, while they were acquiring liberty, and sovereignty for their country, for which they had received no return from the patricians, nor shared in any of the public advantages ; but, like captives, had been deprived by them even of their liberty ; to recover which they had been compelled to leave their country, from the desire of another, in which, as they were free men, they might live without being insulted : And had obtained their return neither by offering violence to the senate, nor compelling them by a war to consent to it, but, by yielding to them, when these desired, and intreated them to receive, again, the pledges they had left behind them. He, then, mentioned the oaths, and appealed to the agreement, which had been entered into, to induce them to return ; in which there was, first, a general amnesty ; then, a power granted to the poor to create magistrates both to protect them, and oppose those, who desired to oppress them. After he had expatiated upon these things, he produced the laws, which the people had, not long before, ratified ; both That concerning the

²³ *Aenſagius*. This tribune is called *Aenſagius* in the editions ; and Laetorius by ² Livy.

² B. ii. c. 56.

the translation of the jurisdiction, by which the senate had granted to the people the power of trying any of the patricians they should think fit; and That concerning their suffrages, by which the authority of those suffrages was transferred from the assemblies of the centuries to Those of the²⁴ tribes.

XLVII. When he had gone through the defence of the people, he turned to Appius, and said: “After this, dare
“you abuse these, by whose means the commonwealth,
“from being small, is become considerable, and, from being

²⁴ ΑΛΛΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΨΕΦΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΝ. If any passage in our author ever called for the assistance of the commentators, it is this; and yet not one of them has so much as taken notice of the difficulty, so far from applying any remedy to it. In the first place, historians are not allowed either to draw consequences themselves, or to introduce others drawing consequences from facts, which have never been mentioned in their histories. This rule Dionysius could not have been ignorant of; and, to do him justice, he has, always, observed it. But here, if we follow the editions, and manuscripts, he says that the senate had consented to a law, by which the power, before exercised by the assemblies of the centuries, was transferred to Those of the curiae. This law he had never mentioned before; nor, indeed, any other author; because such a law never existed: For, after the establishment of the *comitia tributa*, the *curiata* were so far from succeeding to the power of the *centu-*

riata, that they were declining apace, and only made use of upon particular occasions; nay, they, at last, were so far in disrepute, that, when they were called for the sake of the auspices, thirty lictors represented the thirty *curiae*. This being most certainly the case, I would read *φυλαίν* instead of *κυριαίν*; because this was really the fact, and a fact which our author had before, not only, mentioned, but enlarged upon, in relating the affair of “Coriolanus; when the senate consented to the two laws here mentioned by Laetorius: By the first of which, the people had a power of trying the patricians; and, by the last, That of trying them in the *comitia tributa*, instead of the *centuriata*. As these two laws were obtained at the same time, and are mentioned together by Laetorius; and, as the other was never before taken notice of by Dionysius, or by any other author, I have made no difficulty to follow this correction in the translation.

¹ Cicero against Rull. c. 12. ² B. vii. c. 59.

“obscure,

“ obscure, illustrious? And call others seditious, and re-
“ proach them with a kind of banishment, as if all present
“ did not still remember what passed in their own time,
“ that your ancestors, having raised a sedition against the
“ magistrates, and left their own country, took refuge here,
“ as suppliants? Unless, indeed, you will say that your
“ family, in leaving their country through a desire of
“ liberty, acted nobly; but that the Romans, when they
“ did the same thing, acted otherwise. You have dared,
“ also, to revile the tribunitian power, as introduced into
“ the commonwealth for its destruction, and persuaded
“ these to abrogate this relief of the poor, this sacred, this
“ irrevocable relief, secured by the great sanction both of
“ gods, and men, thou greatest enemy to the people, and
“ most tyrannical of all men! Neither have you been able
“ to discover even this, that, in advancing these things, you
“ traduce both the senate, and your own magistracy: For
“ the senate, having raised a sedition against the kings,
“ whose pride, and insults they resolved, no longer, to bear,
“ established the consulship, and, before they had expelled
“ the kings, invested others with the regal power: So that,
“ every thing you have said against the tribunitian power,
“ as introduced for the destruction of the commonwealth,
“ because it sprung from sedition, you have said against
“ the consulship also: For this sprung from no other cause,
“ than from the sedition of the patricians against the
“ kings. But, to what purpose do I say these things to you,
“ as to a citizen indued with humanity, and moderation,
“ whom

“ whom all here present know to have inherited from your
 “ ancestors perverseness, severity, and enmity to the people,
 “ and to have received from nature a savageness incapable
 “ of being tamed? Why do I not rather prefer actions to
 “ words; fall upon you, and let you see how great the
 “ strength, unknown to you, is of that people, whom you
 “ were not ashamed to call vagabond and vile, and how
 “ great the power of this magistracy, which the law obliges
 “ you to reverence, and submit to? I too shall lay aside all
 “ dissimulation, and begin.”

XLVIII. Having said this, and taken the oath, which was among them the greatest, that he would either get the law passed, or lose his life, the people being all silent, and in an agony of expectation concerning what he was going to do, he ordered Appius to depart the assembly: But he, instead of obeying, placed the lictors about him together with the body of men, which he had brought from home for that purpose, and obstinately refused to leave the forum; when Laetorius, commanding silence, said, that the tribunes ordered the consul to be carried to prison. Upon this, the officer, by his command, advanced to seize his person; and the foremost lictor repulsed him with blows. The people raising a great outcry, and shewing their resentment, Laetorius himself came forward, and exhorted them all to assist him. Appius, supported by a numerous, and strong body of young men, stood his ground. After that, indecent words, and clamors passed between them, and they pushed one another; till, at last, the contest ended in blows,

blows, and they began to throw stones. But Quintius, the other consul, repressed their fury, and prevented the mischief from proceeding further; he, together with the most ancient senators, intreating, and conjuring them all to desist, and throwing himself between the contending parties. The day, also, was well nigh spent: So that, they separated against their will. The following days, the magistrates accused one another; the consul charging the tribunes with an endeavour to invalidate his authority, by ordering a consul to be carried to prison; and the tribunes complained that the consul had struck those, whose persons were rendered sacred by the law, Laetorius having on his face the marks of the strokes still to be seen: And the whole city, being full of rage and fury, was rent with faction. From this time, the people, together with the tribunes, kept guard in the capitol both day, and night without intermission. The senate then assembled, and entered into a long, and difficult consideration of the means to put a stop to the sedition; and, not only, the greatness of the danger, but the dissension, also, of the consuls presented itself to their thoughts: For Quintius advised to yield to the people in every thing, that was reasonable; but Appius thought death more eligible than submission.

XLIX. There being no end of these contests, Quintius took the tribunes, and Appius apart, and begged, and conjured them to prefer the consideration of the public to their private animosities: And, observing that those relented, but that his colleague persisted in his former arrogance, he persuaded

suaded Laetorius, and the rest of the tribunes to refer both their private, and public complaints to the determination of the senate. After he had obtained this, he assembled the senate ; and, giving great commendations to the tribunes, begged of his colleague not to oppose the public safety ; then called upon those, who used to deliver their opinions. Publius Valerius Poplicola, who was first called, advised that the mutual accusations of the tribunes, and the consul, relating to what they had suffered, or done in the tumult, since it had not flowed from an insidious design, or a view to their own ambition, but from a contest concerning public measures, might be dismissed by a general vote, and that no one be called in question on that account : And, concerning the law itself, since Appius, the consul, would not suffer any law to be laid before the people without the previous order of the senate, that the senate, first, take it into consideration ; and that the tribunes, together with the consuls, take care to preserve union, and good order among the citizens, when they come to give their votes in relation to it. This advice being approved of by all, Quintius immediately put the question to the senate concerning the law ; and, after many objections made to it by Appius, and many answers made to them by the tribunes, it was carried by a great majority to lay it before the people. The previous resolution of the senate being passed, the private contests of the magistrates ceased, and the people, joyfully, accepting this concession of the senate, ratified the law by their votes. From that time to this, the tribunes of the people, and the

aediles are chosen without auspices, or any other religious rites, in the assemblies of the tribes. This was the end of the tumult, which disturbed the commonwealth at that time.

L. Not long after, the Romans thought proper to raise forces, and to send out both the consuls against the Aequi, and the Volsci: For it was said that numerous armies of both these nations had taken the field, and were, then, laying waste the territories of their allies: The armies being soon ready, and the consuls having drawn lots for the command of them, Quintius marched against the Aequi, and Appius against the Volsci. The success of each of the consuls was such as might be expected: For the army commanded by Quintius, pleased with the mildness, and moderation of their general, were ready to obey all his orders, and presented themselves to most of the dangers of their own accord, from a desire of acquiring glory, and honor for their commander: Thus, he overrun great part of the country of the Aequi, and plundered it, the enemy not daring to come to an engagement: By which means, he possessed himself of a great booty, and rich spoils: And the army, after a short stay in the enemy's country, returned to the city without any loss, bringing home their general adorned with the lustre of his actions. But the army under Appius, from their hatred to him, neglected many things established by the Roman discipline: For, during the whole campaign, they shewed an affected cowardice, and a contempt of their general; and, when they were to engage the army of the Volsci, and their commanders

had

had drawn them up in order of battle, they refused to fight; and, even, the centurions, and the standard bearers, these, throwing away their standards, and the others leaving their ranks, fled to the camp: And, if the enemy, wondering at their unexpected flight, and fearing an ambush, had not stopped their pursuit, the greatest part of the Romans had been cut in pieces. This they did through the envy they bore to their general, lest, by the lustre of his success, he might have obtained a glorious triumph, and the other honors due to a conqueror. And the next day, when the consul sometimes upbraided them with their inglorious flight, sometimes exhorted them to efface that ignominious action by a noble effort; and, at others, threatened to put the laws in execution against them, if they refused to face the dangers of the field, they broke out into disobedience, clamoured against him, and desired he would lead them out of the enemy's country, spent as they were with the wounds they had received: For most of them had bound up the sound parts of their bodies, as if they had been wounded: So that, Appius was obliged to withdraw his forces from the enemy's country: And the Volsci, pursuing them in their retreat, killed a great number of them. As soon as they were in their own territories, the consul assembled the troops; and, after many reproaches, said he was resolved to inflict on them the punishment ordained against those who leave their ranks: And, notwithstanding the legates, and the other officers intreated him to use moderation, and not to accumulate calamities upon the commonwealth,

he paid no regard to any of them, but ordered the punishment to be inflicted. After which, the centurions, whose centuries had run away, and the standard bearers, who had lost their standards, were some of them beheaded with an ax, and others beaten with sticks till they died: The common soldiers were decimated; every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being put to death for the rest: This is the punishment in use among the Romans for those who leave their ranks, or deliver up their standards. After this, the election of magistrates drawing near, the consul, detested by all, brought home the remains of the army afflicted, and disgraced.

LI. ²⁵ Lucius Valerius for the second time, and Tiberius Aemilius being appointed consuls, the tribunes, after a short time, resumed the affair of the division of the lands; and, coming to the consuls, desired, and earnestly intreated them to perform the promises made by the senate to the people in the consulship of Spurius Cassius, and Proculus Virginus. Both the consuls favoured their request; Tiberius Aemilius from an old, and not an unreasonable resentment he entertained against the senate for having refused the triumph to his father, when he demanded it; and Valerius desired to apply a remedy to the displeasure, which the people had conceived against him for having, when quaestor, caused Spurius Cassius to be put to death as aiming at tyranny, a man, who had shewn himself, not only, the greatest general, but the ablest politician of his time, and first proposed the law concerning

²⁵ Λογὴ Οὐαλερίου. See the first annotation on the seventh book.

the division of lands ; and, for that reason chiefly was hated by the patricians, as one who sought to gain the affections of the people. The consuls, therefore, having promised them to propose the division of lands in the senate, and to assist them in procuring the law to be enacted, the tribunes gave credit to their promises ; and, going to the senate, spoke with great moderation : And the former, desiring to avoid the appearance of contention, gave them no opposition, but desired the oldest senators to deliver their opinions : Lucius Aemilius, the father of one of the consuls, was the first person called upon, who said that, “ in his opinion, it was
 “ both just in itself, and for the interest of the common-
 “ wealth, that the possessions of the public should be di-
 “ vided among all, and not among a few ; and he advised
 “ to gratify the people in what they desired, to the end that
 “ this concession might be esteemed a favor : For they had
 “ granted even many other things to them through neces-
 “ sity, not choice : And, that the possessors of the public
 “ lands ought to be thankful for the time they had enjoyed
 “ them unobserved ; and, when ordered to resign those
 “ lands, not desire to continue in the possession of them.
 “ He added that, besides the point of right, the force of
 “ which every one must acknowledge, and according to
 “ which the possessions of the public ought to be common
 “ to all, and Those of private persons the property of such
 “ as had acquired them according to law, the matter in
 “ question was, now, made even necessary by the senate,
 “ who, seventeen years before, had ordered the lands to
 “ be

“ he divided: And he shewed that the order, then made
“ by them, was advantageous to the commonwealth, since
“ the view of it was that neither the lands should lie un-
“ cultivated, nor the poor, by living at Rome in idleness,
“ which was now the case, envy the advantages of others;
“ and that young men might be brought up for the service
“ of the commonwealth in the habitations, and possessions
“ of their fathers, and derive some spirit from a good edu-
“ cation; since such, as have no possessions of their own,
“ and live miserably on the wages they receive for cultiva-
“ ting Those of others, either do not desire to beget children
“ at all, or, if they do, produce a bad and unhappy off-
“ spring, such, as may be expected from low marriages, and
“ a beggarly education. My opinion, therefore, is, says he,
“ that the consuls carry into execution the resolutions, which
“ were, then, passed by the senate, and have, since, been
“ delayed by reason of the intervening tumults, and appoint
“ the persons, who are to divide the lands.”

LII. Aemilius having spoken thus, Appius Claudius, the
consul of the former year, being the second person called
upon, gave a contrary opinion, and said, “ that neither the
“ senate ever designed to divide the possessions of the public
“ (otherwise their designs had, long since, been carried into
“ execution) but only deferred it to another season, and to
“ another consideration, from a desire of putting a stop to
“ the sedition, then, raging, which had been raised by the
“ consul, who was aiming at tyranny, and, afterwards,
“ suffered condign punishment: Neither did the consuls,
“ who

“ who were created immediately after this resolution of the
 “ senate, carry the same into execution, foreseeing the great
 “ mischiefs to which this would give birth, if the poor were
 “ once accustomed to share the possessions of the public :
 “ Neither did the consuls of the next fifteen years, though
 “ many dangers were brought upon them by the people,
 “ do any thing contrary to the interest of the public, because
 “ even these were not authorized by the resolution of the
 “ senate to appoint the persons, who were to divide the
 “ lands, but the first consuls : So that, it neither becomes
 “ you, Valerius, and Aemilius, descended as you are from
 “ worthy ancestors ; neither is it safe for you to propose the
 “ division of lands in this place, since the senate did not
 “ direct you to carry it into execution. Let this suffice to
 “ evince that you, who have been made consuls so many
 “ years after that resolution was passed by the senate, are
 “ not bound by it. Now, concerning those, who have either
 “ forcibly, or secretly, appropriated to themselves the public
 “ lands, a few words will be sufficient : If any man knows
 “ that another enjoys lands, to which he cannot support his
 “ title by law, let him give information of it to the consuls,
 “ and prosecute him according to the laws, which are not,
 “ now, to be enacted : For they have been enacted long
 “ since, and no length of time has abrogated them. But
 “ since Aemilius has, also, spoken to the utility of this mea-
 “ sure, and asserted that the division of lands will tend to,
 “ the good of all, I will not suffer even this part to pass
 “ without refuting it : For he seems to me to consider only
 “ the

“ the present, without any regard to the future ; because
“ the portion of the public lands to be granted to the idle,
“ and the poor, which seems to him, now, of small im-
“ portance, will, one day, produce many great evils : Since,
“ the custom, that accompanies it, and will subsist, must
“ for ever prove pernicious and dreadful : For the gratifi-
“ cation of wicked desires does not eradicate, but inflame
“ them, and render them still more wicked. Let their
“ actions convince you of what I say : For, to what pur-
“ pose should you pay any regard either to my words, or to
“ Those of Aemilius ?

LIII. “ You all know how many enemies we have over-
“ come, how large an extent of country we have ravaged,
“ and how great a quantity of spoils we have taken in the
“ towns we have conquered, the loss of which has reduced
“ the enemy from a state of opulence, to great want ; and
“ that those who, now, complain of poverty, were deprived
“ of none of these spoils, nor had less than their share in the
“ distribution of them. And, does it appear that they have
“ improved their former condition by these acquisitions, or live
“ in greater splendor ? I have wished, indeed, and prayed to
“ the gods that it might prove so, to the end they might
“ become less troublesome to the city they inhabit : But,
“ instead of that, you see, and hear them complaining of
“ their extreme poverty : So that, if you were to grant them
“ what they now ask, and more, their fortunes would not even
“ be improved by it : For the poverty of these men does not
“ flow from their condition, but from their behaviour ;
“ whom

“ whom this small portion of land will be so far from con-
 “ tenting, that even all the presents of kings, and tyrants
 “ cannot satisfy them. And, if we grant them this also,
 “ we shall act like those physicians, who, in their prescrip-
 “ tions, consult the taste of their patients : For the distem-
 “ pered part of the commonwealth will not be cured by this
 “ concession, but even the sound part will be infected.
 “ Upon the whole, senators, it is incumbent upon you
 “ to employ great care, and consideration that you may
 “ preserve, with all possible vigor, the manners of the
 “ people from the corruption, that is stealing upon them :
 “ For you see to what a height the disobedience of the
 “ people is arrived, and that they will, no longer, be go-
 “ verned by the consuls ; and were so far from repenting
 “ of what they did here, that they shewed the same diso-
 “ bedience even in the army, throwing down their arms,
 “ leaving their ranks, abandoning their standards to the
 “ enemy, and running away in a shameful manner before
 “ they engaged, as if they could rob me of the glory of the
 “ victory, without robbing their country, at the same time,
 “ of the trophies, which adorn that victory : These, now, are
 “ erected by the Volsci against the Romans, their tem-
 “ ples are adorned with our spoils, and their cities triumph,
 “ now, more than ever, which, before, used to supplicate our
 “ generals to save them from slavery, and subversion. Is
 “ it then just, is it becoming in you to thank them for such
 “ successes, and to reward them with public grants by a
 “ division of those lands, which, as far as in them lay, the

“ enemy are masters of? But, why should we accuse these,
 “ who, through the want of education, and of birth, pay
 “ little regard to worthy actions, when we see that all even
 “ of our own number are not actuated with an ancient spirit:
 “ So far from it, that, by some, gravity is called haughti-
 “ ness; justice, folly; fortitude, madness, and modesty,
 “ simplicity. On the other side, those things that were,
 “ formerly, the objects of detestation, are, now, extolled,
 “ and looked upon by the corrupted as wonderful qualifi-
 “ cations, such as cowardise, buffoonry, malignity, crafty
 “ wisdom, rashness in undertaking every thing that is bad,
 “ and easiness in abandoning every thing that is good;
 “ vices, which have first seized, and then subverted many
 “ strong cities. These things, senators, whether agreeable,
 “ or displeasing to you, have been delivered with all truth,
 “ and freedom; and, to those among you, who shall ap-
 “ prove of them (if any of you shall approve of them) they
 “ will prove both a present advantage, and a future security;
 “ but, to me, who, to promote the good of the public, bring
 “ private hatred upon myself, the cause of great dangers:
 “ For reason enables me to foresee what will happen, and I
 “ consider the calamities of others, as the examples of my
 “ own misfortunes.”

LIV. After Appius had spoken thus, and almost all the
 rest of the senators had delivered the same opinion, the senate
 was dismissed. The tribunes, resenting their disappointment,
 departed; and, after that, considered by what means they
 might take revenge on the man: They resolved, therefore,
 after

after a long consultation, to try Appius for his life: And having, pursuant to that resolution, accused him in an assembly of the people, they desired all to be present on the day they should appoint, in order to give their votes concerning him. The accusations they designed to bring against him were these: That he had given pernicious counsels against the people; introduced a sedition into the city; laid hands on a tribune, contrary to the sacred laws; and, having the command of the army, returned home with loss, and great infamy. The tribunes, having declared these accusations in the assembly, and appointed a certain day, on which they said they would go through with the trial, they summoned him to appear on that day, and make his defence. All the patricians, resenting this proceeding, prepared themselves with the greatest zeal to save the man; but, when they advised Appius to submit to his situation, and appear in a manner suitable to his condition, he said, he would do nothing ungenerous, or unworthy of his former actions; and that he had rather die a thousand deaths, than throw himself at the feet of any man: And, when his friends were prepared to intreat the people in his favor, he opposed it, saying that he should be doubly ashamed to see others do That for him, which he thought unbecoming to do even for himself. After he had said this, and many other things of the like nature, and neither changed his dress, altered the fierceness of his looks, nor abated any thing of his spirit, when he saw every one intent upon his trial, and anxiously expecting the event of it, and

that a few days only were left, before it was to come on, he put himself to death. However, his friends pretended that he died of sickness. When his body was brought to the forum, his son went to the tribunes, and consuls, and desired they would assemble the people in the manner usual upon such occasions, and give him leave to make an oration upon the death of his father, according to the practice of the Romans at the funerals of worthy men: But the tribunes, while the consuls were calling the assembly, opposed it, and ordered the youth to take away the dead body. However, the people would not suffer it, nor bear to see the body cast out with ignominy; but gave leave to the youth to perform the customary honors to his father. This was the end of Appius.

LV. The consuls, having raised the armies, led them out of the city; Lucius Valerius marching against the Aequi, and Tiberius Aemilius against the Sabines: For these had made an irruption into the country of the Romans, during the sedition; and, having plundered a great part of it, were returned home with a considerable booty. The Aequi often engaged; and, great numbers of their men being wounded, they fled to their camp, which was strongly situated, and, from that time, never came out to fight. Valerius endeavoured to force their camp, but was hindered by the gods from effecting it: For, after he had approached the camp, and begun the attack, the heavens were covered with darkness, and there fell a prodigious rain, accompanied with lightning, and terrible thunder; and, as soon as the army was dispersed, the storm ceased, and over that place the sky was clear.

The

The consul, looking upon this as an omen, and the augurs, at the same time, dissuading him from besieging the camp, he was deterred from it, and laid waste their country; and, having given to his men all the booty he met with, he returned home with his army. While Tiberius Aemilius was over-running the enemy's country with great contempt of them at first, and expecting no enemy, he was attacked by the army of the Sabines, and a pitched battle was fought, which began about noon, and lasted till sun set; and when it was dark, the two armies retired to their camps, without either conquering, or being conquered: The following days, the generals buried each their own dead, and fortified their camps with ditches; and both of them took the same resolution, which was to defend their own camps; and not to engage in another action. At last, they struck their tents, and withdrew their forces.

LVI. The year following, which was the seventy eighth Olympiad, at which Parmenides of Posidonia won the prize of the stadium, Theagenides being annual archon at Athens, Aulus Virginius Nomentanus, and Titus Numicius Priscus were chosen consuls. They had no sooner entered upon their magistracy, than news was brought that the Volsci were advancing with a numerous army. And, not long after, one of the fortresses of the Romans was surprised, and set on fire: This fortress was near Rome, and the smoke informed the citizens of the misfortune. Upon this, the consuls, it being yet night, sent some horse to discover the motions of the enemy; and, having placed guards upon the walls,

walls, and posted themselves before the gates with those who were best prepared for expedition, they waited for the report of the horse. As soon as it was day, and all the forces in the city were assembled, they marched against the enemy: These, after they had plundered the fortress, and set fire to it, retired in haste. The consuls extinguished the fire; and, leaving a garrison in the fortress, returned to Rome. A few days after, both of them took the field with their own forces, and those of their allies, Virginius marching against the Aequi, and Numicius against the Volsci: The war succeeded according to the desire of both: For the Aequi, when Virginius was laying waste their country, durst not venture an engagement; but, having placed an ambush of chosen men in the woods with orders to fall upon the enemy when dispersed, they were disappointed of their hopes, the Romans soon discovering their design; when a sharp action ensued, in which the Aequi lost many of their men: So that, from that time, they declined even to try the fortune of another engagement. Neither did Numicius find any army to oppose him, while he was marching to ²⁶ Antium, which was, at that time, one of the most considerable cities of the Volsci; but all the people of that nation were forced to defend themselves from the walls of their respective cities. In the mean time, great part of their country was laid waste, and ²⁷ a small sea-port town was taken, in which there was

²⁶· Ἀντιάλων πόλιν. See the fifty seventh annotation on the fourth book.

²⁷· Πολίχνη τις ἐπιθαλατῆιος. * Livy as Sigonius says it is in the old editions, *Cerio*. If this is the present * *Nettuno*, it stood on the east of Antium, upon the little river *Loracina*.

* B. ii. c. 63.

* Cluver, Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 987.

a dock

a dock for their ships, and a market for all the necessaries of life ; and thither they used to carry the many prizes they made by their piracies : The consul gave leave to the army to plunder the place of the slaves, effects, cattle, and merchandise : But all the free men, who had escaped military execution, were directed to be sold publicly : There were, also, taken twenty two long ships belonging to the Antiates, together with the rigging, and furniture of other ships : After that, the Romans set fire to the houses by order of the consul, destroyed the dock, and demolished the walls to the foundations : So that, even after their departure, the fortress was no longer of any use to the Antiates. These were the exploits of the two consuls, while they acted separately : They, afterwards, joined their forces, and made an incursion into the territories of the Sabines ; and, having laid them waste, returned home with their forces. And thus the year ended.

LVII. The year after, Titus Quintius Capitolinus, and Quintus Servilius Priscus having entered upon the consulship, the national forces of the Romans were in arms, and those of their allies presented themselves of their own accord, before they had notice sent them of the intended expedition. And the consuls, after they had offered up their vows to the gods, and performed the lustration of the army, went out against the enemy. The Sabines, against whom Servilius marched, neither came to an engagement, nor took the field ; but, continuing in their strong places, suffered their lands to be laid waste, their houses to be burned, and their
 slaves

flaves to desert: So that, the Romans retired out of their country with great ease, loaded with spoils, and exulting in their success. This was the event of the expedition conducted by Servilius. The forces, which marched under Quintius against the Aequi, and the Volsci (for those, who were to fight for the common cause, were gathered together in one place from both the nations, and had incamped before the city of the Antiates) advancing with greater expedition than usual, appeared before them, and laid down their baggage not far from the enemy's camp, in a low place, where they first had been seen by, and seen, the enemy, to avoid the appearance of fearing the number of their forces, greatly superior to their own. When both armies were ready for the battle, they advanced to the plain; and, engaging, fought till noon, neither of them yielding to, or gaining ground upon, the other, and both continuing to relieve that part which suffered with fresh troops: But the Aequi, and the Volsci, being more numerous than the Romans, found the greatest benefit from this relief; and, by that means, had the advantage over the enemy, whose number was not equal to their courage. Quintius, seeing many of his men lie dead, and that the greatest part of those who survived were wounded, was upon the point of ordering a retreat to be sounded; but, fearing lest the enemy should look upon this retreat as a flight, he resolved to make a push: And, taking with him the best of his horse, flew to the right, which suffered most; where he upbraided the officers themselves with want of courage, put them in mind of
of

of their former exploits; shewed them to what shame, and danger they would be exposed to, if they offered to fly; and, at last, asserted a thing that was not true, which contributed more than all he had said, to inspire his own men with confidence, and the enemy with fear: He told them, that their other wing had, already, put the enemy to flight, and were advanced to their camp. Having said this, he charged the Volsci; and, leaping from his horse, he, with the chosen horse he had brought with him, fought hand to hand. Upon this, those whose spirits flagged till then, were animated, and, as if they were become other men, all rushed upon the enemy. And the Volsci (for these stood opposite to them) after a long resistance, gave way. Quintius, having put these to flight, mounted his horse; and, riding to the other wing, shewed to the foot posted there that part of the enemy which was overcome, and exhorted them not to behave themselves with less bravery than the others.

LVIII. After this, none of the enemy stood their ground; but all fled together to their camp. However, the Romans did not pursue them far; but, being themselves spent with toil, and their arms, no longer, in the same condition, they returned. And, after a few days were passed, for which they had made a truce in order to bury their dead, and recover their wounded, they supplied themselves with every thing that was wanting, and fought another battle before their own camp: For the Volsci, and the Aequi, having received a reinforcement from the neighbouring fortresses, their general grew full of confidence, because his forces were,

now, even five times more numerous than Those of the enemy ; and, observing the camp of the Romans not to be strongly situated, he thought this the best opportunity to attack them. Having formed this design, he led his army to their camp about midnight ; and, surrounding it with his men, took care they should not steal away. Quintius, being informed of the number of the enemy, was glad they had resolved upon the attack of his camp ; and stayed till it was day, and till the hour, when the markets are, usually, crowded ; then, observing that the enemy were, already, spent both with want of sleep, and skirmishing, and advanced neither in their centuries, nor ranks, but promiscuously, and scattered here and there, he opened the gates of the camp, and sallied out with his chosen horse ; and the foot, doubling their files, followed. The Volsci, astonished at their boldness, and at the madness of their onset, after a short resistance, were repulsed, and retired from the camp of the Romans. There stood not far from it a hill of a moderate height : Thither they hastened, with a design both to rest themselves, and, after that, to form again ; but they had no leisure given them either to form, or to recover themselves : For the enemy followed them at their heels, closing their files as much as possible, to the end that, while they were forcing their way up the rising ground, they might not be borne down. Here followed a sharp action, which lasted great part of the day, and many fell dead on both sides. The Volsci, though superior in number, and defended by the advantage of the ground, received no benefit from
either ;

either ; but, being forced by the ardor, and bravery of the Romans, they abandoned the hill ; and, in flying to their camp, the greatest part of them were cut in pieces : For the Romans gave them no respite in the pursuit ; but followed them close, and never gave over the chase till they had taken their camp by storm ; and, having made all the men prisoners, who were left in the camp, and taken a great many horses, arms, and baggage, they incamped there that night : And the following day, the consul, having prepared every thing that was necessary for a siege, marched with his army to the city of the Antiates, which was not above thirty stadia distant from the camp. It happened that some auxiliary forces, sent by the Aequi to the Antiates, were then in the city, and had the guard of the walls ; who dreading the boldness of the Romans, endeavoured to escape out of the place ; but, being prevented by the Antiates, who had notice of their design, they resolved to deliver up the city to the Romans, as soon as they came before it : The Antiates, being informed of this, yielded to the necessity they were under ; and, concerting measures with the Aequi, surrendered the city to Quintius upon these conditions ; that the Aequi should have leave to depart, and that the Antiates should receive a garrison, and obey the commands of the Romans. The consul, having made himself master of the city upon these terms, and received provisions, and every thing else he wanted for his army, placed a garrison there, and returned to Rome with his forces. In consideration of his success, the senate, came

out to meet him ; and, having received him with great marks of favor, honoured him with a triumph.

LIX. The following year, the consuls were Tiberius Aemilius for the second time, and Quintus Fabius, the son of one of the three brothers, who commanded the forces sent to the defence of Cremera, and were put to the sword there, together with their clients. As the tribunes, supported by Aemilius, one of the consuls, were, again, stirring up the people on account of the division of lands, the senate, with a view both to court, and relieve the poorer sort, passed an order to divide among them some part of the country of the Antiates, which they had conquered the year before, and now possessed. And the triumvirs, appointed to divide these lands, were Titus Quintius Capitolinus, to whom the Antiates had surrendered themselves, and with him Lucius Furius, and Aulus Virginius. But the generality of the people, and the poor, who looked upon themselves as driven out of their country, were displeased with this division ; and few giving in their names, the senate resolved, since the colony was not complete, to permit such of the Latines, and Hernici, as were willing, to join it. The triumvirs, who were sent to Antium, divided the land among their own people, leaving a certain part of it to the Antiates. In the mean time, both the consuls took the field, Aemilius marching against the Sabines, and Fabius against the Aequi. Aemilius, having staid a considerable time in the enemy's country, found no army there to defend it : So that, after he had ravaged it with impunity, the election of magistrates drawing

drawing near, he returned home with his army. The Aequi sent embassadors to Fabius to treat of a reconciliation, and friendship, before they were compelled to either by the defeat of their army, or the loss of their towns: The consul, having exacted from them two months provisions for his army, two vests for every man, and six months pay, and whatever else he thought necessary, concluded a truce with them, till they could go to Rome, and obtain a peace from the senate; who, hearing what had passed, gave to Fabius full power to make peace with the Aequi upon such terms, as he himself should think fit. After that, the two nations entered into a league, by the interposition of the consul, upon these conditions: That the Aequi should, for the future, be subject to the Romans without being dispossessed either of their cities, or their territories; and that they should not be obliged to send any thing to the Romans but troops, when ordered, to be maintained at their own expence. Fabius, having made this treaty, returned home with his army, and, together with his colleague, nominated the magistrates for the following year.

LX. The consuls, named by them, were ²⁸ Spurius Postumius Albinus, and Quintus Servilius Priscus for the second time. In their consulship, the Aequi came to a resolution to violate the treaty lately made with the Romans,

^{28.} Σπορίος Ποσειμίου Αλβίνος. Livy calls these consuls Q. Servilius, and Sp. Postumius, without any addition. The *Fasti consulares* of Petavius call this consul Sp. Postumius Albanus Regillensis; and others Sp. Postumius Albus Regillensis.

upon the following occasion: The Antiates, who were possessed of houses, and lands, continued still in the country, cultivating, not only, the lands appropriated to themselves, but, also, Those allotted by the triumvirs to the colony, under an engagement to pay to these a certain proportion of the produce: But those, who had neither, left the city; and, the Aequi willingly receiving them, they set out from thence, and committed robberies upon the territories of the Latines. After that, such of the Aequi, as were bold and poor, joined these robbers: And, when the Latines lamented their condition in the senate, and desired them either to send an army to their relief, or to suffer them to revenge themselves on the aggressors, the senate, upon hearing their complaint, did not think fit either to send an army, or to suffer the Latines to take arms; but, appointing three ambassadors, of whom Quintus Fabius, who had concluded the treaty with that nation, was the chief, they ordered them to inquire of the principal persons of that people, whether they had sent out these bands of robbers, by a general consent, into the territories of their allies, and into Those of the Romans (for there had been some incursions made upon these, also, by the fugitive Antiates) or whether the public had no hand in any thing which had happened: And, if they said the actions complained of had been committed by private persons, without the consent of the people, to demand restitution of the things stolen, and that the malefactors might be delivered up to them. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, the Aequi, having heard their proposals, gave

gave them evasive answers ; saying, indeed, that the robberies complained of had not been committed with the approbation of the public ; but refusing to deliver up the guilty persons, who, being driven out of their city, and becoming wanderers, had implored their protection. Fabius, resenting this, protested against their violation of the treaty they had made with him ; and, seeing the Aequi dissembled, and desired time to consider of his proposals, and sought to detain him under the pretence of hospitality, he took that opportunity of staying there, in order to pry into their affairs ; and, visiting every part of their city, under the color of seeing their public places, and their temples, and particularly the shops of their armourers, where he found some arms already made, and others making, he discovered their design : And, returning to Rome, informed the senate both of what he had heard, and seen. And the senate, without hesitating any longer, came to a resolution to send the *feciales* with orders to declare war against the Aequi, unless they sent away the fugitive Antiates, and engaged to do justice to the injured. The Aequi gave haughty answers to the *feciales*, and made no secret of their disposition to accept the war. But the Romans were not at liberty to send an army against them that year ; either by reason of a divine prohibition, or on account of the distempers, with which the people were afflicted during great part of it : However, a small army, sent to defend their allies, under the command of Quintus Servilius, one of the consuls, incamped on the frontiers of the Latines. At Rome, his colleague, Spurius Postu-

Postumius, consecrated the temple of ²⁹ *Dius Fidius*, upon the ³⁰ *Quirinal hill*, on the day called the nones of June; which temple had, indeed, been built by Tarquin, the last king, but not consecrated in his reign with the ceremonies in use among the Romans. By order, therefore, of the senate, the name of Postumius was, upon this occasion, inscribed on the temple. Nothing else worth relating happened during their consulship.

LXI. In the seventy ninth Olympiad, at which Xenophon of Corinth won the prize of the stadium, Archedemides being archon at Athens, Titus Quintius Capitolinus, and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus entered upon the consulship; Quintius being appointed consul for the third time by the people, and Fabius for the second. Both these the senate sent into the field at the head of numerous armies well provided: Quintius was appointed to defend that part of the Roman frontiers, that lay contiguous to Those of the enemy; and Fabius, to harass the country of the Aequi: These Fabius found waiting for him on their own confines with a great army. After each of them had formed their camps in the most advantageous posts, they advanced to the plain, and the Aequi provoking the Romans to an engagement, and beginning the onset, they continued fighting great part of the day with resolution, and constancy; every man placing his hopes of victory in himself alone: But, the

²⁹ Τῆς Πενήκτης Διοῦς. See the ninety first annotation on the second book.

the *Mons Quirinalis*, now called, *Monte Cavallo*.

³⁰ Ἐπὶ τῇ Εὐναλίῃ λόφῳ. This was

swords of the greatest part becoming useless by their repeated strokes, the generals ordered a retreat to be sounded, and both returned to their camps. After this action, no pitched battle was fought, but continual skirmishes happened, and engagements of the light armed men, as they were going out for water, and escorting convoys. And, upon these occasions, it seldom happened that either of them had the advantage. During these transactions, a detachment of the army of the Aequi, marching by other roads that were unguarded, made an irruption into that part of the Roman territories, which lay at the greatest distance from the frontiers, and was for that reason defenceless; from whence they took many captives, and effects; and returned home without being discovered by the parties sent out by Quintius to defend the country. The same thing happened continually, and exposed the consuls to great obloquy. After this, Fabius, being informed by his scouts, and by the prisoners, that the Aequi were gone out of their camp with the best of their forces, he himself marched in the night, at the head of a chosen body both of horse, and foot, leaving those, who were the most advanced in age, to guard the camp. The Aequi, having plundered the country into which they had made an incursion, were returning to their camp with a great booty; but they had not proceeded far, before Fabius presented himself before them; and, having taken away their booty, defeated those who stood their ground, after a brave resistance: The rest dispersed themselves; and, being acquainted with the roads, escaped the pursuers, and fled

to their camp. The Aequi, struck with this unexpected misfortune, decamped in the night; and, after that, never stirred out of their city; but suffered their corn, which was then fit to cut, to be carried off by the enemy in their fight; their herds of cattle to be driven away; their effects to be seized; their country houses to be set on fire, and many prisoners to be taken. After this action, Fabius, the time being come for the consuls to resign their power to others, returned home with his army: As did also Quintius.

LXII. When they came to Rome, they declared Aulus Postumius Albus, and ³¹ Spurius Furius consuls. These had, no sooner, entered upon their magistracy, than messengers sent in haste arrived from their allies the Latines, who being introduced into the senate, informed them that the Antiates were not to be depended upon, since the Aequi were, continually, sending deputies to them secretly, and great numbers of Volsci resorted to their city openly, under the color of buying provisions, and were introduced there by those, who had, before, left the city of the Antiates through want, when their lands were divided among the Romans, as I said, and deserted to the Aequi. They, also, informed the senate that this corruption of the inhabitants had spread itself even to many of their own colony; and that, unless their designs were prevented by the imposition of a sufficient garrison, an unexpected war would arise from thence against the Romans.

³¹ Σεργιον Φεριον. I believe the praenomen of this consul was mistaken by the transcribers, because both ² Li-

vy, and the *Fasti consulares* call him Spurius Furius.

² B. iii. c. 4.

Not long after these messengers, others came from the Hernici, with advice that a numerous army of the Aequi were come out of their confines, and lay incamped in their country, where they plundered every thing; that the Volsci had joined the Aequi upon this occasion; and that the greatest part of their army consisted of the former. Upon this, the senate came to a resolution to send another garrison to quell those who were raising disturbances among the Antiates, and to secure the city (for some of them were come to Rome to justify themselves, and it was visible they had no good design) and that Spurius Furius, one of the consuls, should march with an army against the Aequi. And both armies soon took the field. The Aequi, hearing that the Romans were upon their march, decamped from the territories of the Hernici, in order to meet them. When they came in sight of one another, they incamped that day at no great distance: The day after, the enemy advanced to the camp of the Romans in order to sound their intentions; but these not coming out to fight, the others skirmished; and, without performing any considerable exploit, returned in triumph. The next day, the Roman consul decamped (for the place was not very secure) and formed his camp in a more advantageous post, where he sunk a deeper ditch, and strengthened it with palisades of a greater height. The enemy, seeing this, were greatly encouraged; and still more, after they had received a reinforcement both from the Volsci, and the Aequi: So that, without further delay, they led their forces to the camp of the Romans.

LXIII. The consul, considering that the army under his command was not sufficiently strong to encounter both these nations, sent some of his horse to Rome with letters, by which he desired that a reinforcement might, speedily, be sent to him, his army being in danger of a total defeat. After these letters were received by his colleague Postumius (it being about midnight when the horse arrived) he assembled the senate by dispatching several messengers to the houses of the senators; and, before it was broad day light, they came to a resolution, that Titus Quintius, who had been thrice consul, should instantly march against the enemy, in quality of proconsul, at the head of the bravest youth both foot, and horse; and that Aulus Postumius, the other consul, should assemble the rest of the troops, that could not so soon be brought together, and go to the assistance of the Roman army with all expedition. It was now day light, and Quintius had assembled about five thousand volunteers, with whom he, presently, marched out of the city. The Aequi had a suspicion of this: For which reason, they resolved to attack the camp of the Romans, before the succours should arrive, in expectation of forcing it by their numbers; and, with this view, they divided their army into two bodies, and all of them came out of their camp. The attack was maintained with great vigor during the whole day; and the enemy, who boldly mounted the intrenchments in many places, though exposed to a continual shower of javelins, arrows, and stones thrown by slings, could not be repulsed. Here, the consul, and the legate encouraging one another, both
opened

opened the gates at the same time; and, falling out upon the enemy with the bravest of their men, attacked them on both sides of the camp, and put to flight those, who were mounting the intrenchments. The enemy now giving way, the consul, after a short pursuit of those who fled before him, returned: But his brother and legate, Publius Furius, carried on by his courage and ardor, followed the enemy to their camp, charging them as they fled, with great slaughter. He had with him two cohorts, not exceeding a thousand men. As soon as the enemy, who were about five thousand, saw this, they rushed upon him from their camp: Some attacked his men in front, while their horse, wheeling about, fell upon their rear. The troops of Publius being thus surrounded, and cut off from their own army, when they had it in their power to save their lives by delivering up their arms (for the enemy invited them to this, and were extremely desirous to take a thousand of the bravest among the Romans prisoners, in order to obtain, through their means, an honourable peace) they despised the terms offered them; and, exhorting one another to do nothing unworthy of their country, they all died fighting, after they had killed many of the enemy.

LXIV. These being slain, the Aequi, elated with their success, advanced to the camp of the Romans, bearing aloft the head of Publius, and Those of the other considerable persons, fixed to their spears, in expectation that so dreadful a spectacle would terrify them, and compel them to deliver up their arms. The Romans were, indeed, moved with compassion
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at the calamity of the slain, and lamented their misfortune ; but they were inspired with a double ardor for the fight, and with a noble passion either to conquer, or to die like them rather than surrender. That night therefore, while the enemy lay before their camp, the Romans continued awake, and employed themselves in restoring those parts of it, that were impaired, and in contriving many and various things to repulse the enemy, if they attempted to renew the attack. The next day, the assault was repeated, and the palisades were pulled up in many places : The Aequi were often repulsed by the Romans, when these sallied out upon them in a body ; and, when the Romans advanced with too much boldness, they were often forced back by the others. This lasted the whole day : Here, the Roman consul was wounded in the thigh by a javelin, that pierced his shield, and many other persons of distinction, who fought by his side, were also wounded. By this time, the Romans were spent with toil, when Quintius, unexpectedly, appeared about the close of the evening, at the head of the reinforcement of choice volunteers. At the sight of these, the enemy retired, and raised the ineffectual siege ; and the Romans, sallying out upon them in their retreat, put the hindmost to the sword : However, as the greatest part of the former were weakened by their wounds, they did not pursue them far, but soon returned : And, after this, both remained a considerable time in their camps, acting upon the defensive.

LXV. After that, another body of the Aequi, and Volsci, thinking this a proper opportunity to plunder the country of
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the Romans, while their best troops were in the field, marched out in the night ; and, entering that part of their territories that was most remote, and where the husbandmen seemed to be under no apprehension, they possessed themselves of many captives, and a great booty. But the event of this expedition proved unfortunate to them in their return : For the other consul, Postumius, being informed of this enterprize of the enemy, while he was marching to the relief of the Romans, then besieged in their camp, appeared before them unexpectedly. These were neither astonished, nor terrified at his approach ; but, having, at their leisure, secured their baggage, and booty in a strong place, and left a sufficient guard to defend it, the rest marched in good order to encounter the Romans ; and, engaging, performed many memorable actions ; a few maintaining the fight against great numbers (for many came to the assistance of the Romans from the country) and those lightly armed, against men, whose bodies were, intirely, secured with armour : However, they killed many of the Romans ; and, though intercepted in an enemy's country, were very near erecting a trophy themselves against those, who had come to attack them : But the consul, and the Roman horse that was with him, all chosen men, charging, with their horses unbridled, that part of the enemy that was firmest, and fought with the greatest resolution, they broke them, and killed great numbers : Those in the front being slain, the rest gave way, and fled : And the men appointed to guard the baggage, abandoned it, and ran to the neighbouring

bouring mountains. In the action, few of them were slain; but very many in the rout, as they were both unacquainted with the country, and pursued by the Roman horse.

LXVI. While these things were transacting, the other consul, Spurius, being informed that his colleague was coming to his assistance, and fearing lest the enemy should go out to meet him, and intercept his march, resolved to divert them from this design by attacking their camp: But the enemy prevented him by decamping, as soon as they were informed of the misfortune of their forces by those, who had fled from the defeat; and, the night after the action, they retired to their city, without performing every thing they had proposed; since, besides those, who had lost their lives in the actions, and in plundering, they lost many more in their retreat: For, such of them, as were oppressed with toil, and weakened with the loss of blood, marched slowly; and their limbs failing them, they dropped down, particularly at the fountains, and rivers, to quench their thirst: These the Roman horse overtaking, put to death: Neither did the Romans themselves return home with complete success from this campaign: For they lost many brave men in the several actions, and a legate, who had distinguished himself above all the rest in that battle: However, they brought with them a victory inferior to none. These were the transactions of this consulship.

LXVII. The next year, Lucius Aebutius, and Publius Servilius Priscus were consuls; when the Romans, being afflicted with a pestilential distemper more severely than ever, performed

performed nothing memorable either in military, or civil affairs. This distemper first attacked the studs of mares, and herds of oxen, and then seized the flocks of goats, and sheep, and destroyed almost all the quadrupeds: After that, it fell upon the shepherds and husbandmen; and, having spread itself through the whole country, it infected the city. It was no easy matter to discover the number of servants, workmen, and the poorer sort, who were carried off by it: For, at first, the dead bodies were conveyed away in carts by heaps; and, at last, those of the persons of least consequence were thrown into the river: But of the senate, the fourth part was computed to have died of it; among whom were both the consuls, and the greatest part of the tribunes. This distemper began about the calends of September, and continued all that year; seizing and destroying, without distinction, persons of both sexes, and all ages. When the neighbouring people were informed of the calamity, with which the Romans were afflicted, the Aequi, and the Volsci thought this a proper juncture to subvert their empire; and, with this view, they entered into an alliance, which they confirmed by their oaths: And, having prepared every thing that was necessary for a siege, they drew out their forces with all expedition. And, in order to deprive the Romans of the assistance of their allies, they first invaded the territories of the Latines, and of the Hernici. Lucius Aebutius, one of the consuls, happened to die on the very day the deputies from these nations, then invaded, came to the senate to beg assistance. However, Publius Servilius,

who was then dying, and could just breathe, ordered the senate to assemble: And the greatest part of the senators being brought half dead in litters, after consultation, directed the deputies who were then present, to acquaint their citizens, that the senate gave them leave to repulse the enemy by their own courage, till the consul was recovered, and the forces designed for their relief were raised. After this answer, the Latines removed every thing they could out of the country, into their cities; and, placing guards upon the walls, suffered all the rest to be destroyed. But the Hernici, resenting the ruin, and desolation of their country, ran to arms, and came out of their cities. They engaged with great bravery; and, having lost many of their own men, and put still more of the enemy to the sword, they were forced to take refuge within their walls, and did not, after that, venture another engagement.

LXVIII. When the Aequi, and Volsci had laid waste their country, they marched without resistance into That of the Tusculani. And, having plundered this also, none offering to defend it, they arrived at the territories of the Sabines. They passed through their territories with the same ease, and advanced to Rome. Their approach alarmed the city sufficiently: However, they could not make themselves masters of it: For the Romans, though in a weak condition, and having lost both the consuls (for Servilius was lately dead) armed themselves with greater vigor than strength, and lined the walls, the circuit of which was, at that time, of the same extent with That of Athens: Some parts of these walls,

walls, standing on hills, and being fortified by nature itself with steep rocks, required but few men to defend them; and others were defended by the Tiber, the breadth of which is about four hundred feet, and the depth capable of carrying large ships; and the stream of it is as rapid as That of any other river, and forms great eddies: There is no passing it on foot, unless it is over a bridge; and there was, at that time, only one, which was built with timber, and taken to pieces in time of war: The weakest part of the city is from the gate called Esquilina, to That named Collina, which interval is rendered strong by art: For there is a ditch sunk before it above one hundred feet in breadth, where it is the narrowest, and thirty in depth; on the edge of this ditch stands a wall, supported on the inside with so high and broad a rampart, that it can neither be shaken by battering rams, nor thrown down by undermining the foundations: This rampart is about seven stadia in length, and fifty feet in breadth. Here the Romans were, then, drawn up in great numbers, and from hence they repulsed the enemy; the men of that age being unacquainted with the structure either of towers to fill up ditches, called ³² Χελωναί Χωσρίδες, *Tortoises*, or of the machines, particularly

³² Χελωναί χωσρίδες. The use of this χελωνή (for there were several kinds of them) is described by ^a Polybius, where he gives an account of the siege carried on by Philip against the city of the Echinæenses. The intention of them was to fill up the ditches (from whence, I imagine, they had

their name) and, also, to assault the walls, which they equalled in height. The structure of them is described by ^b Vitruvius. ^c Caesar says that Trebonius, who commanded the siege of Marseilles, made use of one of these *testudines* (for so they were called by the Romans) that was sixty feet in

^a B. ix. p. 571.

^b B. x. c. 20.

^c De Bell. civili, B. ii. c. 2.

contrived for the taking of towns, called ³³ Ελεπολεις: The enemy, therefore, despairing of success in their attempt to take the city, retired from the walls; and, having laid waste all the country they marched through, returned home with their forces.

LXIX. The Romans created interreges to preside at the election of magistrates; which is a thing they usually do in a time of anarchy, and advanced Lucius Lucretius, and ³⁴ Titus Veturius Geminus to the consulship. In their magistracy the distemper ceased, and all civil contests, both public and private, were deferred, notwithstanding the endeavours of Sextus Titus, one of the tribunes, to resume the proposal of the agrarian law, which the people would not hear of, but desired it might be deferred to a more favourable juncture. There was, at the same time, a great eagerness in men of all degrees to take revenge on those, who had alarmed the city during the time of the plague:

height, in order to equal the wall; *antecedebat testudo pedum lxx. aequandi loci causâ facta.*

³³ Ελεπολεις. The *Helepolis* was a vast wooden tower consisting of a great many stories. It is supposed to have been invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes, at the siege of Rhodes, or, more probably, by his military architect, Epimachus, an Athenian. ^a Vitruvius says that it was 125 feet in height, and 40 square at the bottom, according to Perrault, not 60, as it stands in the editions. However, Diognetus, the Rhodian engineer, disappointed

the effect of this enormous machine by causing a great quantity of water to be poured upon the ground at the foot of the wall; by which means, the earth being soaked with the water, the wheels of the *Helepolis* sunk into the ground; so that, it could never be brought near the walls.

³⁴ Τίτον Ουέλκιον Γεμινον. The *Fasti consulares* call this consul T. Vetustius Geminus; and ^c Livy himself seems to doubt which is the right name; *T. Veturium Geminum, sive ille Vetustus fuit.*

^a B. x. c. 22.

^c B. iii. c. 8.

And

And the senate having soon resolved upon the war, and the people confirmed their resolution, they presently began to raise forces, every man of the military age, even those, who were by law exempt, desiring to share in this expedition. The army being divided into three bodies, one of them was left to defend the city, which was commanded by Quintus Fabius, a consular person; and the other two marched out against the Aequi, and the Volsci. The same thing had, also, been done by the enemy: For the best forces of both those nations were, already, in the field under two generals, and designed to begin with the territories of the Hernici, in which they were, then, incamped, and to proceed in their march through all Those, that were subject to the Romans: And the forces of less use were left to guard their towns, lest any sudden attempt might be made upon them by the enemy. The Roman consuls, considering these dispositions, thought it most adviseable first to attack their towns, concluding that the confederate army would be dissolved, as soon as each of the two nations of which it was composed, should hear that their own towns were exposed to the greatest danger, and that they would think it more adviseable to save their own fortunes, than to destroy Those of the enemy. Lucretius, therefore, invaded the country of the Aequi, and Veturius That of the Volsci. The former suffered every thing without their walls to be ruined, and prepared to defend their city, and their fortresses.

LXX. But the Volsci, led on by their boldness and pride, and despising the Roman army, as unable to cope with
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the great numbers, of which their own consisted, came out in order to fight in defence of their country, and ³⁵incamped near to Veturius: But the same thing, that usually happens to a new raised army composed of a mixed multitude of citizens, and husbandmen, brought together for that occasion, of which many are both unarmed, and unacquainted with danger, happened to the Volsci, who durst not so much as encounter the enemy; but the greatest part of them, astonished at the first onset of the Romans, and unable to bear either their shouts, or the noise of their arms, fled in all haste to their city: So that, many of them, being overtaken in the narrow roads, were put to death, and many more lost their lives, while they were crouding at the gates, to avoid the horse that pursued them. The Volsci, therefore, after this misfortune, reproached themselves with their folly, and were unwilling to hazard another engagement: But the generals, who commanded the forces of the latter, and Those of the Aequi in the field, hearing their own cities were attacked, resolved to perform some brave action on their part also; to decamp from the country of the Hernici and the Latines, and, in the height of their resentment, to march in all haste to Rome, since they, also, persuaded

35. Πλησιον τῷ Ουέτιρι καὶ ἐστράτοιο ποθεύσαν. Le Jay has enjoyed a long truce, which I shall only interrupt for a moment in order to give the reader an opportunity of admiring his translation of this passage, or rather of Portus's translation of it. The latter says, *prope Veturium castra posuerunt*; and le Jay, having

forgotten that *Veturius* was the name of one of the consuls, takes *Veturium* for a town, and renders it thus, *se camperent prope Veturium*. Had he cast his eye on the Greek text, and understood it, the article τῷ would have saved him from this ridicule.

them-

themselves that they should succeed in one of these two great designs, either take Rome, which was then unguarded, or draw the enemy out of their territories, since the consuls must, necessarily, hasten to the relief of their own country, when attacked. In consequence of this plan, they made a forced march, to the end that, coming to the city unexpectedly, they might that instant begin the assault.

LXXI. But having advanced as far as the city of Tusculum, and being there informed that the whole circuit of Rome was lined with armed men, and that four cohorts, of six hundred men each, were posted before the gates, they abandoned their design of marching to Rome; and, incamping, laid waste the lands, that lay near the city, which, in their former irruption, they had left untouched. But the consul, Lucius Lucretius, appearing, and incamping not far from them, they thought this a proper opportunity to give him battle before the other army of the Romans, which was commanded by Veturius, should come to the assistance of Lucretius; and, placing their baggage upon a certain eminence, and leaving two cohorts to defend it, the rest advanced to the plain. After which, they engaged the Romans, and fought bravely for a long time: But some of them being informed that an army was come out of the fortresses, that were in their rear, and marching down from an eminence, they thought the other consul was advancing with the forces under his command; and, fearing to be encompassed by both, they, no longer, stood their ground, but fled. In this action, both their generals fell,
after

after they had given great proofs of their valor, and with them many other brave men fighting by their side. Those, who escaped from the battle, dispersed themselves, and every man retired to his own country. After this defeat, Lucretius laid waste the country of the Aequi with great security, and Veturius That of the Volsci; till the time appointed for the election of magistrates drew near: Then both of them, decamping, returned to Rome with their armies, and triumphed in honor of their victories: Lucretius entering the city in a chariot drawn by four horses, and Veturius on foot: ³⁶ For these two triumphs are granted to generals

³⁶. Δυσὶ γὰρ ἔσσι θρίαμβοι. See the thirty ninth annotation on the fifth book. M. * * * observes that ^f Livy, in speaking of the ovation granted by the senate to Veturius, says, *alteri consuli datum, ut ovans sine militibus urbem iniret*. From these words, he concludes that all, to whom the ovation was granted, performed this procession without their soldiers: I do not deny the fact; but I deny the consequence. I do not deny the fact, I say, because I know from ^g Massurius, quoted by Gellius, that, in the lesser triumph, called the *ovation*, the general went on foot, and was not followed by his soldiers, but by the whole senate. But still I say that it cannot be concluded from this particular decree, by which the ovation without soldiers was granted to Veturius, that no generals, upon these occasions, were ever attended by their soldiers, any more than it can be concluded

from another decree, by which the senate ordered C. Claudius to perform his ovation on horseback, ^h *C. Claudius equo sine militibus inveberetur*, that all generals proceeded on horseback in that ceremony. This nobody will say; because we know from ⁱ our author, and, indeed, from all others, who have written upon this subject, that the ovation was, generally, performed on foot. But, though I have said that the generals, upon those occasions, were not attended by their soldiers, yet there are some reasons alledged by Livy why C. Claudius was not attended by his soldiers, which give reason to suspect that this practice was not so universal as it is supposed. When I speak of the ovation decreed to C. Claudius, the reader will recollect that it was in consideration of the important service he had done his country in leaving his own province, and joining his colleague M. Livius: The

^f B. iii. c. 10.
of the fifth book.

^g B. v. c. 6.

^h Livy, B. xxviii. c. 9.

ⁱ See the forty seventh chapter

by the senate, as I have said, and are equal in other honors, but differ in this, that one is performed in a chariot, and the other, on foot.

consequence of this step was the defeat, and death of Asdrubal, who was come into Italy at the head of a formidable army to assist his brother Annibal. Had the junction of these two armies been effected, it is highly probable that the Romans, notwithstanding their courage, and constancy, would have been ruined. In consideration of this service, the senate decreed the greater triumph to M. Livius, because the action had been performed in his province, and under his auspices, as the Romans called it; and to C. Claudius the lesser; and that the former should be attended with his soldiers, and the latter not: For which, these reasons are alledged in the decree of the senate; because the army of Livius was already at Rome, but the army of Claudius could not be drawn

out of his province; ^k *quoniam exercitus Livianus deductus Romam venisset, Neronis de provinciâ deduci non potuisset; ut M. Livium quadrigis urbem ineuntem milites sequerentur: C. Claudius equo sine militibus inveheretur.* Here the reason assigned in the decree why Claudius was not to be attended by his men, is, because his army could not be drawn out of his province; which reason, I am apt to think, would not have been assigned, if it had been the constant practice for a general never to be followed by his soldiers in an ovation. But this question has been, already, decided by ^l our author, where he says in so many words, that the general, who triumphs in the manner called the ovation, enters the city on foot, *followed by the army, μέλα τῆς στρατίας προηγούμενος.*

^k Livy, B. xxviii. c. 9. ^l B. v. c. 47.

The end of the Ninth book.

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE TENTH BOOK.

THE year after this consulship, the eightieth Olympiad was solemnized, at which Torymbas, a Thesfalian, won the prize of the stadium, ¹ Phrasicles being archon at Athens, and Publius Volumnius, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus consuls at Rome. These led no forces into the field, either to take revenge on those, who had injured both the Romans, and their allies, or to defend their own country; but employed themselves in providing against the evils, that might arise within the walls, and in preventing the mischief flowing from a combination of the people against the senate: For they were again in motion, being

ANNOTATIONS on the Tenth Book.

¹ *Ἀρχοῖος Ἀθηνησι Φρασικλεὺς*. This *Φασικλειδης*, and, in the succession of archonis called, by ² Diodorus Siculus, the Athenian archons, Phaciclides.

² B. xi. c. 77.

told by the tribunes that the best of all institutions for free men was an ² equal distribution of justice ; and they desired that all affairs, both private and public, might be administered according to laws : For there was, as yet, no such thing among the Romans as an equality of laws, or an equal distribution of justice, neither were all their laws committed to writing ; but, formerly, their kings used to administer justice to the suitors, and their decisions were laws : After they ceased to be governed by kings, among the other functions of royalty, That of administering justice also was transferred to the annual consuls, and they decided all contests, of what nature soever. ³ The rules of these decisions

² *Ισηγορία*. See the ninth annotation on the fourth book ; where, I think, I have proved that *ισηγορία* does not, always, signify *an equal liberty of speech*. However, the Latin translators have given it that sense here ; and, after their example, both the French translators have said, *une égale liberté de parler* ; a privilege, which the wives of the Romans might, very naturally, have claimed : This cannot possibly be the sense of the word in this place ; because our author will presently tell us that there was no such thing among the Romans hitherto, as *ισονομία*, or *ισηγορία*. And will any one say that the Romans were not, as yet, intitled to freedom of speech ? Truly the many bold harangues of the tribunes, which our author has given us at length, sufficiently prove the contrary. Livy, in speaking of this very transaction, never says a word of freedom of speech ; but, in the original proposal made by the tribunes for creating these legisla-

^b B. iii. c. 31.

tors, he says, the intention was that they should propose such laws, as should be beneficial both to the patricians, and plebeians, and establish equal liberty ; ^b *qui utrisque utilia ferrent, quaeque aequandae libertatis essent*. Again, he makes the first decemvirs, after they had finished ten of the tables, tell the people that they had, as far as the wit of ten men could provide, established laws equal to men of all conditions ; ^c *se, quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit, omnibus summis infimisque jura aequasse*. This is what our author calls *ισονομία*. But, as impartial laws would have been of no avail to the Roman people without an impartial execution of them, This also they, with great reason, insisted on ; and this is what he calls *ισηγορία*.

³ *Τῶν δὲ τὰ πολλὰ*. This period is certainly corrupted in all the editions, and manuscripts. The sense I have given to it was suggested to me by the next sentence.

^c B. iii. c. 34.

were, for the greatest part, kept by the ministers of the consuls, who were advanced to that magistracy for their virtue: And some very few of them were recorded in the books of the pontiffs, which had the force of laws, and with which the patricians alone were acquainted, by reason of their residence in the city; while the people, who were either merchants, or husbandmen, and came to town only on the market days, between which many days intervened, were, as yet, unacquainted with them. This institution was, first, attempted to be introduced by Caius Terentius the year before, while he was tribune; but he was forced to abandon it, because the people were, then, in the field; and the consuls, industriously, detained the armies in the enemy's country till the expiration of their magistracy.

II. Aulus Virginius, and the other tribunes of this year resumed this institution, and resolved to carry it through: On the other side, the consuls, the senate, and all the rest of the men in power tried every art to defeat their design, and to avert the necessity of making laws the rules of their government. The senate met frequently, the people were continually assembled, and attempts of all kinds were made by the magistrates against one another. From all which, it was manifest to every one that some great, and irreparable mischief would flow from this animosity. These human reasonings were confirmed by divine omens, some of which had never been recorded in the public archives, nor the memory of them been preserved by any other means: Lights shooting along the heavens, and flames continuing in the
same

same place, roarings of the earth, and continual tremblings of it had happened, spectres of various shapes at various times gliding through the air, and voices astonishing the minds of men, and every thing of that nature was found to have happened formerly, more or less: But the following prodigy, which they were unacquainted with, and had never heard of, struck them with the greatest terror: There fell from heaven a violent shower, bringing down with it, instead of snow, ^d pieces of flesh, some less, some greater; most of these the birds, flying to them in flocks, seized with their beaks, as they were falling through mid air; and those pieces, that fell to the ground in the city itself, and in the fields, lay there a considerable time without changing their color, as happens to stale meat, or even corrupting, or smelling ill. The Roman soothsayers were unable to guess at the meaning of this prodigy; but in the Sibylline books it was found that a foreign enemy would enter the city; that the citizens would fight to preserve themselves from being made slaves, and that a civil dissension would be the

^d Σαρκων θραυσμα^{τα}. If any of my readers have a taste for prodigies, they will find this tale recorded by ^e Livy also, who deals much more in prodigies than our author. But, if these authorities are not sufficient to prove the fact, let it be remembered that it rained flesh likewise upon the Israelites, when they were in the desert. We hear of showers of blood, and milk, and of many other things: But the most beneficial shower I have met with (next to Jupiter's golden shower) was

a shower of silver, which Xiphilinus, the epitomator of Dion Cassius, says fell on the forum of Augustus in the reign of Severus: This shower Dion says he did not indeed see, but is sure it fell, because he had some of it, with which he silvered over some pieces of brass, and the color of the silver remained upon them for three days; but, on the fourth, it quite disappeared. By this, it seems that the silver rain was not silver after all; which I am very sorry for.

^d B. iii. c. 10.

^e Psal. lxxviii. y. 27.

forerunner of this war with a foreign enemy ; which sedition they were to banish from the city in its birth ; and that, if they invoked the gods by sacrifices, and prayers to avert these misfortunes, they would gain the victory over their enemies. After these things were published to the people, the persons, who had the care of religious rites, first, sacrificed victims to those gods, who remove, and avert evils : After which, the senators assembled, and the tribunes being also present, they considered of the means both to secure, and preserve the commonwealth.

III. They all agreed to put an end to their mutual animosities, and to act with unanimity, according to the direction of the oracles. But they were under no small difficulty concerning the means, that were to be employed to effect this ; and which of the contending parties, by taking the first step in yielding to the other, should put an end to the sedition : For the consuls, and the leading men of the senate accused the tribunes of being the authors of this disturbance, by attempting to introduce new laws, and to subvert the constitution. On the other side, the tribunes said they aimed at nothing, that was either unjust or disadvantageous to the commonwealth, in desiring to introduce a good system of laws, and an equal distribution of justice ; and that the consuls, and the patricians promoted the sedition by fomenting their lawless appetites, and thirst of power, and by imitating the behaviour of tyrants. These, and the like reproaches were urged by each of them for many days, and the time was spent in vain ; during which, no business
either

either public, or private was dispatched. The tribunes, finding that nothing they could say proved effectual, ceased to harangue, and inveigh against the senate; and, assembling the people, promised them to bring in a law relating to what they desired. This being approved of by the people, they, without further delay, read the law they had prepared; the heads of which were as follows: That ⁵ ten persons be chosen by the people in a legal assembly, the most distinguished both by their age, and prudence, and who have the greatest regard for honor, and a good reputation: That these draw up laws concerning all matters both public and private, and lay them before the people: And that the laws, so to be drawn up by them, be affixed in the forum, as rules both to the magistrates, who shall, from henceforth, be annually chosen, and to private men of their mutual rights. After the tribunes had proposed this law, they gave leave to all who were willing, to speak against it; and appointed the third market day for that purpose. And many, not the least considerable of the senate, both old and young, opposed the law in elaborate, and set speeches. This lasted many days: After which, the tribunes, being uneasy at the loss of time, would not suffer the opposers of the law to harangue, any longer, against it; but, appointing a day for passing it, desired all the plebeians to attend,

⁵ *Ἀνδρας δέκα.* There is a note of Sylburgius upon this passage, in which ⁶ Livy is quoted for saying that only five men were to be chosen to compile the laws. But, that learned man forgot that the proposal Livy speaks of was made the year before, in the consulship of Lucretius, and Veturius.

⁶ B. iii. c. 9.

assuring

assuring them they should not be tired, any more, with long discourses, but give their votes in their tribes, concerning the law. After these assurances, the tribunes dismissed the assembly.

IV. Upon this, the consuls, and the patricians who had most power, going to the tribunes, treated them with more severity than before ; saying they would not suffer them to propose laws without the previous approbation of the senate : For that laws were contracts entered into by the whole body of the commonwealth, and not by a part of it : They told them, also, that the most afflicting, and the most shameful destruction must be the consequence both to governments, and private families, whenever the worst part prescribes laws to the best. “ What power, said they, have
“ you, tribunes, either to introduce, or abrogate laws? Did
“ you not receive this magistracy from the senate, upon
“ certain conditions? Did you not desire that the tribunes
“ might be created to assist the poorer sort, when injured,
“ and oppressed and to take cognizance of nothing else?
“ But, if you were, before, invested with any power, which
“ you had extorted from us contrary to justice, while the
“ senate acquiesced in every thing you proposed for your
“ own advantage ; have you not lost even this power now,
“ by the alteration of the comitia? For neither a decree of
“ the senate appoints you, any longer, to the magistracy;
“ nor do the curiae give their votes concerning you;
“ neither do you offer up to the gods, before your election,
“ the sacrifices appointed by the laws; nor is there any
“ thing

“ thing else performed, that has an appearance of religion
 “ to the gods, or of legality to men, when you are elected :
 “ What then is there you can, now, pretend to share in, that
 “ requires sacrifices, and holy rites, of which the law is one,
 “ when you renounce all laws ?” These things both the
 old, and young patricians, going about the town with those
 of their faction, urged to the tribunes: The more moderate
 of the plebeians they soothed with courteous language ; and
 the refractory and turbulent they terrified with threats of
 the dangers, to which they would expose themselves through
 want of modesty ; and some, who were exceeding poor and
 abject, and regardless of every thing relating to the public
 in comparison of their own interest, they drove out of the
 forum with blows, as if they had been slaves.

V. But the person, who was attended with the greatest
 number of followers, and who had the greatest power of all
 the young men at that time, was Caeso Quintius, the son
 of Lucius Quintius, called Cincinnatus, a man of illustrious
 birth, and of a fortune inferior to none, beautiful in his
 person beyond any of his age, distinguished above all men
 for his bravery, and qualified by nature for eloquence ; to
 which he gave a loose, upon this occasion, in inveighing
 against the plebeians, without refraining either from such
 language, as freemen cannot hear with patience, or from
 actions as outrageous as his language: For these reasons,
 the patricians held him in great esteem ; and, encouraging
 him to continue this dangerous behaviour, promised to sup-
 port him. On the other side, the plebeians hated him above

all men. This man the tribunes determined to remove out of the way, in order to terrify the rest of the youth, and compel them to reform their manners. Having taken this resolution, and prepared their charge with many witnesses to support it, they accused him of a capital crime committed by him against the public. After that, they summoned him to appear before the people; and the day they had appointed for the trial being come, they assembled them, and laid themselves out in long accusations against him; enumerating all the acts of violence he had been guilty of towards the plebeians, of which they brought the sufferers themselves to give testimony. Leave being given him to speak, the youth himself, when called upon, refused to make his defence; but offered to answer the complaints of such private persons, as he was accused of having injured, before the consuls according to the laws. His father, observing the plebeians to be exasperated at the haughtiness of the youth, endeavoured to excuse him by shewing that the greatest part of the accusations was false, and contrived insidiously against his son; that those instances, which he could not deny, were small and trifling, and not deserving the resentment of the public; and that, even, these had not proceeded from design, or insolence; but from a youthful ambition, through which he had done many inconsiderate things during these contests, and, possibly also, suffered many, as neither his age, nor his prudence were yet arrived to their maturity: And he desired the plebeians, not only, to entertain no resentment for the offence, which his words had

had

had given, but even gratefully to remember the many services he had done to all of them in the wars, while he was employed in acquiring liberty for private men; sovereignty for his country; and, for himself, if ever he should be guilty of any offence, the favor, and protection of the people. He, then, enumerated all the campaigns, and the actions, in which he had received from his generals rewards of valor, and crowns; how many citizens he had saved in battle; and how often he was the first man, who mounted the walls of the enemies towns. He ended with imploring their compassion, and with intreating them that, in consideration of his own mildness to all of them, and of his course of life, which they knew to be free from every kind of imputation, they would grant him this single favor, to save his son.

VI. The people were exceedingly pleased with this speech, and ready to grant the life of the youth to his father: But Virginius, well knowing that, if he was not punished, the insolence of the audacious youth would become intolerable, rose up, and said: “ We acknowledge in you, Quintius, “ every virtue, as well as an affection for the people; for “ which we honour you: But the offensive behaviour of. “ this youth, and his haughtiness to us all admits not of any “ deprecation, or pardon: Who, being educated in your “ principles, which we all know to be so popular, and moderate, despised your institutions, and grew fond of a “ tyrannical arrogance, and a barbarian insolence; and introduced an example of wicked actions into our common- “ wealth.

“ wealth. If, therefore, you were, before, unacquainted
“ with his character, now you know him, you ought in
“ justice to espouse our resentment: But, if you were privy to,
“ and abetted, the abuses, with which he insulted the miseries
“ of the indigent citizens, you, also, were a wicked man, and
“ did not deserve the virtuous character you had acquired: But
“ you did not know that he had degenerated from your
“ virtue: This testimony I can give you. But, when I
“ acquit you of joining with your son in injuring us at that
“ time, I blame you for not joining with us, now, in re-
“ senting those injuries. However, that you may be the
“ more convinced how great a mischief you have nursed up,
“ unknown to yourself, against the commonwealth, how
“ cruel and tyrannical, and not free from the murder of his
“ fellow-citizens, hear his great exploit; and, then, place
“ in the other scale those rewards of valor he received in the
“ wars. And, citizens, as many of you as were, just now,
“ affected with the compassion, which this man endeavoured
“ to excite, consider whether it is your interest to spare such
“ a citizen.”

VII. Having said this, he desired Marcus Volscius, one of his colleagues, to rise up, and say what he knew concerning the youth. All being silent, and full of expectation, Volscius, after a short pause, said; “ I could have wished,
“ citizens, to have received a private satisfaction, such as
“ the law affords, from this man for the most cruel outrages I have suffered: But, having been prevented from
“ obtaining this by poverty, weakness, and by my rank
“ among

“ among the vulgar, I shall lay hold on this opportunity
 “ to take upon myself the part of a witness, since I cannot
 “ That of an accuser. Hear, then, my sufferings, how
 “ cruel, how irreparable they are. I had a brother, whose
 “ name was Lucius, whom I loved above all men : He and
 “ I supped with a friend ; and, night coming on, we rose
 “ from supper, and departed. After we had passed through
 “ the forum, Caeso came up to us, revelling with other in-
 “ solent youths : At first, they laughed at us, and abused us,
 “ as young men, when drunk and insolent are apt to abuse
 “ those, who are mean and poor : We being displeased at
 “ this behaviour, my brother spoke to them with freedom.
 “ Caeso, thinking himself injured in having any thing said
 “ to him he did not like, ran to him ; and, by striking,
 “ kicking, and every other act of cruelty and abuse, put
 “ him to death. In the mean time, I cried out, and did
 “ all I could to defend him ; when Caeso, leaving my
 “ brother who lay dead, struck me next, and ceased not,
 “ till he saw me stretched upon the ground without motion,
 “ without speech, and, as he thought, without life : Upon
 “ this, he went away exulting, as if he had performed a great
 “ exploit. Some persons, coming by after he was gone,
 “ took us up covered with blood, and carried us home, my
 “ brother Lucius being dead as I said, and I half dead, and
 “ shewing small hopes of life. These things happened in
 “ the consulship of Publius Servilius, and Lucius Aebutius,
 “ while the distemper raged in the city, with which we
 “ both had been attacked. It was not, therefore, possible
 “ for

“ for me to obtain justice against him, at that time, since both
 “ the consuls were dead. After Lucius Lucretius, and Titus
 “ Veturius had entered on their magistracy, I designed to
 “ have brought him to justice, but was prevented by the
 “ war, both consuls being in the field : After they returned
 “ from the campaign, I often cited him to appear before
 “ those magistrates (as many of the citizens know) and as
 “ often received blows from him. These are my sufferings,
 “ plebeians, which I have related to you with the greatest
 “ truth.”

VIII. After he had said this, all who were present, cried out ; and many were proceeding to violence ; but they were prevented, not only, by the consuls, but, also, by the greatest part of the tribunes, who were unwilling that a pernicious custom should be introduced into the commonwealth : The most dispassionate even of the people were not less unwilling to deprive those, who were upon their trial when the event was of the greatest consequence, from making their defence. Upon this occasion, therefore, a regard to justice restrained the violence of the bolder sort, and the trial was put off ; but no small contest, and doubt arose concerning his person, whether he should be detained in prison in the mean time, or whether bail should be taken for his ⁶ appearance,

⁶. Αφίξεως. I think Stephens had no reason to find fault with this word, and to substitute παρασσεως in its room. Αφίξις signifies, as ⁸ Julius Pollux explains the word, παρυσια, what we call *an appearance* ; and εἰς γυνήλας δέναι της αφίξεως, is plainly, *to give*

bail for his appearance. ^h Livy, in speaking of this affair of Caeso, calls it *sisti reum*, which amounts to the same thing ; *in vincula conjici vetant (tribuni) sisti reum, pecuniamque, nisi sistatur, populo promitti, placere pronuntiant.*

⁸ B. v. Segm. 155.

^h B. iii. c. 13.

Book X. DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS. 143
as his father desired : When the senate assembling ordered that, if security was given for the payment of a sum of money in case of his non appearance, his person should be free till the trial. The next day, the tribunes assembled the people, and the youth not appearing, they procured a vote to be passed for his condemnation, and compelled his sureties, who were ten, to pay the money agreed on in case they did not surrender him. Caeso, therefore, being thus circumvented by the intrigues of the tribunes, and the false testimony of Volscius, as it afterwards appeared, chose Tyrhenia for the place of his banishment. His father, having sold the greatest part of his estate, and repaid the sureties the money they had been bound in, left nothing for himself but one small farm lying on the other side of the river Tiber, on which there was an humble cottage ; where, cultivating this farm with the help of a few slaves, he led a laborious, and calamitous life ; and, through melancholy, and poverty, neither came to Rome, visited his friends, assisted at the festivals, nor allowed himself any other entertainment. However, the tribunes were greatly disappointed in their expectations : For the animosity of the young men was so far from being reformed, and extinguished by the calamity of Caeso, that it grew much more outrageous and excessive ; and they opposed the law, which the tribunes had so much at heart, both by their words, and actions : So that, the whole time of their magistracy being taken up with these contests, they were not able to effect any thing. However, the people continued them in the tribuneship for the following year.

IX. Publius Valerius Poplicola, and Caius Claudius Sabinus being consuls, Rome saw herself exposed to a greater danger than she had ever yet experienced, by a foreign war, which the civil dissension brought upon the city ; as both the Sibylline oracles, and the prodigies had foretold the year before. I shall now relate, not only, the cause of this war, but, also, the actions performed by the consuls during the course of it. The tribunes, who had been invested by the people with this magistracy for the second time, in expectation of their procuring the law to be passed, seeing one of the consuls, Caius Claudius, possessed with an hereditary hatred against the plebeians, and prepared to defeat their designs by every method, and the most powerful of the youth acting with undisguised rage, whom it was impossible to subdue by force ; and, above all, that the greatest part of the people, courted by the patricians, yielded to their application, and preserved, no longer, the same zeal for the law in question ; they resolved to take bolder measures, by which they expected to terrify the people, and repel the attempts of the consul. First, therefore, they caused reports of all sorts to be spread about the city ; after that, they sat in council, publicly, from morning till night, without admitting any person, besides Those of their own college, to their counsels, and deliberations. When they saw a proper opportunity to carry their designs into execution, they writ feigned letters, and contrived to have these delivered to them by an unknown person, as they sat in the forum : After they had read these letters, they beat
their

their foreheads; and, having composed their looks for grief, rose up: The people flocking about them, and concluding that some dreadful mischief was contained in those letters, they commanded silence, and said: “ The plebeians are in
 “ the greatest of all dangers, citizens; and, if some benevo-
 “ lence of the gods had not taken care of those, who were
 “ exposed to undeserved sufferings, we should all have fallen
 “ under dreadful calamities. We desire you will have a
 “ little patience, till we give an account to the senate of the
 “ information we have received, and with joint consent take
 “ such measures, as are necessary in the present juncture.”
 Having said this, they went to the consuls. While the senate was assembling, many and various discourses passed in the forum; some publishing to the people assembled in circles, with design, such reports, as had been suggested to them by the tribunes; and others, those things they most dreaded, as the subject of the information sent to those magistrates. One said, that the Aequi and the Volsci, having received Caeso Quintius, lately condemned by the people, had chosen him general of both the nations with unlimited authority, and that he had raised a great number of forces, and was preparing to march to Rome: Another, that, in concert with the whole body of the patricians, he was to be brought home by foreign troops, to the end that the magistracy, which was the guardian of the plebeians, might both now, and for ever after, be abolished: And another said, that all the patricians had not entered into these designs, but only the young men among them: Some had the confidence to

affirm that Caeso was hid even in the city, and would, soon, possess himself of the most advantageous posts. The whole city being alarmed with the expectation of these calamities, and all men suspecting, and guarding against, one another, the consuls assembled the senate; and the tribunes, going in, acquainted them with the information they had received: Aulus Virginius, in the name of the rest, spoke as follows:

X. “ While none of the dangers we have been informed
“ of appeared certain, but were only vague reports, and
“ there was nothing to confirm them, we were unwilling,
“ senators, to acquaint you with these rumors, from a suspi-
“ cion of the great commotions they would give birth to,
“ such as, usually, flow from dreadful relations; and, also,
“ from an apprehension of appearing to you to have acted
“ with greater precipitancy, than prudence: However, we
“ did not neglect these reports; but have inquired, with
“ all possible care, into the truth of them. But, since the
“ divine providence, by which this commonwealth is, ever,
“ preserved, has, through its goodness, brought to light the
“ hidden designs, and wicked attempts of those who are
“ enemies to the gods; and that we have letters to produce,
“ which we, just now, received from foreigners, who shew
“ their good will to us, and whose names you shall, after-
“ wards, hear; and since our domestic intelligence concurs,
“ and agrees with That we have received from abroad;
“ and these affairs, now ripe for execution, can be no
“ longer delayed, or deferred; we have thought proper to
“ acquaint you with them, as it is reasonable, before we
“ publish

“ publish them to the people. Know then, that there is a
 “ conspiracy formed against the people by no obscure men,
 “ among whom, it is said, there is a small number even of
 “ the ancient members of this senate; but the greatest part
 “ are knights, not of this house, whose names it is not yet
 “ time to acquaint you with. They design, as we are in-
 “ formed, to take the advantage of a dark night, and fall
 “ upon us while we are asleep, when we can neither see
 “ any thing that is doing, nor get together in a body to
 “ defend ourselves; and, rushing into our houses, to cut the
 “ throats, not only, of us tribunes, but of all those plebeians
 “ also, who had ever opposed them in defence of their
 “ liberty, or should oppose them, for the future: And, after
 “ they have taken us off, they promise themselves they
 “ shall be able to effect the rest with great security, and
 “ prevail upon you to abolish, by a general vote, the con-
 “ tracts you have made with the people. But, finding they
 “ should stand in need of a body of foreign troops, privately
 “ raised, to carry on their designs, and That even not an
 “ inconsiderable one, they have pitched upon Caeso Quin-
 “ tius, one of our fugitives, as their general, whom, though
 “ convicted of the murder of his fellow citizens, and of
 “ raising a sedition, some of your number screened from
 “ punishment, and sent him away with impunity; and,
 “ now, promise to restore him to his country, and offer him
 “ magistracies, and honors, and other rewards to engage him
 “ in their service: And he, on his side, undertakes to bring
 “ to their assistance as many forces of the Aequi, and Volsci,

“ as they shall have occasion for ; and he himself will, soon,
“ appear at the head of the most daring, whom he will
“ introduce into the city privately, a few at a time, and in
“ small bodies : The rest of the forces, as soon as we, who
“ are the leaders of the people, are put to death, will fall
“ upon the poorer sort, if any of them shall assert their
“ liberty. These are the dreadful, and wicked resolutions,
“ senators, which they have taken in private, and design to
“ effect, without either fearing the anger of the gods, or
“ regarding the indignation of men.

XI. “ Exposed to so great a danger, fathers, we make
“ supplication to you ; conjuring you by the gods, and ge-
“ nius’s to whom we sacrifice in common, and desiring you
“ to call to mind the many great wars we have maintained
“ in conjunction with you, not to suffer us to fall a sacrifice
“ to the cruel, and wicked attempts of our enemies ; but to
“ assist us ; to espouse our indignation, and, jointly with us,
“ to bring to condign punishment those, who have formed
“ these designs ; all, if possible ; but, if that cannot be, at
“ least the authors of this execrable conspiracy. And, first,
“ we desire, fathers, that you will pass an order, as it is
“ most just, appointing us tribunes to inquire into the facts
“ contained in this information : For, besides the justice of
“ this demand, it must also necessarily happen that those,
“ whose lives are exposed to danger, will make the most
“ exact inquiries into the cause of it. If there are any among
“ you, who are incapable of acting with candor even in
“ any one instance, but oppose every man who speaks in
“ favor

“ favor of the people, I would, willingly, ask them what
 “ there is in our demands, that displeases them, and what
 “ advice they design to give us. Would they advise us to
 “ make no inquiry at all, but to neglect so great, and so
 “ wicked a conspiracy, while it is carrying on against the
 “ people? Who would affirm that those, who advance these
 “ things, are in their senses, and not say rather that they
 “ are tainted with the same corruption, and accomplices in
 “ the conspiracy; and that, fearing lest they themselves
 “ may be discovered, they throw a damp upon the inquiry
 “ into the truth of it? To whom there is no reason you
 “ should pay any regard, ⁷ if possibly they shall pretend that
 “ the cognizance of this information should be committed not
 “ to us, but to the senate, and consuls. What then should
 “ hinder the leaders of the people also from saying the same
 “ thing, if any of the plebeians, conspiring against the con-
 “ suls and the senate, should attempt the destruction of the
 “ latter, that those, to whom the protection of the people is
 “ committed, ought to take cognizance of the actions of the
 “ plebeians? What will be the consequence of this? Why,
 “ that no inquiry will, ever, be made into any secret trans-
 “ action. But this is a thing we should not desire (for such
 “ a pretension is suspicious) neither ought you to counte-

⁷ Εἰ πως τῆς διαγνώσεως ταύτης. The Vatican manuscript has ἡ τῆς διαγνώσεως, which can have no place here, any more than εἰ μὴ in the editions. It is plain that the tribune here anticipates an objection, which he foresaw would be made to his proposal; and endeavours to take off the force of it by

rendering those, who, he knew, would make that objection, suspected of being accomplices in the conspiracy. It is submitted to the learned reader, whether the small alteration I have made in the Greek text does not support this reasoning.

“ nance those, who insist upon the same thing against us ;
“ but to look upon them as the common enemies of the
“ state. However, fathers, nothing is so necessary in the
“ present juncture, as dispatch : For the danger is swift,
“ and a delay in providing for our security is unseasonable
“ in the midst of those dangers, that delay not their ap-
“ proach : So that, laying aside your contests, and long
“ speeches, take forthwith such a resolution, as may appear
“ the most conducive to the public good.”

XII. This harangue of the tribune greatly astonished, and embarrassed the senate. They considered, and, conferring together, observed that it was of dangerous consequence both to grant, and to refuse the tribunes the commission of inquiring by themselves into an affair of a public concern, and great importance. However, Caius Claudius, one of the consuls, suspecting their intention, rose up, and spoke as follows : “ I am not afraid, Virginius, lest the
“ senate should look upon me as an accomplice in the con-
“ spiracy, which, you say, is formed against yourselves, and
“ the people ; or that, fearing for myself, or for any be-
“ longing to me, as partakers of this guilt, I rise up to op-
“ pose you : For the whole course of my life acquits me of
“ all suspicions of this kind. What, therefore, I esteem to
“ be advantageous both to the senate, and people, I shall
“ lay before you with the best intentions, and without any
“ sort of fear. Virginius seems to me to be very much, or
“ rather absolutely, mistaken, if he imagines that any of us
“ will say either that an affair of so great consequence, and
necessity

“ necessity ought not to be inquired into, or that the magistrates of the people ought not to be joined in, nor present at, this inquiry. No man is so void of sense, or affection to the people, as to advance such things. If, therefore, any one should ask me what motive engages me to rise up in order to oppose those measures, which I agree to, and allow to be just, and with what intention I speak, I shall explain myself to you in the most solemn manner. I am of opinion, fathers, that prudent men ought, diligently, to examine the beginnings, and first foundations of every affair : For, of what nature soever these may be, such must also be the conclusions, that are drawn from them. Hear, then, what the foundation of this affair is, and what the view of the tribunes in promoting it. They have not been able to carry any of the designs they undertook last year into execution, by reason of your repeated opposition, and an unwillingness in the people to espouse their quarrel with their usual zeal. Sensible of these difficulties, they considered by what means both you might be compelled to yield to them contrary to your inclinations, and the people to assist them in every thing they should desire : But, finding no lawful, nor just means to effect both these designs, after examining various projects, and turning the thing every way, they, at last, pitched upon this scheme : Let us, said they, accuse some considerable men of a conspiracy to subvert the power of the people, and to put their protectors to death ; and, after we have caused these reports

“ reports to be spread about the city for a long time, and
“ the plebeians shall give credit to them (for they will give
“ credit to them through fear) let us contrive to have letters
“ delivered to us in the presence of many people, by an
“ unknown person ; after that, let us go to the senate, let
“ us be angry, and lament, and desire a commission to in-
“ quire into the circumstances of this information : If the
“ patricians refuse our demand, we will lay hold on this
“ opportunity to accuse them before the people ; and, by
“ this means, the whole body of the plebeians, being enraged
“ against the patricians, will be ready to support us in every
“ thing we desire : If they grant it, we will banish the most
“ resolute of them, and those who have most opposed us,
“ both old and young, as persons we have discovered to be
“ concerned in this conspiracy. These, through the fear
“ of a condemnation, will either agree to give us no further
“ opposition, or be obliged to leave the city ; by this
“ means, we shall, in a great measure, get rid of our ad-
“ versaries.

XIII. “ These were their designs, fathers ; and, during the
“ time you saw them sitting together, and consulting, this
“ deceit was weaving against the most virtuous of your
“ members, and this net was framing against the noblest
“ of the knights. To prove these things, very few words
“ will be necessary. Tell me, Virginus, and the rest of you,
“ against whom these dreadful mischiefs are levelled, who
“ are the strangers from whom you received these letters ?
“ Where do they live ? How came they acquainted with
“ you ?

“ you? Or, by what means, do they know what is in agi-
 “ tation here? Why do you defer naming these men, and
 “ promise to do it afterwards; rather, why have you not,
 “ already, named them? But, who is the man, who brought
 “ these letters to you? Why do you not produce this man,
 “ that we may begin by inquiring first of him, whether
 “ these things are true, or, as I suspect, your own fictions?
 “ Then, your domestic informations, which, you say, agree
 “ with Those contained in the foreign letters, of what na-
 “ ture are they, and by whom given? Why do you con-
 “ ceal these proofs, and not bring them to light? But I
 “ conceive it is an impossible thing to find a proof of what
 “ neither ever did, nor ever will, happen. These are dis-
 “ coveries, fathers, not of a conspiracy against them, but of
 “ a device, and a wicked design against us, which these
 “ men both employ, and conceal: For the things themselves
 “ speak aloud. But you are the cause of this, by the con-
 “ cessions you, first, made to them, and by arming the
 “ extravagance of their magistracy with a great power,
 “ when you allowed Caeso Quintius to be tried, last year,
 “ upon a false accusation, and suffered so great a defender of
 “ the aristocracy to be forced away by them: For which
 “ reason, they keep, no longer, any measures with you; nor
 “ take off the men of birth one by one, but now ⁸ cover

⁸. Περιβαλλοντες. I am very sorry to say that none of the translators have given the sense of this word, which is here taken figuratively, and might have been, very properly, rendered by the Latin translators, *irretientes*: For

it is plain that our author pursues the metaphor he before made use of, when he said, *τελο το δικλυνον επλεκελο*: This is further confirmed by the addition of *ελκυσσι το περιβαλλοντες*.

“ the whole body of worthy men with their net, and drag them
 “ out of the city. And, to fill up the measure of your calamities,
 “ ties, they will not suffer even any one of you to contradict
 “ them; but, by exposing him to suspicions, and accusations,
 “ as an accomplice in secret designs, they try to terrify him,
 “ call him presently an enemy to the people, and cite him
 “ to appear before them to give an account of what he said
 “ in this place. But this subject shall be spoken to at a more
 “ seasonable juncture. I shall, therefore, now contract what
 “ I have to say, and cease to extend myself. I advise you
 “ to guard against these men, as disturbers of the common-
 “ wealth, and laying the foundations of great evils: And
 “ what I say to you, I shall not conceal from the people,
 “ but shall speak there, also, with a just freedom, and acquaint
 “ them that no mischief hangs over their heads, unless it is
 “ from their wicked, and deceitful patrons, who, under the
 “ appearance of friendship, are committing actions full of enmity.”
 This discourse of the consul was received by all present with great acclamations, and applause: And, without allowing the tribunes even to reply, they dismissed the assembly. After which, Virginus, calling the people together, inveighed both against the senate, and the consuls: And Claudius defended them; repeating the same things he had said in the senate. The more moderate among the people looked upon the fear to be vain; while the weaker sort, giving credit to reports, thought it well grounded: But the wicked, who always want a change, without troubling themselves to examine into the truth, or
falshood

falsehood of them, sought for an occasion of sedition, and tumult.

XIV. While the city was in this disorder, a certain Sabine of no obscure birth, and powerful by his riches, called, Appius Herdonius, attempted to subvert the empire of the Romans, with a view either to make himself tyrant, or to transfer the sovereignty and power to the Sabine nation, or else to gain a great name. Having imparted his design to a great number of his friends, and communicated to them his plan for executing it, and they also approving thereof, he assembled his clients, and the most daring of his servants; and, in a short time, got together a body of about four thousand men; then, supplying them with arms, provisions, and every thing else that was necessary for a war, he embarked them in boats; and, sailing down the river Tiber, landed at that part of Rome, where the capitol stands, which is scarce a stadium from the river. It was then midnight, and quiet reigned in all parts of the city; assisted by which, he disembarked his men in all haste; and, passing through the gates that were open (for there is a certain sacred gate of the capitol, called *Carmentalis*, which, by the direction of some oracle, is always open) he ascended the hill with his forces, and possessed himself of the fortrefs: From thence, he pushed on to the citadel, which is contiguous to the capitol, and took that also. His intention was, after he had seized these very advantageous posts, to receive the exiles; to invite the slaves to liberty; to promise the poor an abolition of debts, and to share the spoils with those citizens,

who, being themselves in a low condition, envied, and hated eminence of every kind, and were eager for a change. The hope, that both animated, and deceived him, by suggesting to him that he should be disappointed in none of his expectations, was founded on the civil dissension; by reason of which, he imagined that neither friendship, nor correspondence could, any longer, intervene between the people, and the patricians. But, if none of those things should succeed, he then resolved to call in the Sabines with all their forces, and also the Volsci, and all the rest of the neighbouring people, who desired to be delivered from the invidious domination of the Romans.

XV. However, it happened that all his hopes were disappointed: Neither the slaves came over to him, nor the exiles returned; neither did the lower sort of people, nor those in debt prefer their private advantage to the public good; and the foreign nations, from whom he expected succours, had not time to prepare themselves for the war; since, within three or four days, this affair, which had created a great terror, and tumult among the Romans, was terminated: For, as soon as the fortresses were taken by Herdonius, there being immediately an outcry, and flight of all the inhabitants living near those places, who were not presently put to the sword, the rest of the citizens, not knowing what misfortune had happened, took their arms, and got together; some running to the eminences of the city, others to the open places within it, which are very numerous, and others to the neighbouring fields; those, who were disabled
by

by age, and weakness, got upon the tops of the houses together with the women, designing to defend themselves from thence against the enemy, who had entered the city: For they imagined these had spread themselves through every part of it. But, when it was day, and it came to be known that the fortresses of the city were taken, and who the person was, who had the possession of them, the consuls, going into the forum, called the citizens to arms: On the other side, the tribunes, assembling the people at the same time, said, they did not oppose any thing, that was for the advantage of the commonwealth; but thought it just that, as the people were going upon so great an action, they ought to engage in the danger of it upon certain terms, and conditions: “If, therefore, said they, the patricians will promise you, “and call the gods to witness to that promise, that, as soon “as this war shall be at an end, they will allow you to create “legislators, and to enjoy an ⁹ equal administration of justice “for the future, we will assist them in delivering our “country: But, if they will condescend to nothing that is “reasonable, why should we run hazards, and expose our “lives for them, when we are to reap no advantage from “the event?” While they were saying this, and the people expressing their approbation of what they said, and would not even hear any one, who dissuaded it, “Claudius said, “that he wanted no such auxiliaries, who would not

⁹ Εἰς ἰσηγορίαν. See the second annotation on this book. By this time, the translators discovered that ἰσηγορία, one of the points contended for by the

people, could not be translated, *freedom of speech*, and have, at last, abandoned that sense of the word.

“ voluntarily, but for a recompence, and That not a moderate one, succour their country ; and that the patricians, by arming themselves, and their clients, and such of the people, as were willing to assist them in this war, would compose a force sufficient to besiege the fortresses ; that, if even these were thought unequal to the task, he would call in the Latines, and the Hernici ; and, if it should be necessary, he would even promise liberty to the slaves, and implore the assistance of all sorts of people rather than of those, who, at such a juncture, shewed their resentment for past disappointments.” But Valerius, the other consul, opposed this ; being of opinion that they ought not to render the plebeians, who were already exasperated, absolutely implacable against the patricians ; and he advised to yield to the present emergency ; and, when they treated with a foreign enemy, to oppose justice to their demands ; but to Those of their fellow citizens, moderation, and humanity. The majority of the senate judging that his advice was the most advantageous, he went to the assembly of the people ; and, having made a becoming speech to them, he ended with promising on oath that, if the people would assist in this war with alacrity, and the commonwealth should be restored to its former tranquillity, he would give the tribunes leave to propose to the people the consideration of the law, which they were desirous of introducing concerning the equality of laws ; and use his utmost endeavours that the resolutions of the people might be carried into execution during his consulship. But it was decreed

decreed that he should perform nothing he had promised, his death being near at hand.

XVI. After the assembly was dismissed, they all flocked to the appointed places that afternoon, giving in their names to the generals, and taking the military oath. The rest of that day, and all the following night were employed in these things. The day after, the centurions were placed by the consuls in their posts, and had the command of the holy ensigns; the people of the country, also, coming in to them in great numbers: Every thing being soon ready, the consuls divided the forces, and drew lots for the command. It fell to the share of Claudius to post himself without the walls, as a guard to prevent any foreign forces from coming to the relief of the enemy in the city: For there was a general suspicion of a great commotion, and a dread that all their enemies would fall upon them, at once, with joint forces: And to Valerius Heaven decreed the attack of the fortresses. Commanders were appointed to defend the other strong places also, that lay within the city; and others were posted in the streets leading to the capitol, to prevent the slaves, and the poor, whom they were most afraid of, from going over to the enemy. In this juncture, the Romans received no succours from any of their allies, but the Tusculani, who, the same night they heard of this invasion, prepared themselves to march under the conduct of Lucius Mamilius, a man of activity, who, at that time, had the chief command in the city: And these alone shared in the danger with Valerius, and assisted him in recovering the fortresses, in
which

which they shewed the greatest zeal, and alacrity. These fortresses were attacked on all sides: For some, fitting vessels of bitumen, and burning pitch to their slings, threw them, from the neighbouring houses, upon the hill: And others, bringing fascines of brush wood, raised high piles of them against the steep part of the rock, and set them on fire, leaving it to a favourable wind to carry the flames among the enemy. But the bravest of the Romans, doubling their files, went up the roads made by art; and here, neither their numbers, in which they, greatly, exceeded the enemy, were of any service to them, by reason of the straitness of the road by which they ascended, and the great quantity of broken pieces of the rock, that were thrown down upon them from above, where a small body of men might be upon an equality with a much greater; neither was their constancy in dangers, which they had acquired by many wars, of any advantage to them, while they were forcing their way up a steep rock: For they had no opportunity of shewing their resolution, and perseverance in fighting hand to hand; but were obliged to engage with missile weapons; and the effect of these, when thrown from below to a high place, is slow, and, as may be supposed, weak, even when they hit the mark; but, when thrown from above, their effect is quick and strong, the weight of the weapons cooperating with the force they are thrown with. However, the men, who attacked the fortresses, were not discouraged; but supported themselves under these necessary dangers, and ceased not to labour day, and night. At last, the besieged having spent
all

all their missive weapons, and their strength failing them, the Romans took the fortresses the third day. In this action, they lost many brave men, and among them the consul, who was, universally, acknowledged to have been the bravest of them all; and who, though he had received many wounds, did not, even in that condition, withdraw himself from danger, till a large stone, falling upon him with violence as he was mounting the walls, deprived him both of the victory, and of his life. The fortresses being taken, Herdonius (for he was remarkable for his strength, and personal bravery) having made an incredible heap of dead bodies round him, died overwhelmed with darts. Of those, who with him had seized the fortresses, some few were taken alive; but the greatest part either flew themselves, or leaped down the precipices.

XVII. The war, raised by these robbers, being thus ended, the tribunes renewed the civil dissension, desiring to receive from the surviving consul the performance of the promises made by Valerius, who lost his life in the action, concerning the promulgation of the law: But Claudius, for a while, prolonged the time; sometimes, by performing the lustration of the city; at others, by offering sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods; and, at others, by entertaining the people with games, and shews. After all his pretences were exhausted, at last he told them that another consul must be chosen in the room of the deceased: For he said, that the acts performed by him alone would be neither legal nor firm; whereas Those performed by both, would be

valid and lasting. After he had put them off with this pretence, he appointed a day for the election of his colleague. In the mean time, the leading men of the senate, consulting privately together, agreed upon the person to be raised to that dignity : And, when the day appointed for the election was come, and the cryer had called the first class, the eighteen centuries of horse, together with the eighty centuries of foot, consisting of the richest citizens, entering the appointed place, chose Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus consul, whose son Caeso Quintius the tribunes had brought to a trial for his life, and compelled him to leave the city : And, no other class being called to vote (for the centuries, which had voted, exceeded the number of those, that were left, ¹⁰ by three centuries) the people departed, looking upon it as a heavy misfortune that a man who hated them, was going to be invested with the consular power. However, the senate sent proper persons to desire the consul to come to Rome, and take possession of the magistracy. It happened that Quintius was, at that very time, ploughing ¹¹ a piece of land

¹⁰. Τρεῖσι γὰρ ἦσαν λοχοῖς πλείους, etc. See the 33^d annotat. on the 4th book.

¹¹. Ἀρᾶραν τινα. ⁱ Livy takes an opportunity of describing the rustic employment, and the little farm of Cincinnatus, when he was made dictator two years after. He there also says, these four acres, of which that farm consisted, were afterwards called *Prata Quintia*; and that they lay on the other side of the Tiber, opposite to a place, where, in his time, were the *navalía*.

^k Cluver shews that these *Prata Quintia* were in the *campo Vaticano*, called now, *I Prati*, opposite to the *navalía*, which place, he says, is now called, *La Ripetta*. It is concluded from this extreme poverty of Cincinnatus, that it was the general practice in the early ages of the commonwealth to take the dictators, and consuls from the plough; and that their magistrates were no richer than Cincinnatus. But this I look upon as a mistake; because the

ⁱ B. iii. c. 26.

^k Ital. Antiq. B. iii. p. 866.

for sowing, himself following the oxen that were breaking up the fallow, without a vest, his waist girded, and a cap upon his head : Seeing a great number of men come into the field, he stopped his plough, and could not, for a long time, conceive who they were, and what they wanted with him : When, one of them coming to him, and desiring him to dress himself in a more becoming manner, he went into his cottage ; and, putting on his clothes, came out to them : Upon which, the persons, who were sent to conduct him to Rome, all saluted him, not by his name, but as consul ; and, clothing him with the robe bordered with purple, and placing before him the axes, and the other ensigns of his magistracy, desired him to follow them to the city. He,

mean education they must have received under so much poverty, could never have qualified them to discharge their magistracies with so great ability, as we know they did discharge them. Even Cincinnatus himself had been possessed of other estates, which our author says he was obliged to sell in order to pay the several forfeitures, that accrued to the public upon the flight of his son. When I say this, I do not deny that the richest of these old Romans were far below what we call rich, any more than I would deny that the most virtuous of them were far above what we call virtuous. Our author deserves great commendations for the freedom, with which he censures the degeneracy of the Romans in his time, saying they acted, in all respects, contrary to the maxims of their ancestors. Notwithstanding this

severe, but true reflexion, it is become a fashion among the French writers to assert that the view of Dionysius in writing his history was to flatter Augustus, and the Romans of his age : Nay one of them has had even the pertness to affirm, in so many words, that his design was not so much to write a true history, as to flatter the Romans, and to shew with what address he himself could handle the most difficult subjects : *Denys d'Halicarnasse avoit bien moins pour lui de donner une histoire véritable, que de flatter les Romains, et de montrer avec quelle adresse il sçavoit lui même manier les sujets les plus difficiles.* This is not the only passage in our author, that flatly contradicts his assertion. If he had never read these passages, his censure is ridiculous ; and, if he had read them, it is something worse.

¹ Beaufort, sur l'incert. etc. Part. i. c. 2.

making a short pause, and shedding tears, said only this ;
“ I see my land will be unfown this year, and we shall be
“ in danger of not having wherewithall to subsist.” After
that, he embraced his wife, and, charging her to take care
of his family concerns, went to Rome. The only reason,
that induced me to relate all these particulars, was to let all
the world see what kind of men the Roman magistrates were
at that time ; that they worked with their own hands, and
were temperate ; that they were not uneasy under innocent
poverty ; and were so far from aiming at regal power, that
they refused it even when offered : For the Romans of
this age will appear not to bear the least resemblance to
them ; but to pursue every thing that is contrary to their
maxims, except a very few, by whom the dignity of the
commonwealth is still supported, and a resemblance to those
men preserved. But of this enough.

XVIII. Quintius, having entered upon the consulship,
first put an end to the new institutions of the tribunes, and
to their earnestness for the law, by declaring that, if they did
not cease to disturb the peace of the commonwealth, he
would give notice of an expedition against the Volsci, and
lead all the Romans out of the city : And, when the tribunes
said they would hinder him from raising an army, he as-
sembled the people, and told them that they had all taken
the military oath, by which they had engaged themselves to
follow the consuls in any wars, to which they should be
called ; and neither to leave their ensigns, nor do any thing
else contrary to the military law ; and that, upon his being
invested

invested with the consular power, he had found them all bound by these oaths. Having said this, and sworn to punish the disobedient with all the rigor of the law, he ordered the ensigns to be brought out of the temples: “ And, says he, “ that you may give over all thoughts of being flattered by “ your demagogues during my consulship, I will not withdraw the army from the enemy’s country, before the “ whole time of it shall be expired. Expect, therefore, to “ pass the winter in the field, and prepare every thing necessary against that time.” Having terrified them with these threats, when he saw they were become more observant, and begged to be discharged from this expedition, he said, he would grant them a respite from war upon these conditions, that they should raise no more commotions; but allow him to govern, during the remaining part of his magistracy, as he should think fit; and suffer the law to take its course in all the contests they should have with one another.

XIX. The tumult being appeased, he gave judgement in all causes, where the suitors desired it; a thing which had long been delayed; and he himself decided the greatest part of the suits with equality and justice, sitting the whole day in the tribunal, and shewing himself easy of access, mild and humane to all, who applied to him for his determinations: By which means, he raised the reputation of the aristocracy to that degree, that neither those, who, through poverty, ignoble birth, or any other low circumstance, were oppressed by their superiors, wanted the assistance of the
tribunes;

tribunes; nor those, who desired to enjoy an equal administration of justice, were, any longer, fond of new laws; but all were contented, and pleased with the equity, with which justice was then administered. Quintius was applauded by the people for these actions; and, also, for refusing the consulship, when, after the expiration of his magistracy, it was offered to him a second time; and for not shewing even the least fondness for so great an honor: For the senate used many intreaties with him to continue in the consulship, because the tribunes had prevailed with the people to continue them in their magistracy for the third year; the former looking upon him as a proper person to oppose these, and make them drop their new laws, either through respect, or fear; and observing that the people were not averse to be governed by a good man: But Quintius answered, that he neither approved of this unwillingness in the tribunes to part with their power; neither would he himself fall under the like censure. After which, he assembled the people; and, having made a speech full of invectives against those, who did not resign their magistracies; and taken a solemn oath not to accept the consulship again, before he had resigned his former magistracy, he fixed a day for the election of magistrates; and having appointed the consuls, he returned to his cottage, and resumed his laborious life.

XX. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus for the third time, and Lucius Cornelius having entered upon the consulship, and being employed in exhibiting the customary games, a chosen
body

body of the Aequi, amounting to about six thousand men, armed for expedition, came out of their confines in the night, while it was yet dark, and advanced to Tusculum, a city of the Latines, and distant from Rome not less than one hundred stadia; and finding, as in a time of peace, the gates open, and the walls unguarded, they took the town at the first onset, to gratify their resentment against the Tusculani for assisting the Romans, upon all occasions, with alacrity; and particularly, because they alone had joined them with their forces, when the capitol was besieged. The Aequi put many to death in taking the city; but the inhabitants, except those, who through age, or sickness, were unable to escape, fled out at the gates, before the enemy could make themselves masters of it: However, they made slaves of their wives, children, and domestics; and carried off their effects. As soon as the news of this misfortune was brought to Rome by those who had escaped out of the city, the consuls thought it incumbent on them to assist the fugitives immediately, and to restore their city to them: But the tribunes opposed them, and would not suffer any forces to be raised, till the people had given their votes concerning the new laws. While the senate were expressing their indignation at this opposition, and the levies were suspended, other deputies arrived from the Latin nation, who informed them that the city of the Antiates had openly revolted, the Volsci, who were the ancient inhabitants of it, and the Roman colony, to whom a share of their lands had been granted, being united in this conspiracy: There arrived, also,

also, at the same time, messengers from the Hernici, acquainting them that a numerous army of the Volsci, and the Aequi had marched out of their confines, and were, already, in the country of the Hernici. These advices coming all together, the senate resolved to use no further delay, but to march against these enemies with all their forces, and that both the consuls should take the field; and, if any of the Romans, or their allies, should decline the service, to treat them like enemies. As the tribunes, also, submitted to this resolution, the consuls, having enlisted all who were of the military age, and sent for the forces of their allies, presently marched out; leaving a third part of the national forces to guard the city. Fabius marched, in all haste, against the Aequi, who were in possession of Tusculum; the greatest part of whom had quitted the city, after they had plundered it, and a few staid to defend the citadel, which, being exceeding strong, did not stand in need of a numerous garrison. It is said by some that the men, who were left to guard the citadel, seeing the army ¹² marching from Rome (for all the

^{12.} Εξίσταν. The Latin translators have rendered this *Româ egredientem*; and le Jay, *l'ennemi vit sortir les Romains*; the other French translator has prudently avoided this absurdity. I call it an absurdity to suppose that the garrison of the citadel at Tusculum could see with their naked eyes (and it is certain they had no telescopes) the Roman army marching out of Rome. Our author has, just now, told us that Tusculum was not less than an hundred stadia from Rome:

One hundred stadia make twelve Roman miles, and a half. This, I say, is too great a distance for such an observation. The thing, that misled the Latin translators (for le Jay, I dare say, was not misled by any thing in the Greek text) seems to be the tense, and consequently the force, of the participle Εξίσταν, which they ought to have rendered not *egredientem*, but *egressum* (*exercitum*.) It is plain they have taken it in the present tense; but I look upon it to be the second aorist;

inter-

interjacent country may be easily discovered from this eminence) they quitted it of their own accord : And, by others, that, being unable to defend themselves, any longer, against Fabius, they surrendered the place by composition, having stipulated that their lives should be spared, and submitted to pass under the yoke.

XXI. After Fabius had restored the city to the Tusculani, he decamped that evening, and marched, with all possible speed, against the enemy, upon information that the combined army of the Volsci, and Aequi lay near ¹³ Algidum : And, having continued his march all night with great expedition, he appeared before them early the next morning, as they lay incamped in a plain, without either a ditch, or palisades to defend them, they being in their own territories, and despising the enemy : Then, exhorting his men to do their duty, he put himself at the head of the horse, and was the first man who broke into the enemy's camp ; and the foot, shouting, followed. Some of the enemy were slain, while they were asleep, and others just as they got up, and were endeavouring to defend themselves ; but the greatest part escaped by flight. The camp being taken with great ease, Fabius gave his men leave to appropriate to themselves the booty, and the prisoners,

and, like all participles of the second aorist, derived from the second aorist of the indicative mood ; which second aorist of this verb is ἐξῆον. The reader will excuse this piece of grammatical criticism, which he has not been often troubled with : I own it is a criticism

of the lowest rank, but sometimes necessary ; and one of those things, that may be too much despised.

¹³ Περὶ πάλιν Ἀλγίδον. ^m Cluver says that a public inn, now called *L'Osteria*, stands upon the spot, where the town of Algidum formerly stood.

^m Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 778.

except such as were Tusculani; and, after a short stay, marched to ¹⁴ Ecetra, which was, at that time, the most considerable city of the Volsci, and the most strongly situated: And, having incamped near the city for many days, in hopes the enemy would come out to fight, when none appeared, he laid waste their territories, which were full of men, and cattle: For the Volsci, surprised with the suddenness of the irruption, had not time to remove their effects out of the country. This booty, also, Fabius gave to his soldiers; and, after many days spent in desolating the country, he returned home with his army. Cornelius, the other consul, was upon his march against those Romans, and Volsci, who were at Antium, when he found an army, that was ready to receive him before he entered their confines: And, engaging, he killed many; and, having put the rest to flight, he incamped near the city: But the inhabitants not daring to venture another engagement, he first laid waste the country, and then surrounded their city with a ditch fortified with palisades. Upon this, the enemy were compelled to come out, again, with all their forces, a numerous and disorderly multitude; then, engaging in battle, and fighting with less bravery than before, they were shut up within their walls a second time, after a shameful and unmanly flight. But the consul, giving them no rest, planted scaling ladders against the walls, and forced open the gates with battering rams: The besieged making a laborious and painful resistance, he without much difficulty took the town by storm.

¹⁴ *Επὶ τὴν Ἐχέτραων πόλιν.* See the fifty sixth annotation on the fourth book.

Such

Such of their effects as consisted in gold, silver, and brass, he ordered to be carried to the treasury; and that the quaestors should sell the slaves, and the rest of the spoils; giving to the soldiers the apparel, and provisions, and every thing else of that nature: Then, chusing out the most considerable men both of the Roman colony, and of the ancient inhabitants of Antium, and those, who had been the authors of the revolt, and were many, he ordered them to be whipped with rods for a long time, and then beheaded. After he had done these things, he also returned home with his army. The senate met these consuls, as they were coming to the city, and decreed a triumph to both: And the Aequi sending ambassadors to treat of a peace, they concluded a treaty with them upon these conditions; that the Aequi should continue in possession of the cities, and territories they were possessed of at the time of the treaty, and become subjects of the Romans, without paying any tribute; but under the obligation of furnishing as great a number of forces, as they should at any time be required, like the rest of the allies. And thus ended this year.

XXII. The year following, Caius Nautius for the second time, and Lucius Minucius entered upon the consulship, and were, for some time, employed in a contest at home, concerning the civil rights with Virginius, and his colleagues, who were now in possession of the same magistracy for the fourth year: But, a war being brought upon the commonwealth by the neighbouring nations, and the Romans fearing to be deprived of the sovereignty, the consuls willingly

laid hold on the opportunity presented to them by Fortune; and, having raised an army, they divided both their own forces, and Those of their allies, into three bodies; leaving one of them to guard the city, which was commanded by Quintus Fabius Vibulanus; and, putting themselves at the head of the other two, they marched out immediately; Nautius going against the Sabines, and Minucius against the Aequi: For both these nations had revolted from the Romans at the same time: The Sabines indeed openly, and advanced as far as Fidenae, which was in the possession of the Romans, and is distant from Rome forty stadia: But the Aequi, though observing in appearance the terms of the alliance they had lately entered into with the Romans, yet acted in reality like enemies: For they made war upon the Latines their allies, pretending they had entered into no alliance with them: Their army was commanded by Gracchus Cloelius, an active man, who had been invested by them with the chief magistracy, which he raised to little less than a sovereignty; and, marching as far as the city of Tusculum, which the Aequi had taken, and plundered the year before, and been driven out of it by the Romans, he seized a great number of men, and all the cattle he found in the country, and destroyed the corn, which was then fit to cut. And, when the ambassadors, sent by the Roman senate, came to him to know what provocation had induced the Aequi to make war upon the allies of the Romans, after they had, so lately, entered into a treaty of peace confirmed by their oaths; and that no cause of complaint had since arisen between the two nations; and,

and, also, to exhort him to release the prisoners he had taken, and to withdraw his forces; and to justify himself for the injuries, and damages he had occasioned to the Tusculani; it was a long time before Gracchus would even give audience to the ambassadors, pretending he was not at leisure; and, when he thought fit to have them introduced, and they laid before him the orders they had received from the senate:

“ I wonder, Romans, says he, why you, who, from your
 “ passion for domination, and tyranny, look upon all men
 “ as your enemies, even those, from whom you never re-
 “ ceived any injury, should not suffer the Aequi to take
 “ revenge on the Tusculani, who are their enemies, when
 “ no article of the treaty we made with you extends to them.
 “ If, therefore, you can say that you have been injured, or
 “ hurt by us in any thing, that relates to your own concerns,
 “ we will do you justice according to the treaty: But, if
 “ you are come to demand satisfaction on the behalf of the
 “ Tusculani, address not this discourse to me, but to that
 “ beech tree;” pointing to one that stood near.

XXIII. The Romans, thus insulted by the man, did not immediately give way to their resentment, and march out with their forces; but sent even a second embassy to him, and also the holy men, or *feciales*, calling the gods, and genius's to witnesses that, if they were unable to obtain justice, they should be obliged to wage a pious war: After which, they ordered the consul to take the field. When Gracchus heard the Romans were advancing, he decamped, and retired to a greater distance, the enemy following him close:

His

His design was to draw them to such places, as should give him a superiority over them; which happened accordingly: For, taking advantage of a valley surrounded with hills, as soon as the Romans, in pursuing him, had engaged themselves in it, he faced about, and incamped in the road, that led out of the valley: By this means, the Romans were reduced to pitch upon such a place for their camp, as the present occasion offered, not such a one as they would have chosen; where it was not easy either for the horse to get forage, the place being surrounded with hills, both naked, and of difficult access; or for themselves to bring in provisions out of the enemies country, after Those they had brought from home were consumed; or to change their ground, while the enemy lay before them, and defended the passes: Resolving, therefore, to force their way out, they engaged, and were repulsed; and many of their men being wounded, they were compelled to return to the same camp. Cloelius, elated with this success, surrounded the place with a ditch fortified with palisades, and had great hopes of reducing them, by famine, to deliver up their arms. The news of this misfortune being brought to Rome, Quintus Fabius, who had been left governor of the city, chose out of his own army a body of the bravest and best men, and sent them to the relief of the consul: These were commanded by Titus Quintius, the quaestor, a person of consular dignity. And, writing to Nautius, the other consul, who commanded the army in the country of the Sabines, he informed him of what had happened to Minucius, and desired him to come presently

presently to Rome. Upon this, Nautius committed the guard of the camp to the legates, and he himself, with a few horse, rode in all haste to the city: Arriving there at midnight, he consulted with Fabius, and the rest of the most ancient citizens what measures they were to take: And all being of opinion that the present juncture required a dictator, he named Lucius Cincinnatus to that magistracy; and, having dispatched these things, he himself returned to the camp.

XXIV. Fabius, the governor of the city, sent proper persons to Quintius to invest him with the magistracy. It happened that Quintius was, then also, employed in some work of husbandry; when, seeing a great number of people advancing, he suspected they were coming to him; and, putting on a more becoming apparel, went to meet them. When he came near them, they brought to him horses decked with magnificent trappings; placed before him four and twenty axes with the rods, and presented to him the purple robe, and the other ensigns, with which the royal dignity had been formerly adorned. Quintius, finding that he was appointed dictator, was so far from rejoicing in this honor, that he was even grieved at it, saying, “This year’s crop will, also, be lost through the multiplicity of my business, and we shall all endure great want.” After that, he went to Rome; and first encouraged the citizens by speaking to them in a manner capable of raising their spirits with hopes of success; then, assembling all the youth both of the city, and the country, and sending for the
forces

forces of their allies, he appointed Lucius ¹⁵ Tarquiti-
 master of the horse, a man neglected by reason of his po-
 verty, but brave in the field: All his forces being now
 drawn together, he set out; and, in his march, joined Titus
 Quintius the quaestor, who expected him; and, taking with
 him his forces also, he advanced towards the enemy. After
 he had viewed the nature of the places, in which the camps
 lay, he posted a part of his army upon the eminences, to
 prevent the Aequi from receiving either succours, or pro-
 visions; and he himself marched forward with the rest in
 order of battle. Cloelius unmoved with fear (for the
 number of his forces was not small, and he himself was
 looked upon as a brave warrior) received his onset; and a
 severe battle ensued; which lasting long, and the Romans,
 by reason of their continual wars, enduring the toil, and the
 horse, always, relieving the foot, wherever they suffered,
 Gracchus was beaten, and shut up in his camp: After that,
 Quintius, having surrounded it with high palisades, fortified
 with many towers, and heard that Gracchus was in distress
 for want of provisions, he, not only, made continual attacks
 upon the camp of the Aequi himself, but ordered Minucius
 to march out with his forces on the other side: So that, the
 Aequi, wanting provisions, despairing of succours, and be-
 sieged on many sides, were compelled to send deputies to

¹⁵ Ταρχυτιον. All the editions, and
 manuscripts read Ταρχυνιον: But this
 is certainly a mistake; because ⁿ Livy
 calls him *L. Tarquitiū patriciae gen-
 tis*; which is confirmed (as Sigonius

says upon this passage of Livy) by the
 Capitoline tables. Neither would Livy
 have thought it necessary to have said
 that he was of a patrician family, if
 his name had been Tarquinius.

ⁿ B. iii. c. 27.

Quintius with the marks of ¹⁶ suppliant to treat of a peace: Quintius said, that he would make peace with the Aequi, and grant them an impunity for their persons, provided they laid down their arms, and all passed ¹⁷ under the yoke one after another; but, as to Gracchus their general, and those, who, together with him, had been the authors of this revolt, he would treat them as enemies; and ordered them to bring these men to him in chains. The Aequi submitting to this, the last thing he insisted upon was, that, as they had enslaved the inhabitants of Tusculum, a city in alliance with the Romans, and plundered it, without having received any injury from the Tusculani, they should yield up to him the city of ¹⁸ Corbio to be treated in the same manner. The deputies of the Aequi, having received these answers, departed; and, not long after, returned bringing with them Gracchus, and his associates in chains; and they themselves, laying down their arms, came out of their own camp, and, pursuant to the orders of the general, marched through That of the Romans under the yoke; and delivered up Corbio according to the treaty, desiring only that the inhabitants of free condition might have leave to retire out of the city, in exchange for whom they released the Tusculan captives.

XXV. Quintius, having taken possession of Corbio, ordered those spoils, that were most ornamental, to be carried to Rome, and permitted all the rest to be distributed by centuries, both to the troops he brought with him, and to

¹⁶ ἑκέτης. See the seventeenth annotation on the sixth book.

¹⁷ ὑποζυγον. See the twentieth an-

notation on the third book.

¹⁸ Πολιν Κορβιωνα. See the second annotation on the sixth book.

Those, which had been sent before with Quintius the quaestor. As for the forces, which had been shut up in their camp with Minucius the consul, he said that he had, already, ¹⁹ bestowed a great present upon them in delivering their persons from death: After that, he obliged Minucius to resign his magistracy; and, returning to Rome, ²⁰ triumphed with greater splendor than any other general; having within the space of sixteen days in the whole, from That on which he received the magistracy, saved a camp of his fellow-citizens; defeated a flourishing army of the enemy; plundered one of their cities, and left a garrison in it; and then led in triumph the general of their army with other men of distinction in chains. But no part of his conduct deserved so much to be admired as this, that, after he had received so great a power for six months, he did not retain it so long; but, having assembled the people, and given them an account of his administration, he abdicated: And, when the senate desired him to accept as much of the conquered land, as he pleased, together with slaves, and money out of the spoils, and that he would relieve his poverty with innocent

¹⁹ Μεγαλην εφη δεδωκεναι δορεαν. Nothing sure can be more beautiful than the words, which °Livy makes the dictator say to the army of Minucius: *Carebis, inquit, praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste, cui propè praedae fuisti.*

²⁰ Καληγαγε λαμπεροτατον απαντων ηγεμονων θριαμβον. The Capitoline tables place this triumph of Quintius on the ides of September. This M. * * * took notice of before me: But

he does not seem to have suspected that the ides of September in the Pompilian year, then in use among the Romans, which consisted only of 354 days, could not coincide exactly with the ides of September in the Julian year, which consists of 365 days, and $\frac{1}{4}$ —11 minutes. Concerning which, see the thirty fourth annotation on the eighth book.

riches, which he had gained from the enemy by the most honourable means, his own toils, he refused it: And his friends, and relations offering him, at the same time, considerable presents, and placing their greatest happiness in assisting such a man, he thanked them for their affection, but accepted none of their presents; returned to his little farm, and preferred the laborious life he led there to That of a sovereign; glorying more in his poverty, than others in their riches. Not long after, Nautius also, the other consul, returned to Rome with his army, after he had overcome the Sabines in a pitched battle, and overrun a great part of their country.

XXVI. After these consuls, the eighty first Olympiad was celebrated, at which Polymnastus of Cyrene won the prize of the stadium, Callias being archon at Athens, and Caius Horatius, and Quintus Minucius consuls at Rome. During their consulship, the Sabines made another irruption into the territories of the Romans, and laid waste a great part of them; and the country people, flying from thence in great numbers, brought an account that all the country between ²¹ Crustumium, and Fidenae, was in possession of the enemy. The Aequi also, who had been lately conquered were again in arms; and the most resolute of them, marching to the city of Corbio in the night, which they had delivered up to the Romans the year before, and, finding the garrison there asleep, put them to the sword, except a

²¹ Κρουσμερίας και Φιδηνης. See the book: And the fifty third chapter of the second book.

few, who happened to be absent: The rest of the Aequi marched in a considerable body to ²² Ortona, a city of the Latin nation, and took it by storm; and those mischiefs they were unable to inflict upon the Romans, they, through resentment, inflicted on their allies: For they put to death all who were men grown, except those who made their escape while the city was taking, and enslaved their wives, and children with the old men; then, gathering together, in haste, all the effects they could carry off, they returned before the Latines could assemble all their forces to relieve the city. The news of these transactions being brought to Rome at the same time, both by the Latines, and those of the garrison who had escaped, the senate resolved to send out an army, and that both the consuls should take the field: But Virginius, and his colleagues, who were continued in the same power for the fifth year, opposed this, as they had also done in the former years, and hindered the consuls from making levies; desiring that the civil contest might first be appeased, by allowing the people to take into consideration the law they were bringing in to establish an equal administration of justice. And, upon this occasion, they laid themselves out in long, and invidious accusations against the senate, and were countenanced by the people. But a great deal of time being spent, while neither the consuls would submit to let the senate pass the previous vote, and the law to be laid before the people; nor the tribunes allow the levies to be made, and the army to take the field: And many speeches being made by both, and invectives thrown out against one another without

²². Οἰωνοῖα. See the sixtieth annotation on the eighth book.

effect,

effect, both in the assemblies of the people, and in the senate, another institution was introduced by the tribunes against the senate, which, by imposing upon them, did indeed appease the present commotion, but proved the source of many other great advantages to the people. I shall, now, give an account of the manner, in which the people added this power to Those they had, before, acquired.

XXVII. While the territories both of the Romans, and of their allies were laid waste and plundered, and the enemy marching through them, as through a desert, from a confidence that no army would come out against them, by reason of the sedition then raging in the city, the consuls assembled the senate with a design to consult them upon the whole of their affairs for the last time. Many speeches having been made, the person, who was first asked his opinion, was Lucius Quintius, who had been dictator the year before, a man, who was not only the greatest general, but also the ablest statesman of his time: He delivered such an opinion, as was most likely to persuade both the tribunes, and the rest of the citizens, to defer to a more proper season the consideration of the law, which did, in no respect, require to be entered upon at that juncture; and, with all alacrity, to undertake the war, that pressed upon them, and was almost at their gates; and not to suffer the sovereignty, which they had acquired with so much labor, to be wrested from them by a shameful, and pusillanimous conduct; but, if the people would not yield to these remonstrances, he, then, advised the patricians to
take

take arms, together with their clients, and such of the citizens, as were willing to fight for their country upon this most glorious occasion, and to march against the enemy with resolution, imploring the gods, who protect the city of Rome, to be their guides: Which, he said, would be attended with one of these two honourable, and just events, they would either obtain a more illustrious victory than they, or their ancestors had ever obtained, or die in fighting bravely for so noble a prize: He added, that he himself would not decline sharing in so worthy an enterprise, but would be present, and fight with a spirit equal to That of the most robust; and that all the aged men, who had any regard either for liberty, or glory, would follow his example.

XXVIII. The rest of the senators approving of this advice, and no one contradicting it, the consuls called an assembly of the people: And all the inhabitants of Rome flocking thither in expectation of hearing something new, Caius Horatius, one of the consuls, presented himself, and endeavoured to persuade the people to engage in this war, also, with cheerfulness: But this being opposed by the tribunes, and the people hearkening to them, the consul again rose up, and said: “ Virginius, you have performed a noble, and a
“ wonderful exploit, in dividing the people from the senate;
“ and, as far as it depends upon you, we have lost all the
“ advantages we have either inherited from our ancestors,
“ or acquired by our own labor: However, we shall not
“ easily part with them; but are resolved to take arms
“ with all those, who desire the preservation of their country,
“ and

“ and to go on to this ingagement in full confidence of
 “ success; and, if any god looks down upon battles fought
 “ in a glorious, and just cause; and, if Fortune, which has
 “ been long raising this city, has not yet abandoned it, we
 “ shall overcome our enemies: But, if any genius should ob-
 “ struct, and oppose the preservation of the commonwealth,
 “ it shall not perish, however, through any want of piety,
 “ and zeal in us; but we will chuse the most glorious of
 “ all deaths, to die for our country. In the mean time,
 “ O generous, and worthy patrons of the commonwealth,
 “ do you stay at home with the women, since you have aban-
 “ doned, or, rather, betrayed us, you, I say, who can never
 “ live with honor, if we conquer, or, if not, with safety;
 “ unless, perhaps, you flatter yourselves with this frivolous
 “ hope, that, when the patricians are all destroyed, the
 “ enemy will spare you in consideration of this service, and
 “ suffer you to enjoy your country, your liberty, your sove-
 “ reignty, and all the other advantages you, now, possess;
 “ which enemy, when you entertained the best sentiments
 “ in favor of the commonwealth, you deprived of a great
 “ part of their territories, raised many of their cities, and
 “ enslaved their inhabitants; and against whom you erected
 “ many noble trophies of your victories, and monuments of
 “ your enmity, which no time will, ever, be able to abolish.
 “ But, why do I find fault with the people for all this, who
 “ never erred willingly, and not rather with you, Virginus,
 “ and your colleagues, who are the authors of these glorious
 “ measures? We, therefore, whom necessity forbids to
 “ enter-

“ entertain low thoughts, have taken our resolution, and
“ nothing shall hinder us from fighting in defence of our
“ country : As for you, who have abandoned, and betrayed
“ the commonwealth, the gods will pursue you with no
“ flight revenge ; and, if you escape the punishment of
“ men, That of the gods you will not avoid. Think not
“ I say this to terrify you ; but be assured that those patri-
“ cians, who will be left here to guard the city, should the
“ enemy prove victorious, will take such resolutions, as be-
“ come them. Have there not been instances of Barbarians,
“ who, when they were upon the point of being taken
“ by the enemy, rather than suffer them to become masters
“ of their wives, children, and cities, resolved to burn the
“ latter, and put the former to death ; and shall not the
“ Romans, to whom the command of others was derived
“ from their ancestors, entertain the same sentiments with
“ regard to themselves ? They will never be so degenerate,
“ but will, first, shed the blood of you, who are their greatest
“ enemies, and, afterwards, That of their friends. When
“ you reflect on these things, hold your assemblies, and bring
“ in new laws.”

XXIX. After he had said this, and many things to the same purpose, he presented before them the most ancient patricians in tears. At this sight, many of the plebeians could not even themselves refrain from weeping : And great compassion being raised both by the age, and dignity of those persons, the consul, after a short pause, said : “ Are you
“ not ashamed, citizens, and ready to sink into the earth,
“ when

“ when you see these old men going to take arms in defence
 “ of you who are young? And can you bear to abandon
 “ these leaders, whom you have, always, called fathers?
 “ Unfortunate men! unworthy to be deemed citizens of this
 “ country, which was planted by those, who bore their
 “ fathers on their shoulders, and to whom the gods granted
 “ a safe passage through arms, and through fire!” When
 Virginius found the people were affected with this discourse,
 he was afraid lest, contrary to his desire, they might consent
 to join in this war; and advancing, said: We neither aban-
 “ don, nor betray you, fathers; neither do we desire to
 “ desert you, as we have, hitherto, never declined engaging
 “ in any war; but resolve both to live with you, and suffer
 “ with you whatever Heaven shall decree: But, since we
 “ have, at all times, cheerfully concurred with you, we desire
 “ you to grant us a moderate favor, that, as we share in the
 “ same dangers with you, we may, also, share in the same
 “ rights, by instituting laws, the guardians of liberty, which
 “ may, ever after, be common to all: However, if you are
 “ averse to this, and refuse to grant this favor to your fellow-
 “ citizens, looking upon it as a capital crime to suffer the
 “ people to have an equal share with you in the distribution
 “ of justice, we shall, no longer, contend with you; but,
 “ instead of that, we shall desire another favor of you, which
 “ if we obtain, we may possibly stand, no longer, in need of
 “ new laws: However, we are afraid we shall not obtain
 “ even this, which will prove no prejudice to the senate,
 “ but some honor, and indulgence to the people.”

XXX. In answer to this, the consul said, that, if the tribunes would leave this institution to the determination of the senate, they would deny them nothing that was reasonable; and ordered them to explain what they desired: When Virginius, after a short conference with his colleagues, said he would propose it in the senate; which being assembled by the consuls, he went in; and, after enumerating all the rights of the people, he desired that the magistracy, appointed to preside over them, might be doubled; and that, instead of five tribunes, ten might be chosen every year. Most of the senators were of opinion that this would bring no sort of prejudice to the commonwealth, and advised to grant it without opposition: This opinion was proposed by Lucius Quintius, who, at that time, had the greatest authority in the senate. Caius Claudius was the only person, who opposed it; he was the son of Appius Claudius, who had, ever, objected to the new institutions of the plebeians, when any of them were not agreeable to law; and, having inherited the principles of his father, he hindered, when he himself was consul, the inquiry, concerning the knights who were accused of being engaged in the conspiracy, from being committed to the tribunes: This man made a long speech, telling them that the people, if their magistracy was doubled, instead of being more reasonable, and observant, would become more extravagant, and insolent: For, says he, the future tribunes will not receive their magistracy upon certain terms, so as to adhere to the established customs; but will, again, propose the law concerning the division of
lands,

lands, and also That relating to an ²³ equality of laws; and all of them, successively, will endeavour, both by their words and actions, to encrease the power of the people, and abolish the prerogatives of the senate. This speech had a great effect upon the majority of that assembly. After this, Quintius brought them over again, by shewing them that it was for the interest of the senate that there should be many tribunes, because there would be less union among many, than among a few; and that the only relief the commonwealth could expect, which Appius Claudius, the father of Caius, first discovered, was That arising from the dissension

²³ ΑΛΛΑ και τον περι της κληροχιας ΑΥΘΙΣ προθησεν λογον, και τον υπερ της ΙΣΟΤΙΜΙΑΣ. So this sentence stands in all the editions, and manuscripts: However, I cannot help being of opinion that, instead of *ισοτιμιας*, we ought to read *ισονομιας*: My reason is, because *αυθις* governs as well the *λογον υπερ της ισοτιμιας*, as That *περι της κληροχιας*. Now it is certain that the law concerning *an equality of honors* between the patricians, and plebeians, had not yet been proposed, nor was proposed till several years after: I think it plain therefore, that we must read *υπερ της ισονομιας*, instead of *υπερ της ισοτιμιας*, which the transcribers might easily insert for the other. I am surprised that none of the translators have taken notice of the inaccuracy, which our author must have been guilty of, if he had made Claudius say that the tribunes would *again* propose a law, which had never yet been proposed. Portus, I observe, has not translated *αυθις iterum*, but *confestim*, which I

believe he did in order to avoid the absurdity I have taken notice of, though he says nothing of it in his notes. However, this caution has been of use to le Jay, and preserved him from falling into that absurdity. For want of such an assistance, the other French translator has rendered this unfortunate word *αυθις* very fully, saying; *qu'ils remettoient d'abord sur le tapis le partage des terres, et l'égalité des honneurs entre le peuple, et les patriciens*; for this mistake he is obliged to his old friend Sylburgius, who has said, *sed rursus verba faeturos de agris dividundis, et communicandis honoribus*. But my correction is established by the words, which our author will make use of in the thirty fifth chapter of this book (and which are the same with Those now before us) joining *ΙΣΟΝΟΜΙΑ* to *κληροχια*; for he there says, *προθησεν γαρ ΑΥΘΙΣ τον τε περι της κληροχιας νομον—και τον περι της ΙΣΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ*.

of the tribunes, and their want of unanimity. This opinion prevailed; and the senate decreed that the people be allowed to chuse ten tribunes annually, provided that no person, who was then a tribune, should be of that number. Virginius, and his colleagues received this decree from the senate, and laid it before the people, who, having confirmed it, chose ten tribunes for the following year. After the sedition was appeased, the consuls raised two armies, and drew lots for the command: In consequence of which, Minucius was appointed to march against the Sabines, and Horatius against the Aequi: And both of them took the field with all expedition. The Sabines garrisoned their cities, and suffered every thing in the country to be carried off by the enemy. But the Aequi sent an army to oppose the Romans: However, proving inferior to them in a battle, in which they fought with great bravery, they were forced to retire to their cities after the loss of a small town, in defence of which they had fought the battle. Horatius, having put the enemy to flight, and laid waste a great part of their country, raised the walls of Corbio, demolished the houses to their foundations, and returned home with his army.

XXXI. The following year, Marcus Valerius, and Spurius Virginius being consuls, no army of the Romans went out of their confines, but the civil contests were renewed by the tribunes against the consuls; in the event of which, the former possessed themselves of some part of the consular power: For, before this, the power of the tribunes was confined to the assemblies of the people; but they had no authority

authority either to assemble the senate, or to deliver their opinions there, ²⁴ the former being a power belonging to the consuls. The tribunes of this year were the first, who attempted to assemble the senate, Icilius, who was at the head of their college, an active man, and, for a Roman, not uneloquent, introducing this attempt: For this person was, at that time, bringing in a new law, by which he desired that a place, called the Aventine hill, might be divided among the plebeians to build houses there: This is a hill moderately high, not less than twelve stadia in circuit, and stands within the city; it was not, then, all inhabited; but belonged to the public, and was full of trees. The tribune, in order to get this law passed, went to the consuls, and to the senate, desiring they would pass the previous vote in favor of this law, and lay it before the people: But the consuls deferring it, and protracting the time, he sent an officer to them, with orders that they should follow him to

²⁴ ΑΛΛ' ἡντων ὑπάλων ΤΟΤΤΟ το γερας. So this passage stands in all the editions, and manuscripts; and, according to this sense, all the translators have rendered it. But I would ask whether *τελο το γερας* relates to both, or only to the last; that is, to the power of assembling the senate, and to That of delivering their opinions there, or only to the last? If to both, *τελο το γερας* is improper; and if to the last, it is not true in fact, because all the senators had a right to deliver their opinions in the senate, when called upon, as well as the consuls. The first, I mean the power of assembling the senate, was, no doubt, a

privilege of the consuls: To this, therefore, and to this alone, *τελο το γερας* must refer: But that cannot possibly be, as the words now stand; because the right of delivering an opinion in the senate immediately precedes these words. I know of no way of curing this impropriety, but to suppose, what I do not think improbable, that our author writ *εκεινο* instead of *τελο το γερας*; and then *εκεινο* will very properly relate to the first, and to that alone: This is confirmed by the next sentence, where it is said, *οι δε τοτε δημαρχοι πρωτοι συγκαλειν επεβαλοιτο την βελαν.*

the

the college of the tribunes, and assemble the senate. And, when one of the lictors, by the orders of the consuls, drove away the officer, Icilius, and his colleagues, resenting this, seized the lictor, and carried him away with a design to throw him down the Tarpeian rock. The consuls, though they looked upon this as a great insult, were unable to use violence, or to rescue the man, who was carrying away; but implored the assistance of the other tribunes: For no person has a power of putting a stop to, or of obstructing, the actions of that college, but another tribune. And all of them had, at first, come to these resolutions, that no single tribune should either introduce any new law projected by himself, unless they all concurred in it, or oppose their determinations; but that every one of them should be bound by the resolutions of the majority: And, in order to give a sanction to these resolutions, they had, as soon as they entered upon the magistracy, confirmed them by sacrifices, and mutual oaths; being persuaded that the most effectual means to render the power of the tribuneship indissoluble, was to banish dissension from it. Adhering, therefore, to this confederacy, they ordered the lictor to be carried away, saying this was the unanimous resolution of their college: However, they did not persist in their resentment, but released the man at the intercession of the most ancient senators; being apprehensive not only of the odium, with which such a proceeding would be attended, if they should be the first to punish with death a man for obeying the orders of the magistrates, but also lest, by this violence, the

Book X. DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS. 191
the patricians should be compelled to take desperate resolutions.

XXXII. After this action the senate was assembled, and the consuls laid themselves out in many invectives against the tribunes: They were answered by Icilius, who, to excuse their resentment against the licitor, alledged the sacred laws, by which it was enacted, “ that it shall not be lawful
“ either for a magistrate, or a private man, to give any opposi-
“ tion to a tribune;” and, concerning his attempt to assemble the senate, he shewed them there was nothing absurd in it; this he proved by many, and various arguments, which he had before prepared. After he had answered these accusations, he came to the law, which he proposed to introduce, the tenor of which was as follows: “ That all the ground, which
“ has been, justly, acquired by any private persons, shall
“ continue in the possession of the owners; but that such
“ part of it, as may have been usurped by force or fraud by
“ any persons, and built upon, shall be given to the people;
“ those persons being repaid the expences of such buildings
“ by the estimation of umpires to be appointed for that purpose; and that all the rest of the ground, belonging to the
“ public, be divided among the people, they paying no
“ consideration for the same.” He then shewed them, that this law would be advantageous to the commonwealth in many respects, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public lands, of which the patricians were in possession: For he said they would be contented with their share in this
part

part of the city, since they could have none in the lands lying in the country, by reason of the number, and power of those, who had usurped them. When he had ended his discourse, Caius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law, while many spoke in favor of it: So that, it was decreed that the place should be given to the people. After this, the pontiffs being present, together with the augurs, and two sacrificers, and having offered up their customary vows, and prayers, the consuls held an assembly of the people by centuries, in which the law was enacted; and is inscribed on a column of brass; which column they carried to the Aventine hill, and placed it in the temple of Diana. The law being passed, the plebeians assembled; and, drawing lots for the ground, began to build, every man regulating the area of his house according to his abilities; and, sometimes, two, three, or more joined together to build one house; and, drawing lots, some had the lower, and others the upper stories. This year, therefore, was employed in building habitations.

XXXIII. The following year, in which Titus Romilius, and Caius Veturius were consuls, and Lucius Icilius, and his colleagues tribunes for the second time, was not of the same tenor, but various, and fraught with great events: For the civil contests, which seemed to be extinguished, were renewed by these tribunes; and some foreign wars sprung up, which, without being able to hurt the commonwealth in any degree, did her great service, by banishing these contests: For this was become a successive, and a customary thing
for

for the Romans to agree in war, and disagree in peace; which all the chief magistrates observing, beheld the appearance of any foreign war with joy; and, when their enemies were quiet, they themselves contrived complaints, and pretences for wars, well knowing that wars rendered the commonwealth great and flourishing; and seditions, low and weak: Actuated, therefore, with this principle, the consuls of that year resolved to take the field with an army, from an apprehension that idle and poor men might, in a time of peace, begin to raise some disturbances: In this they judged right, that the people ought to be kept employed in foreign wars; but not in the steps they took to effect it: For the city being distempered, they ought to have made the levies with moderation; but, instead of that, they compelled the disobedient by violence to give in their names, without allowing any excuse, or shewing the least indulgence, to any man; but executed the punishments ordained by law with severity both on their persons, and fortunes. While they were employing this rigor, the tribunes took the occasion to inflame the people, again, with their harangues; and, assembling them, they exclaimed against the consuls on many accounts, but, particularly, for having ordered several of the citizens to be carried to prison, who had implored the protection of the tribunes; and said, they would discharge them from the service; as if the sole power of the laws had been vested in them. When this had no effect, but they saw the levies carrying on with still greater severity, they resolved to obstruct them by force; and the consuls resisting with all the

power of their magistracy, some irritating words passed, and acts of violence : The consuls were supported by the young patricians ; and the tribunes by the poor, and idle multitude. That day, therefore, the consuls were by much superior to the tribunes : But, the following days, greater numbers flocking to the city out of the country, the tribunes thought themselves sufficiently strong ; and, assembling the people continually, they produced their officers, who were in a bad condition with the blows they had received, and said they would resign their magistracy, if the people did not assist them.

XXXIV. The plebeians sharing in their resentment, they summoned the consuls to appear before the people, and give an account of their actions : But these paying no regard to their summons, they addressed themselves to the senate (who happened to be then debating this matter) and desired they would not suffer them to be treated in the most ignominious manner, or the people to be deprived of their assistance : They enumerated all the injuries they had received from the consuls, and their faction, who had insulted not only their authority, but their persons ; and desired the consuls might do one of these two things ; either that, if they denied they had committed any insult on the persons of the tribunes, contrary to the tenor of the laws, they might go to the assembly of the people, and confirm their denial upon oath ; or, if they durst not take such an oath, that they might appear before the people, and give an account of their conduct : And they would take the votes of
the

the tribes concerning them. On the other side, the consuls defended themselves by saying that the tribunes had given occasion to the abuse by their insolence, and by daring to insult their persons, contrary to law ; first, in ordering their officers, and the aediles to carry magistrates to prison, in whom the whole power of the commonwealth is vested ; and, after that, in attacking them outrageously themselves, with the most daring of the plebeians : They shewed how great a difference there is between the consuls, in whom the royal power resides, and the tribunes, who were instituted for the relief of the oppressed, and who were so far from having the power to give the people their votes against the consuls, that they could not do it even against the meanest of the patricians without the consent of the senate ; and they threatened to arm the patricians, if the tribunes gave the people their votes. These contests lasting the whole day, the senate came to no resolution, being unwilling to lessen either the power of the consuls, or That of the tribunes, both which they saw would be attended with great dangers.

XXXV. When the tribunes found they could obtain no relief from the senate, they went, again, to the assembly of the people, and considered what measures they were to take : Some, particularly the most turbulent, advised that the plebeians should take arms, and, again, retire to the holy mountain, where they had formerly incamped ; and, from thence, make war upon the patricians, since these had violated the convention they had made with the people, by openly subverting the tribunitian power : But the greater

part were of opinion that they ought not to leave the city, nor to attribute the outrages committed by some particular persons against the tribunes, to the whole body of patricians, provided they could obtain the relief granted by the laws; which ordain that those, who insult the persons of the tribunes, may be put to death with impunity: However, the more moderate did not approve either of leaving the city, or of putting any person to death without a trial, and least of all the consuls, who were the chief magistrates; but advised to transfer their resentment to those, who had assisted them, and to inflict on their abettors the punishment ordained by the laws. If, therefore, the tribunes had, that day, been led by their passion to attempt any thing against the consuls, or the senate, nothing could have hindered Rome from being destroyed by her own hands: So ready were all to run to arms, and engage in a civil war. But, by deferring matters, and giving themselves time for better consideration, they not only grew more moderate themselves, but appeased the resentment of the people. The following days, they appointed the third market day for the assembly of the people, and for laying a fine upon the consuls, and, after that, dismissed the assembly. When the time drew near, they desisted from this attempt also, alledging that they granted this favor to the intercession of persons of the greatest age, and dignity. After that, they assembled the people, and told them they pardoned the insults, which they themselves had received, at the desire of many worthy men, whom they ought not to refuse: But, as to the injuries,

injuries, which the people had suffered, they would punish the authors of them, and prevent the like for the future: For they would again propose, not only, the Agrarian law, the enacting of which had been postponed for thirty years, but, also, That concerning an equality of laws, which their predecessors had proposed, but not put to their votes.

XXXVI. Having made these promises, and confirmed them by their oaths, they appointed a day, on which the people were to assemble, and give their votes concerning these laws. The day being come, they, first, proposed the Agrarian law; and, after they had dwelt long upon this subject, they gave leave to all the plebeians, who desired it, to speak in favor of the law: Many presented themselves; and, after enumerating the exploits they had performed in the wars, they expressed their indignation that they, who had taken so much land from their enemies, should have received no part of it themselves, while they saw that such, as were powerful by their riches, and their friends, had usurped the lands that belonged to the public, and enjoyed them by the most violent means; and they desired that the people might have their share not only in the dangers, that were undertaken for the good of the public, but also in the pleasures, and profits, that resulted from those dangers. These were well heard by the people; but the person, who confirmed them the most in their resolution to pass the law, was Siccius, surnamed Dentatus, who, by the account he gave them of the many great actions he had performed, made them resolve not even to hear a word against it: This man had a wonder-

wonderful appearance; was in the strength of his age being fifty eight years old, sufficiently wise, and, for a soldier, not uneloquent: Presenting himself, therefore, to the assembly, thus he spoke: “ If, citizens, I should enter into a detail
 “ of all my actions, the day would not suffice me: For
 “ which reason, I shall only mention the most considerable,
 “ and in the fewest words I am able. This is the fortieth
 “ year that I serve my country in the wars, and the thirtieth
 “ that I have always had some military command, sometimes
 “ of a cohort, and sometimes of a whole legion, from the
 “ consulship of Caius Aquilius, and Titus ²⁵ Sicinus, to whom
 “ the senate committed the conduct of the war against the
 “ Volsci: I was then in my twenty sixth year, and posted

²⁵ ΣΙΚΙΝΟΣ. So we must read the name of this consul, and not Siccus, as I have shewn in the thirty ninth annotation on the eighth book. It is possible that the name of Siccus Dentatus, so often mentioned in this transaction, may have misled the transcribers. I find by a note in Hudson (which M. *** has appropriated) that the manuscript, from which Lapus translated, had *τριακοσόν και δευτερον*, instead of *τριακοσόν*, which is the reading of all the editions, and of all the other manuscripts. Whether we follow this reading, or not, we must read *ἐκκατακοσάτης*, instead of *ἐπ'ακατακοσάτης*, which neither M. ***, nor any of the other commentators have observed; because, with regard to the age of Siccus, the two last years he did not serve as an officer must be added to the 30 years he did serve as such, which 32 years require 26, not 27,

to make 58, which, we find, was his age at this time. Notwithstanding all the pains, which M. *** has taken to support this reading of Lapus, he has not persuaded me to recede from That of the editions; because his whole reasoning seems to be built on a wrong foundation: He supposes that Siccus includes in the time he served as an officer, both the year we are now in, that is the 299th, and also the preceding year: But this cannot be, because, hitherto, the armies had not taken the field this year; and the year before the Romans had no war: These two years must, therefore, be deducted from the time of his having served as an officer, and then it will be found that, from the consulship of C. Aquilius, and T. Sicinus, that is, from the year of Rome 267 inclusively, he had served in the army as an officer just thirty years.

“ under

“ under the centurions: A severe battle ensuing, and our
 “ forces being put to flight, the commander of the cohort
 “ killed, and the ensigns taken by the enemy, I alone ex-
 “ posed myself in defence of all, and recovered the ensigns
 “ of the cohort; repulsed the enemy, and evidently pre-
 “ vented the centurions from being covered with eternal
 “ ignominy, which would have rendered the rest of their
 “ lives more bitter than death, as they themselves acknow-
 “ ledged by crowning me with a golden crown: And
 “ Sicinus, the consul, gave me the same testimony by ap-
 “ pointing me commander of the cohort. In another battle,
 “ it happened that the ²⁶camp master of our legion was
 “ thrown to the ground, and the eagle taken by the enemy,
 “ when I fought, in the same manner, in defence of the

²⁶. Τοῦ στρατοπεδαρχῆν. This word well deserves to be explained, and the more because all the translators have mistaken the sense of it. Portus calls this officer, *praefectus legionis*, and five lines after, *primipilus*; Sylburgius says, *tribunus qui legioni et castris praeerat*, by which he confounds the two commands: However, he has given occasion to his follower, M. * * *, to say, *le colonel de notre légion, qui commandoit aussi toute l’armée*: This, besides the impropriety of giving to this officer the command of the whole army, which belonged to the consuls alone, is such a jumble of ancient, and modern terms, that I am much mistaken if his readers are the wiser for his translation. Le Jay has fallen into the same inconsistency, and calls him, *le*

lieutenant-de notre légion. But, not to misspend any more time in shewing the reader what this officer was not, I shall inform him what he was: The *στρατοπεδαρχης* was called by the Romans, as the name implies, *praefectus castrorum*, and so the Latin translators ought to have rendered it. ^p There was one of these officers in every legion: His business was to mark out the ground in the camp for his own legion; and all of them marked out That for the incampment of the whole army. They also directed where, and in what manner the intrenchments were to be made for the security of the camp. In a march, they had the care of the baggage, and of the engines; and many other things of less importance were under their inspection.

^p Vell. Pat. B. ii. c. 129, and 120. Tacit. Annal. B. xiv. c. 37.

“ whole

“ whole legion ; recovered the eagle, and saved the camp
 “ master ; who, in acknowledgement for the assistance I
 “ then gave him, offered me his command in the legion,
 “ and the eagle ; but I refused both, being unwilling to
 “ deprive the man, whose life I had saved, of the honors
 “ he enjoyed, and of the satisfaction resulting from them.
 “ The consul was pleased with my behaviour, and gave me
 “ the post of camp master in the first legion, the former
 “ having been killed in that action.

XXXVII. “ These, citizens, are the brave actions, that
 “ have distinguished me, and raised me to commands.
 “ After I had gained an illustrious name, I hazarded my
 “ life in every other engagement, being ashamed to ex-
 “ tinguish the honors, and favors I had received for my
 “ former actions ; and, from that time, I have always served,
 “ and undergone the toils of war, without fearing, or even
 “ considering, any danger : By all which, I have received
 “ rewards, spoils, crowns, and other honors from the con-
 “ suls : In a word, during the forty years I have conti-
 “ nually served, I fought about an hundred and twenty
 “ battles, and received forty five wounds, all before, and not
 “ one behind : Of these I happened to receive twelve in one
 “ day, when Herdonius, the Sabine, was in possession of the
 “ fortress, and the capitol. The rewards of valor bestowed
 “ upon me are these ; fourteen ²⁷ civic crowns, with which
 “ I have been crowned by those I had saved in battle ; one

²⁷ • Στεφανὺς πολίτικες. See the eighteenth annotation on the eighth book.

“ obfidional,

“²⁸ obsidional, for having raised a siege; and three ²⁹ mural
 “ crowns, for having first mounted the enemies walls, and
 “ taken possession of them; and eight others I have been
 “ honoured with by the generals for my behaviour in several
 “ battles: Add to these, eighty three golden collars, one
 “ hundred and sixty bracelets of gold, eighteen ³⁰ pike staves,
 “ and twenty five rich ³¹ gorgets, nine of which are the

²⁸. Ἐνα πολιορκητικόν. So I read this after Lopus. The ¹ *corona obsidionalis*, the most honourable of all others, was made of grass growing in the place besieged, and given by the soldiers, who had been shut up in the siege, to the general, who raised it.

²⁹. Τρεῖς τεχικαί. The *corona muralis* was given by the general to the man, who first mounted the walls of a town besieged, if it was taken: For which reason, it was adorned with battlements, ² *Pinnis adornata*; a sure proof that these are not of Gothic institution; but borrowed by the Goths, like many other ornaments, from the Roman, or rather the Greek, architecture: For, in all the old Gothic buildings, we see some traces, though horribly disguised, of a true taste. When I say that battlements are not Gothic ornaments, it is possible that some gentlemen in my neighbourhood, if they do me the honor to read this, may think that I have an eye to the use I myself have made of them: But I can assure these gentlemen, and I know they will believe me, that the descriptions I had, long before, met with of the mural crown, taught me to use them, before

they taught me to justify the use I have made of them. The ³ mural crown was of gold, though ⁴ Suetonius seems to insinuate the contrary; but ⁵ Polybius affirms it expressly: τοῖς δὲ πολέωι καὶ λαμβανομένης πρώτοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀναβᾶσι ΧΡΥΣΟΝ ΔΙΔΩΣΙ ΣΕΦΑΝΟΝ.

³⁰. Δοράδα. These were called *hastaepuræ*, because without iron. ⁶ Virgil gives one of these to Silvius:

Ille (vides) purâ juvenis qui nititur hastâ.

Upon which occasion, Servius says, from Varro, that this reward was given to those, who had then *first* overcome in battle, *hoc fuit præmium apud majores ejus, qui tunc primum vicisset in proelio*: If so, no man could receive but one of them; and here we find that Siccius had obtained eighteen. But that grammarian is not always to be depended on for his quotations any more than for his remarks.

³¹. Φαλαρα. I have been obliged to translate these, *gorgets*, for want of another word, though I believe these bear some resemblance to the ornaments here in question. *Harnois*, which is the word made use of by the French

¹ Plin. Nat. Hist. B. xxii. c. 4. Gell. B. v. c. 6.
² Life of Augustus, c. 25. ³ B. vi. p. 483.

⁴ Gell. B. v. c. 6.

⁵ Id. ib.

⁶ Aeneid. B. vi. v. 760.

“ rewards of so many single combats, in which I voluntarily
 “ engaged, and overcame those, who challenged any of our
 “ men. However, so it is, citizens, that this Siccius, who
 “ has served so many years in defence of you; fought so
 “ many battles; been honoured with so many testimonies
 “ of his valor; who never feared, nor declined any danger;
 “ but has been in pitched battles, and assaults of towns,
 “ among the foot, and among the horse; with all, with a
 “ few, and alone; whose body is covered with wounds,
 “ and who has contributed to the conquest his country has
 “ made of a large extent of fertile land, which you have
 “ taken from the Tyrrhenians, the Sabines, the Aequi, the
 “ Volsci, and the Pometini, after you had overcome them,
 “ and still possess; has not received even the least portion
 “ of this land, nor any one of you, plebeians, who have
 “ shared in the same toils; but the most violent, and the
 “ most shameless men of this city possess the most fruitful

translators, signifies indeed the accoutrements of a horseman; but, in that sense, it is too extensive, because it includes a complete armour: However, I fancy they were, like me, reduced to make use of the best term their language could supply them with. I cannot pretend to describe the particular ornaments expressed by the word *phalerae*, because authors differ so much concerning them; but this I know, that they were not only given to soldiers, as the rewards of superior valor, but also worn by the Roman noblemen, as marks of distinction; I

believe they were something like gorgets made of leather, and enriched with large gold studs, which hung down their breasts: It is, however, certain they were worn by those noblemen; since we find in * Livy that the senate were so much offended at the election of Flavius to the office of curule aedile, that most of the noblemen laid aside their gold rings, and their *phalerae*; *tantum Flavii comitis indignitatis habuerunt, ut plerique nobilium annulos aureos, et phaleras deposuerent.*

* B. ix. c. 46.

“ part of it, and have enjoyed it these many years without
 “ having either received a grant of it from you, or purchased
 “ it, or without being able to shew any other just title to it.
 “ If, indeed, they had taken an equal share with us in the
 “ toils, by which we acquired this land, and, upon that
 “ account, claimed a greater part of it (though, even
 “ then, it would not have been either just, or agreeable to
 “ a well ordered commonwealth, that a few should appro-
 “ priate to themselves what belongs to all) however, there
 “ would then, at least, be some color for the avarice of these
 “ men: But, when, unable to shew they have performed
 “ any great, or brave action to intitle them to possess our
 “ properties by violence, they act in this shameless manner,
 “ and, though even convicted of it, still retain the possession
 “ of these lands; who can bear it?

XXXVIII. “ But, in the name of Jupiter, if I have mis-
 “ represented any thing, let any one of these solemn men
 “ stand forth, and shew us what illustrious, what noble
 “ actions he relies on, to claim a greater share in them, than
 “ myself: Has he served more years; fought more battles;
 “ received more wounds; or does he exceed me in crowns,
 “ gorgets, spoils, or in any other ornaments of victory, by
 “ which our enemies have been weakened, and our country
 “ rendered more illustrious and powerful? Rather let him
 “ shew the tenth part of what I have made appear to you:
 “ But the generality of them could not even produce the
 “ least part of what I have laid before you; and some there
 “ are, whose labors are not to be compared with those of

“ the meanest plebeian : For their excellence does not con-
“ sist in arms, but in words ; neither is their power exerted
“ against their enemies, but against their friends : They
“ look upon the city they inhabit, not as common to all,
“ but as their own property ; as if they had not been freed
“ by us, and with us, from tyranny, but had received us,
“ as an inheritance from the tyrants. I say nothing of the
“ other insults, both great and small, which they continue
“ to heap upon us, as you all know ; but they have carried
“ their pride so far, that they will not suffer any one of us to
“ utter a free word in favor of our country, nor even to
“ open our mouths. Spurius Cassius, who first proposed
“ the Agrarian law, was adorned with three consulships,
“ and two most illustrious triumphs, and had shewn in
“ many instances that he was as great a general, and as able
“ a politician, as any man of that age ; yet they accused
“ him of tyranny, and circumvented him with false wit-
“ nesses, for no other reason, than because he was a lover
“ of his country, and of the people ; and, casting him down
“ the Tarpeian rock, put him to death. When Caius
“ Genucius, one of our tribunes, resumed the same institu-
“ tion after the expiration of eleven years, and cited the
“ consuls of the former year to a trial, for having neglected
“ to carry into execution the decree of the senate concern-
“ ing the appointment of the commissioners to divide the
“ lands, finding they could not, openly, take him off, they,
“ privately, put him to death the day before the trial :
“ This inspired the succeeding tribunes with terror, and,
“ after

“ after that, none of them would expose themselves to the
 “ same danger ; and this is the thirtieth year we bear these
 “ things, as if we had lost our power under a tyranny.

XXXIX. “ I omit the rest : But your present magistrates,
 “ though by law their persons are sacred and inviolable,
 “ when they endeavoured to oppose the violence, that was
 “ offered to some of the plebeians, what dreadful treatment
 “ did they not meet with ? Were they not driven out of
 “ the forum with blows, kicks, and every other outrage ?
 “ Can you bear these things, and not endeavour to revenge
 “ yourselves on the authors of them ? Do this by your votes
 “ at least, in which alone you can exert your liberty. This
 “ is the time, plebeians ; assume the spirit of free men ; give
 “ your sanction to the Agrarian law, now it is brought in
 “ by your tribunes, and suffer not a word to be said against
 “ it. As for you, tribunes, you want no exhortation to pro-
 “ ceed in this affair : For you began it, and you do your
 “ duty in not deserting it : And, if the audacious, and
 “ shameless youth shall obstruct you by overturning the ³² urns,

³² Καδίσκος. We are obliged to the Vatican manuscript for this word, instead of καλαδίσκος in the editions, which can have no place here. Καδίσκος, a diminutive of καδος, signifies an urn, or ballot box, called by ¹ Livy, *fitella*, if we are not rather to read *cistella*, because ² Cicero says, *cistas dejicit*, for what our author says, τὰς καδίσκους ἀναίρεται. Into these the Roman people cast their billets ; and on those billets were inscribed the letters U. R. *uti rogas*, for

the affirmative, and A. *antiquo*, for the negative. These billets were called, in Greek, ψηφοί ; in Latin, *tabellae*, and, also, *puncta* ; from whence ³ Horace took this expression,

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci.

The account I have given of the word καδίσκος is confirmed by ⁴ Julius Pollux, and also by ⁵ Harpocration, who explains this word by ἀγχιον τι, εἰς ὃ ψηφοὶ ψηφοῦν ἐν δίκασαι.

¹ E xxv. c. 3. ² Ad Heren. c. 12. ³ De Art. Poet. §. 343. ⁴ B. viii. segm. 16. ⁵ In Καδίσκος.

“ taking

“ taking away the billets, or committing any other dis-
“ orders, while the people are giving their votes, let them
“ feel the whole weight of the tribunitian power. And,
“ since you are not allowed to abrogate the dignity of the
“ consuls, bring to trial the private men, whom they make
“ use of as the ministers of their violence ; and take the
“ votes of the people concerning them, as charged by you
“ with violating, and subverting your magistracy, contrary
“ to the sacred laws.”

XL. The people were so much pleased with his discourse, and shewed so great an indignation against their adversaries, that, as I said before, they would not even suffer them to say a word against the law. However, Icilius, the tribune, rising up, said that Siccius had spoken exceedingly well, and gave great commendation to the man ; but shewed, at the same time, that it was neither just, nor agreeable to a well ordered commonwealth, to refuse liberty of speech to those, who desired to speak in opposition to the law, particularly since the law itself, now under their consideration, was calculated to render equity superior to violence ; and that this would give occasion to such, as entertained no sentiments of equality, and justice with regard to the people, to raise fresh disturbances, and cause a division, when any thing advantageous to the commonwealth was proposed. Having said this, and appointed the next day for hearing those, who had any thing to object against the law, he dismissed the assembly. On the other side, the consuls held a private meeting of those patricians, who were the most distinguished
for

for their courage, and reputation in the city, and shewed them that, by all means, they must hinder the law from passing, first by their words; and, if these cannot persuade the people, then by their actions: And they desired them all to come early in the morning to the forum, with all the friends, and clients they could, possibly, assemble; and that some of them should place themselves round the tribunal, and the comitium, and stand there; and others form several bodies, and post themselves in different parts of the forum, in order to divide the plebeians, and hinder them from uniting in one body. This advice was approved of; and, before it was broad day light, the greatest part of the forum was taken up by the patricians.

XLI. After that, the tribunes, and the consuls appeared; and the cryer made proclamation that any person, who desired it, might object to the law: And many worthy men offering to speak, none of them could be heard, by reason of the tumult, and disorderly behaviour of the assembly: For some encouraged, and animated the speakers, and others exploded, and hooted them: But, neither the applause of the favourers, nor the clamors of the opposers prevailed. The consuls being incensed at this, and protesting that the people began the violence, in refusing to hear what the others had to offer, the tribunes excused them by saying that, having already heard the same arguments for five years together, it was not to be wondered at, if they would not submit to hear these stale, and trite objections. The greatest part of the day being spent in these contests,
and

and the people insisting upon giving their votes, the young patricians, unable to bear these proceedings any longer, hindered the people from dividing themselves into their tribes; took the urns from those who were appointed to keep them; and, beating such of the officers, as would not part with them, they pushed them out of the forum. Upon this, the tribunes cried out; and, rushing into the midst of them, the others indeed made way for these, and suffered them to go, quietly, whithersoever they pleased; but the rest of the people, who either actually followed them, or were endeavouring to follow them from different parts of the forum during this tumult, and confusion, were not allowed to pass: So that, the people were deprived of the assistance of their tribunes. At last, the patricians prevailed, and would not suffer the law to be enacted. Those, who were thought to have assisted the consuls with the greatest zeal upon this occasion, were of these three families, the Postumii, the Sempronii, and the Cloelii, all men illustrious by the dignity of their birth, powerful by the number of their friends, and distinguished by their riches, their reputation, and their military exploits: These were allowed to have been the chief instruments in preventing the law from being passed.

XLII. The next day, the tribunes consulted with the most considerable plebeians what measures they were to take, laying this down for a rule universally acknowledged, not to bring the consuls to a trial, but the private men, who had been their instruments; whose punishment would be less regarded by the generality of the citizens, as Siccus had suggested.

suggested. However, they considered with great attention how many they should accuse, what name they should give to their offence, and, particularly, how great a fine they should set upon them. Those who were of a severe disposition, advised to carry all these things to a great, and dreadful height. On the other side, the milder sort were for a more moderate, and humane proceeding. The person, who was the author of this advice, and prevailed with the rest to come into it, was Siccius, who had made the speech to the people in favor of the Agrarian law. They resolved, therefore, to let the rest of the patricians alone, and to bring the Cloelii, the Postumii, and the Sempronii before the people to give an account of their actions: And that their charge should be that, whereas the sacred laws, which both the senate, and the people had enacted concerning the tribunes of the people, forbid any person to compel the tribunes to submit to any thing against their will like the rest of the citizens, they, ³³ by violence, had hindered them from carrying through

³³ Καλιγρονίης αὐτοῦ. This word I have taken the liberty of substituting in the room of καταγονίης, which is the reading of all the editions, and manuscripts. The former is a word often used by our author in this sense; particularly in the sixty fifth chapter of the sixth book, where he says the aristocratical party desired the consuls to remain neuter between the two parties, and to offer violence to neither; μὴ ΚΑΤΙΣΧΕΙΝ μὴδέτερον τῶν ἁγίων: And the latter must signify here *detaining*, or something of that kind; which was not the case: For the young

patricians were so far from *detaining* the tribunes, that our author tells us they made an opening for them, and suffered them to go where they pleased. On the other side, they certainly made use of *violence* to hinder them from getting the law passed. I do upon this occasion what I have always done whenever I have made any alteration in the text; I give the word I except against, with That which I have inserted: By this means, I may indeed expose my own ignorance, but cannot do any injury to the text, if I am mistaken in my conjectures: The

the deliberation concerning the Agrarian law. And they, also, resolved that the judgement consequent to their conviction should be neither death, banishment, nor any other invidious punishment, lest this should save them, but that their fortunes should be consecrated to Ceres; which was the mildest punishment ordained by that law. These resolutions were pursued, and the time came when the men were to be tried. In the mean while, the consuls, and the most considerable of the patricians held a consultation, in which it was resolved to let the tribunes go on with the trials, lest, if they were hindered, they might do some greater mischief; and to suffer the enraged plebeians to spend their fury upon the fortunes of these men, to the end they might be tamer for the future, after they had taken some kind of revenge at least upon their enemies; particularly, since it was easy to make the sufferers amends for a calamity arising from a pecuniary punishment: Which happened accordingly: For the men being condemned by default, the fury of the people ceased, and some reasonable satisfaction seemed to be made to the tribunes; and the patricians bought the delinquents estates of the purchasers, with the public money, at the same price they had given for them, and restored them to the owners. Thus, by the conduct of the patricians at this juncture, the storm that hung over their heads was ³⁴ dispelled.

law here alluded to, upon which the tribunes designed to ground their charge against these young patricians, is set forth at length in the eighty ninth chapter of the sixth book.

³⁴ Διαλελυτο. Livy gives a very slight account of this contentious scene between the consuls, and the tribunes of this year: Of all which he says no more than this;

XLIII.

XLIII. Not long after, when the tribunes began again to mention the Agrarian law, news was suddenly brought that the enemy had made an irruption into the territories of the Tusculani; which was sufficient to put a stop to their design: For the Tusculani, coming to Rome in great numbers, said that the Aequi were, already, in their country with a numerous army laying it waste, and that, unless some succours were speedily sent, they would be masters of their city within a few days. Upon which, the senate ordered that both the consuls should go to their relief. The consuls, having given notice of their intention to raise forces, called all the citizens to arms. This, also, produced something like a sedition, the tribunes opposing the levies, and

“Ili (tribuni) sequenti anno, T. Romilio, C. Veturio consulibus, legem omnibus concionibus suis celebrant: pudere se numeri sui nequicquam aucti, si ea res aequè suo biennio jaceret, ac toto superiore lustro jacuisset. This is sure the most commendable account, that ever was given of the many interesting particulars, that fill this important scene; and the omission is the more to be lamented in Livy, because no historian, in my opinion, ever related with greater elegance, and perspicuity, or enlivened his relation with greater spirit: But the misfortune is (and a misfortune, which all his readers feel) that he was either too indolent to consult all the historians, records, and monuments, that were necessary to supply him with a large stock of materials; or had too much vivacity to confine himself to so laborious a task: However, if he did

give himself that trouble, he seems to have done it with no other view than to select such facts, as were most susceptible of ornament, and of those glowing colors, which his masterly pencil was very capable of throwing on them. But this choice, however happily improved, is rather the province of a poet, who is master of his subject, than of an historian, who ought to be a slave to it. The former may indeed do what Horace says that Homer did,

*et quae
Desperat tractata nitefcere posse, relinquit.*

But the historian is tied down, not only, by the facts, but, even, by the order, in which they happened; and has no other choice than in the manner of relating them.

^dB. iii. c. 31.

^eDe Art. Poet. §. 149.

not suffering the punishments, ordained by law, to be inflicted on the disobedient; but without effect: For the senate assembling ordered that the patricians should take the field with their clients, and such of the citizens, as were willing to join them in an expedition undertaken for the preservation of their country, with an assurance that the gods would be propitious to those who should join the consuls upon this occasion, and offended with those who should desert them. When the decree of the senate was read in the assembly of the people, many even of these voluntarily engaged in the service: The worthiest men, through the shame they felt in not relieving a nation in alliance with them, which, by reason of their attachment to the Romans, was always receiving some damage from their enemies: Even Siccus, who, in the assembly of the people, had inveighed against the usurpers of the public lands, was one of these, and brought with him a body of eight hundred men, who were past the military age as well as himself, and not subject to the compulsion of the laws; but, as they honoured the man, in consideration of the many considerable favors they had received from him, they resolved not to leave him, when he was going upon this service. This body of men, by their experience in war, and their resolution in dangers, was far superior to the rest of the army. Great numbers were induced to serve by the exhortations of the most ancient citizens, and the affection they bore to them: Others were ready to expose themselves to any danger for the sake of the booty they expected to acquire in this expedition:

So

So that, in a short time, an army took the field, sufficiently numerous, and magnificently provided. The enemy, who had intelligence beforehand that the Romans designed to march out against them, prepared to return home with their forces: But the consuls, making a forced march, came up with them, while they lay incamped on a high, and steep hill near the city of Antium, and posted themselves not far from them. For some time, both armies continued in their camps: After which, the Acqui, despising the Romans for not having, first, attacked them, and judging their army not to be sufficiently numerous, they detached parties to cut off their provisions; forced back with their horse the Romans, when sent out to bring in corn, or forage; fell suddenly upon those who went for water, and challenged them, often, to come to an engagement.

XLIV. The consuls, seeing this, resolved to protract the war no longer. It happened that, during these days, Romilius had the conduct of it; and it belonged to him to give the word, to draw up the army, and to watch the opportunity both of beginning, and ending, the battle: Who, having ordered the signal to be given, and led his army out of the camp, posted the horse and foot, according to their divisions, each in their proper places: Then, calling Siccus to him, he said: “ We propose, Siccus, to engage the enemy
 “ in this place; but, before we begin, and while both
 “ armies are preparing for the battle, do you march, by that
 “ winding road, to the top of the hill, where the enemy
 “ have placed their camp, and attack the men left to guard
 “ it,

“ it, to the end that those, who will be engaged with us,
 “ either fearing for their camp, and desiring to relieve it,
 “ may turn their backs, and, by that means, be easily
 “ defeated, as I expect, while they are making a hasty
 “ retreat, and all pressing through one road; or, by stay-
 “ ing here, lose their camp: For the forces, that are left
 “ to guard it, are not strong enough for that purpose, as
 “ may be conjectured, since they place all their security in the
 “ strength of its situation; and your body of eight hundred
 “ men, exercised in many wars, will be of force sufficient
 “ to defeat, by a bold attack, those guards of their camp,
 “ when astonished by your unexpected onset.” To whom
 Siccus replied: “ For my part, I am ready to obey
 “ you in every thing; but the enterprise is not so easy as
 “ it seems to you: For the rock, on which the camp is
 “ situated, is high and steep; and I see but one road that
 “ leads to it, by which the enemy will come down upon us;
 “ and probably, a sufficient guard is placed there; which,
 “ though very small and weak, will be able to maintain
 “ their ground against a much greater force than mine;
 “ and the place itself will secure the guard from being
 “ forced: By all means, therefore, reconsider your design:
 “ For the attempt is extremely hazardous. But, if you are
 “ resolved, at all events, to fight two battles at the same time,
 “ order a sufficient number of chosen men to follow me and
 “ the veterans: For, in that case, we shall not march up the
 “ hill to take the place by ³⁵ surprise, but by open force.”

³⁵ Οὐ γὰρ κλεψόντες τὸ χωρίον. This rallying Cheirisophus, the Lacedæ-
 is an expression of Xenophon, who, in monian general, upon the custom of

XLV. While he was going on in this manner, the consul interrupted him, and said: "There is no need of many words: If you dare to obey my orders, march this minute, and do not play the general; but, if you decline it, and start at the danger, I shall give the command to others: As for you, who have fought an hundred and twenty battles, and served forty years, and whose body is covered with wounds; since you came voluntarily, depart, without either encountering the enemy, or seeing them; and, instead of your arms, sharpen your tongue once more against the patricians. Where, now, are those many rewards of valor, those collars, bracelets, spears, gorgets, those crowns the gifts of consuls, and the spoils gained in single combats, with all your tedious boasts, which we, then, suffered you to display? For, when you are tried in this one action, where the danger is real, you are found to be the man you are, and found to be a boaster; and that you practise fortitude in appearance, not in reality." Siccus, stung with these reproaches, answered; "I am sensible, Romilius, that you propose to yourself one of these two things, either to destroy me living, and to vilify me by fixing the most

stealing, which was encouraged in the boys at Sparta, advises him to take care, lest, in stealing a march to the mountain they proposed to possess themselves of, they were not discovered, and treated like the Spartan boys, that is, severely whipped: *Ἦνεν μαλακσοὶ καὶ ῥοὶ ἐσὶν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλαττέσθαι μέντοι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλεπ-*

τοντες τὰ ὄρη, ὡς μὴ πολλὰς πληγὰς λαβώμεν: The old English translator of the expedition of Cyrus, John Bingham, has rendered this, *to steal some part, or other, of the bill.* This unfortunate version is taken notice of by me in the preface to my translation of the Anabasis.

[†] *Anab.* B. iv. p. 325. Edit. of Hutchinson:

"shameful

“ shameful mark of cowardise on me, or to expose me to a
“ miserable, and obscure death by the hands of the enemy,
“ because you look upon me to be one of those, who enter-
“ tain sentiments of liberty: For you send me not to a
“ doubtful, but to a determined death. However, I will
“ undertake even this action, and endeavour, by shewing
“ that I am no coward, either to gain the camp, or, if I fail,
“ bravely to die: And I desire you, fellow-soldiers, if you
“ hear of my death, to bear witness for me to the rest of
“ the citizens, that I fell a sacrifice to virtue, and to the
“ great liberty, with which I expressed my thoughts.”
Having made this answer to the consul, and wept, he embraced all his acquaintance, and set out at the head of the eight hundred men, who were cast down, and shed tears, as if they had been going to certain death: And the rest of the army were moved at the sight, expecting to see them no more.

XLVI. However, Siccus took a different road from That proposed by Romilius, and marched by the side of the hill; then, leading his men into a thick wood that lay near, he halted, and spoke to them in this manner: “ We
“ are sent, as you see, by the general to destruction: For
“ he expected we should have taken the winding road,
“ which it was impossible we could ascend without being
“ discovered by the enemy; but I will lead you by a way,
“ where they shall not discover us, and have great hopes of
“ gaining some paths, that will bring us over the top of
“ the hill to their camp: Be not, therefore, cast down.”

Having

Having said this, he continued his march through the wood; and, after he was far advanced, he happened to meet a man, who was travelling that way, whom he ordered to be seized by the youngest of his company, and took him for his guide: This man, after leading them round the hill for a considerable time, brought them to the top of it, that³⁶ commanded the camp, to which they had now a short, and easy descent. During their march, the armies of the Romans, and Aequi engaged, and fought hand to hand with equal numbers, equal arms, and equal ardor; the battle was long and doubtful; the horse and foot, sometimes, gaining ground upon one another, and, sometimes, giving way; and many persons of distinction fell on both sides: At last, the fate of the battle was decided: For Siccus, and his men, when they came near the camp of the Aequi, found that part of it unguarded (because all the forces, which had been appointed to defend it, were gone to the other side that lay next the field of battle, to see the action) and, entering the camp with great ease, saw themselves upon a much higher ground than the guard: Then, shouting, ran to attack them: The Aequi, terrified with this unexpected danger, and judging them to be more numerous than they were, and that the other consul was there with his army, threw themselves out of the camp; many leaving, even, their arms behind them. Siccus and his men flew

³⁶ ΕΠΙΚΗΜΕΝΟΝ. The editions, and manuscripts have ΠΑΡΑΚΗΜΕΝΟΝ, which does not seem to me near so proper as the other; particularly as our author says, presently after, that, from this

place, the ὁδὸς was ΕΠΙΦΟΡΟΣ, or ΕΥΕΠΙΦΟΡΟΣ, as the Vatican manuscript has it, which implies a declivity, and seems to suggest the word I have made use of.

all they could come up with; and, having possessed themselves of their camp, marched against those, who were in the plain. The Aequi, being informed by the flight and outcries of their men, that the camp was taken, and, not long after, seeing the enemy falling upon their rear, fought no longer with the same spirit; but broke their ranks, and endeavoured to save themselves some one way, and some another. And here was the greatest slaughter: For the Romans did not give over the pursuit till night, putting all to the sword they could overtake. But no man slew so many of them, nor performed so great actions, as Siccius; who, when he saw the affair was over, it being now dark, returned with his men to the camp they had taken, full of joy, and exultation. And all his men safe and unhurt, not only without having suffered any of the mischiefs they expected, but also crowned with the greatest glory, called him their father, their preserver, and their god; and, giving him every honourable appellation, could not satisfy themselves with embracing the man, and shewing every other instance of their gratitude. In the mean time, the rest of the Roman army, with the consuls, returned from the pursuit to their own camp.

XLVII. It was now midnight, when Siccius, full of resentment against the consuls for having sent him to destruction, resolved to take from them the glory of the victory; and, having communicated his design to his companions, and they approving it, and every one of them admiring the sagacity, and spirit of the man, he took his arms; and, ordering

ordering the rest to do the same, first put to death all the Aequi, whom he found in the camp, and stabbed all the horses, and other beasts of burden; then set fire to the tents, which were full of arms, apparel, warlike stores, and of the booty they had taken from the Tusculani, which was exceeding great; after every thing was consumed by the fire, he left the camp about break of day, carrying with him nothing but his arms, and, after a quick march, came to Rome: As soon as armed men appeared, celebrating their victory, marching hastily, and covered with blood, the people flocked to them, earnestly desiring both to see them, and to hear their exploits. But they went directly to the forum, and gave an account to the tribunes of what had passed; and these, calling the people together, ordered them to repeat it before them all. There being a great concourse, Siccus presented himself, and related to them both the victory, and the circumstances of the action, and that, by his own valor, and the valor of his eight hundred veterans, whom the consuls had sent to be slain, the camp of the Aequi had been taken, and the army, which was engaged with the consuls, put to flight: He desired they would impute the victory to no other persons, and ended with adding this: “We have saved our lives, and our arms, and have brought with us no other marks of our victory.” The people, hearing this, expressed their compassion, and wept: The age of the men affected them, their valor moved them; and they were filled with resentment, and indignation against those, who had attempted to deprive the

commonwealth of such warriors. This relation (as Siccius had foreseen) drew upon the consuls the hatred of all the citizens; even the senate was exasperated beyond measure: For they granted them neither a triumph, nor any other distinction, the usual consequences of victory. The people, at their next election, created Siccius one of their tribunes, rewarding him with an honor, of which they themselves had the disposal. These were the most remarkable transactions of that time.

XLVIII. the consuls for the following year were Spurius Tarpeius, and Aulus ³⁷ Aterius: These favoured the people in every thing during their magistracy, and particularly in procuring the previous vote of the senate for laying before them ³⁸ the proposal of the tribunes: Since they saw that the patricians reaped no advantage from their opposition; but, on the contrary, that the most zealous assertors of their cause drew upon themselves envy, and hatred, private losses, and calamities: But they were, chiefly, terrified with the recent misfortune of the last consuls, who had been severely

³⁷ ΑΤΕΡΙΟΣ. Sigonius, in his note upon the consuls of this year in *Livy, prefers this name upon the authority of Diodorus Siculus. In the *Fasti consulares* of Petavius, the consuls of this year stand thus, *Spurius Tarpeius Montaia, Aulus Aeternius vel Aterius Fontinalis*.

³⁸ Το των δημαρχων δογμα. It appears by the translation of Lappus, that *περι* was not in his manuscript; neither does the sense admit that preposition. The *δογμα δημαρχων*, here

alluded to, relates, in my opinion, to their resolution to solicit the previous vote of the senate, which our author will explain in the fifty second chapter of this book, and which had been so often pressed by the tribunes, and passed, at last, in this consulship, I mean That for laying before the people the proposal of the tribunes for compiling a body of laws, by which the patricians, as well as the plebeians, the magistrates as well as private men, should be bound.

treated by the people, and found no protection from the senate: For Siccius, who had taken the camp of the Aequi, and defeated their army, being now one of the tribunes, as I said, the very first day he took possession of his magistracy, after he had offered up the usual sacrifices for the preservation of the commonwealth, and before he entered upon any other public affair, had cited Titus Romilius to appear before the tribunal of the people, and make his defence to a charge brought against him, for having injured the public; and appointed a day for his trial: And Lucius Icilius, who was then aedile, and had been tribune the year before, had summoned Caius Veturius, the other consul of the former year, to take his trial, also, for the like offence. During the interval between the citation, and the trial, both sides employed many intrigues, and solicitations; the persons accused relying on the senate; and, encouraged by the assurances both of the old and young senators, that they would not suffer the trial to proceed, made light of the danger: On the other side, the tribunes, who had long provided against all attempts, and considered neither intreaties, threats, nor any danger, when the day was come, assembled the people. Before this, great numbers of handicraft's men, and labourers were come out of the country; and, having joined the citizens, filled not only the forum, but all the streets that led to it.

XLIX. Romilius was tried first: When Siccius presented himself; and, after charging him with all the acts of violence he had committed against the tribunes, while he was consul,
 he

he came, at last, to the insidious design, which the other had formed both against him, and the cohort, that was under his command: And, to support this charge, he produced, as witnesses, the most considerable men, then, in the army, not plebeians, but patricians; among whom there was a youth, distinguished by his birth, his own virtue, and his remarkable bravery, by name Spurius Virginius, who said
 “ that, being desirous to get Marcus Icilius, who was son to
 “ one of the men commanded by Siccus, and of his own
 “ age, and his friend, exempted from that service, in which
 “ he expected that both he, and his father would perish, he
 “ had prevailed upon Aulus Virginius, his own uncle, then
 “ a legate in the army, to go to the consuls, and ask this
 “ favor of them; which they refusing, he himself wept, and
 “ lamented the misfortune of his friend; that the young
 “ man, for whom he had interceded, being informed of this,
 “ ³⁹ went to the consuls; and, desiring leave to speak, said
 “ that he thought himself much obliged to those, who had
 “ interceded for him, but could not accept a favor, that

³⁹ Ελθεν. This is rendered by the Latin translators simply *venisse*, as it is in Greek, without saying to whom he went, which is explained by the subsequent words, *λογον αιησαμενον*: These can relate only to the consuls; since it cannot be supposed that the youth would use so much ceremony with a man of his own age, and his friend. Again, he says that *τοις δεομενοις πολλην οιδε χارين*, which intercessors were the legate, and Virginius; consequently those words, *λογον αιησαμενον*, could

not with any propriety be addressed to the latter. These reasons, I suppose, did not occur to M. * * *; because he has made the youth go to Virginius, not to the consuls, *que le jeune Icilius l'étoit venu trouver*: But then he seems embarrassed with these ceremonious words, *λογον αιησαμενον*, and leaves them out. I always commend le Jay with pleasure, when I can commend him with justice; he has translated this extremely well.

“ would

“ would deprive him of the opportunity of shewing his
 “ piety to a parent, whom he was the more resolved not to
 “ abandon, because he was going to his death, of which
 “ every one was convinced; but that he would go with
 “ him, defend him to the utmost of his power, and share
 “ the same fortune with them all.” After the young man
 had given this evidence, there was not a single person, who
 did not feel some emotion at the fate of those men. But,
 when Icilius the father, and his son were called upon as
 witnesses, and gave an account of what related to them-
 selves, the greatest part of the plebeians could, no longer,
 refrain from tears. Romilius, then, made his defence; and,
 in his speech, neither courted the people, nor used a style
 adapted to his situation; but expressed himself in haughty
 terms, exalting the power of the magistracy he had been
 invested with, as subject to no account: By which, he in-
 flamed the resentment of the citizens: So that, when they
 came to give their votes, every one of the tribes condemned
 him: His punishment was a fine, which amounted to
 40 ten thousand *asses*. And Siccius seems to me not to have
 done this without some design, but with this view that the
 patricians might be the less solicitous to save the man,
 and commit no outrages at the time of voting, when
 they reflected that the condemned person would be
 only fined; and, also, that the plebeians might be the

40. *Ἀσσεῖα μύρια*. ^b I have, before, money: So that, 10,000 *asses* will
 shewn that a Roman *as* amounted to amount to 32 *l.* 5 *s.* 10 *d.*
 three farthings and one tenth of our

^b See the seventeenth annotation on the ninth book.

more

more eager for the punishment, when it was not to extend either to the death, or banishment of a consular person. A few days after the condemnation of Romilius, Veturius was likewise condemned; his punishment was also pecuniary, and amounted to one ⁴¹ half more than the other.

L. The present consuls were terrified with the consideration of these punishments, and attentive to prevent the like from being inflicted on themselves after the expiration of their consulship: So that, they no longer concealed their resolutions, but, openly, directed all their measures to the interest of the people. And, first, they passed a law in an assembly of the people by centuries, “by which all magistrates
“ are impowered to fine such, as are guilty of any disorderly,
“ or illegal attempts against their authority:” For, till then, none but the consuls had this power. However, they did not leave the fine arbitrary in those, who should impose it, but confined the greatest to ⁴² two oxen, and thirty sheep.

⁴¹ Ημισολιον θάλερα. That is, 15,000 *asses*, or 48 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* of our money. I find that M. * * *, in his note upon this passage, and also le Jay, in his note, make 10,000 *asses* to amount to no more than 500 French livres, which do not make 25 *l.* of our money. This is much below Arbuthnot’s computation, and, in my opinion, a great deal less than it ought to be. It seems very odd that our author, and ¹ Livy should make the fine of Veturius to have amounted to so much more than That of Romilius, who was certainly the most guilty; since it was he, who sent

Siccius, and his veterans to destruction. This induced Sylburgius to read ἡμισυ, instead of ἡμισολιον. By this correction, the fine of Veturius will come to no more than 5000 *asses*: But, as both Livy, and our author make it amount to 15,000, and, as all the manuscripts, and editions concur in this sum, the correction of Sylburgius appears too violent.

⁴² Δυο βοας και τριακοντια προβατια. I find, by a note of Sylburgius, that ^k Briffonius thinks we ought to read δυο προβατια και τριακοντια βοας: His reason is, because ¹ Gellius says that the

¹ B. iii. c. 31.

^k In Select. ex Jur. antiq. B. i. c. 3.

¹ B. xi. c. 1.

And

And this law continued long in force among the Romans. In the next place, they referred to the consideration of the senate the laws, which the tribunes pressed to have enacted, that should bind all the Romans, and be observed for ever. Upon this occasion, many speeches were made by the best men; some tending to persuade the senate to grant the request of the tribunes, and some to reject it: However, the opinion of Titus Romilius, who, contrary to the expectation both of the patricians, and plebeians, supported the interest of the people against the oligarchy, carried it: For they concluded that a man, who had, lately, been condemned by the people, would both think, and say every thing that might oppose the desires of the plebeians. But he, rising up, when called upon to deliver his opinion in his turn (for

greatest fine, *multa suprema*, amounted to two sheep, and thirty oxen, from the consideration of the plenty of oxen in Italy, and the scarcity of sheep. But, if this was the only reason Brissonius had for altering the text, it is not a very strong one; because Gellius contradicts himself three lines after: For he there says that, by the Aterian law, which is the very law Dionysius is now treating of, and was so called from Aulus Aterius, one of the consuls of the present year, the person fined was to pay ten *asses* for every sheep, and one hundred for every ox; *idcirco postea lege Ateriâ constituti sunt in oves singulas aeris deni, in boves aeris centeni*. Festus, I know, says the same thing under the word *Peculium*. Notwithstanding their authority, we find not a tittle of this commutation in the Aterian law, as

recited by our author. But, if there was such an article in that law, which Dionysius has omitted (a supposition, by the way, not at all probable) still this will not reconcile the contradiction in Gellius, and Festus; because the latter says that the law, which fixed the *multa suprema* to two sheep, and thirty oxen, was passed in the consulship of Menenius Lanatus, and Cestius Capitolinus, which coincides with the year of Rome 302, that is, two years after the Aterian law was enacted, by which, as they say, the condemned person was to pay ten times more for an ox, than for a sheep: So that, according to Gellius, and Festus, the greatest fine amounted to two sheep, and thirty oxen, at the same period of time, when an ox was ten times as dear as a sheep.

he was of the middle rank both for dignity, and age) spoke as follows :

LI. “ I should be troublesome to you, fathers, if I related
“ what I have suffered from the people, not for any crime,
“ but for my attachment to you, when you yourselves are
“ so well acquainted with it: However, I find myself under
“ a necessity of mentioning it, to the end you may be assured
“ that the opinion I shall deliver, which I think will prove
“ advantageous to the commonwealth, does not flow from
“ a desire of flattering the people, whom I look upon as
“ my enemy, but from the greatest sincerity: And let no
“ one wonder, if I, who have been of a different opinion
“ upon many occasions, both before, and when I was consul,
“ am now changed on a sudden; and let not any of you
“ imagine either that my sentiments were, then, ill grounded,
“ or that I have, now, altered them without reason: For,
“ while I thought your party strong, fathers, I supported
“ the aristocracy as it was my duty, and despised the ple-
“ beians; but, grown wiser, since, by my own misfortunes;
“ and finding by a dear bought experience that your power
“ is less than your will; and that, yielding to necessity, you
“ have, already, suffered many who defended your cause,
“ to be dragged to destruction by the people; I no longer
“ entertain the same sentiments. I wish, indeed, that those
“ misfortunes, which you all commiserate, had never hap-
“ pened either to myself, or to my colleague: But, since our
“ affair is over, and you have it in your power to correct
“ these things for the future, I advise you to consider in
“ time

“ time by what means the same misfortunes may not happen
 “ to others; and that all of you in general, and every one
 “ in particular, will act with prudence in the present junc-
 “ ture: For that nation is best governed, which changes her
 “ conduct, as circumstances change; and that man is the best
 “ counsellor, whose advice is influenced not by his private
 “ enmity, or favor, but by the advantage of the community;
 “ and they judge best of future events, who make the exam-
 “ ples of the past, the rules of their judgement. It has hap-
 “ pened, fathers, that, in all the disputes, and contests we have
 “ had with the people, the disadvantage has been on our side;
 “ and we have been chastised with the death, the ignominy,
 “ and the banishment of illustrious men. And what greater
 “ misfortune can happen to a commonwealth, than to lose
 “ her greatest men by degrees? These, therefore, I, who
 “ ⁴³ plead your cause, advise you to spare, and not to expose
 “ either the present consuls to manifest danger, and, then,
 “ desert them in the article of it, or any others from whom
 “ the commonwealth may reap the least advantage. Upon
 “ the whole, my advice is that you chuse ambassadors, and
 “ send some of them to the Greek cities in Italy, and others
 “ to Athens, to desire the Greeks will communicate to them
 “ their best laws, and such as are most adapted to our
 “ customs; and that the ambassadors bring these laws hither;

43. Τῶν ἐν συνδικῶν ὑμῖν. This pas-
 sage is certainly corrupted in all the
 editions, and manuscripts; which the
 Latin translators have been so sensible
 of, that great pains have been taken
 by them to correct it. I shall not

trouble the reader with their correc-
 tions. Mine has this merit at least,
 that it disturbs the text less than any,
 and seems connected with the preced-
 ing sentence.

“ and, when they return, that the consuls propose to the
 “ consideration of the senate whom to elect as legislators,
 “ with what power, and for how long a time; and to de-
 “ termine every thing else in such a manner, as they shall
 “ think proper: But that you contend, no longer, with the
 “ plebeians; nor accumulate calamities upon yourselves;
 “ particularly, since you will struggle about laws, which, if
 “ nothing else, give, at least, a specious color to their ⁴⁴ re-
 “ quest.”

LII. After Romilius had spoken in this manner, the two consuls supported his opinion by long, and elaborate speeches; and also many other senators: So that, it was carried by a majority. When the previous decree was going to be drawn up, Siccius, a tribune who had cited Romilius to be tried by the people, rising up, made a long speech in his commendation; and praised him for changing his opinion, and for not preferring his private resentment to the public utility, but delivering with sincerity an advice, that was advantageous to the commonwealth: “ In consideration of which, says he, I make
 “ him this acknowledgement; I remit the fine, and am re-
 “ conciled to him from this time: For he has overcome us
 “ by his probity.” This was confirmed by the rest of the tribunes. However, Romilius would not submit to receive this favor; but, having returned thanks to the tribunes for

⁴⁴ *Αξιωσις*. This word has been a stumbling block to all the translators: They have agreed to give to *αξιωσις* the sense of *αξιωμα*, and rendered it in their respective languages, *Majesty*. This mistake has made all their trans-

lations of this passage absolutely unintelligible. I have rendered it, *Request*, which is the common acceptance of the word; too common indeed to stand in need of any authorities to support it.

their

their desire to oblige him, he said he would pay the fine, because it was, already, consecrated to the gods; and that he should act contrary both to justice, and religion, if he deprived the gods of what the law had given them. And he paid it accordingly. The previous order of the senate being drawn up, and afterwards confirmed by the people, the persons who were appointed ambassadors to receive the laws from the Greeks, were Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius, and Aulus Manlius, who were furnished with galleys having three tire of oars, at the public expence, and such an equipage, as was sufficient to display the dignity of the Roman empire. And thus the year ended.

LIII. In the eighty second Olympiad, at which Lycus of Larissa in Thessaly won the prize of the stadium, Chaerophanes being archon at Athens, when three hundred years were completed since the foundation of Rome, and during the consulship of Publius Horatius, and Sextus Quintilius, Rome was afflicted with a pestilential distemper, the severest that had ever been known before; by which, almost all the servants were carried off, and near one half of the citizens, the physicians being unable, any longer, to assist the sick, or their domestics, and friends to supply them with necessaries: For those, who were willing to relieve the calamities of others, by touching the bodies of the diseased, and continuing with them, contracted the same distemper: So that, many houses became desolate for want of people to attend the sick: One of the greatest grievances, and the reason why the contagion did not quickly cease, arose from their manner of
throwing

throwing out the dead: For, at first, both from shame, and the plenty they had of every thing that was necessary for burials, they burned the dead bodies, and laid them in the ground; but, at last, some, through a neglect of decency, and others, from a want of necessaries, threw them into the common shores, and many more cast them into the river, which occasioned the greatest mischief: For the dead bodies, being thrown up by the waves upon the ⁴⁵rocks, and shores, a grievous and horrible stench was dispersed by the wind; and, being received by such as were yet in health, produced a quick change in their bodies. For the same reason, the water brought from the river was, no longer, fit to be drunk, partly by its uncommon smell, and partly by its causing a bad ⁴⁶digestion. These calamities were not confined to the

⁴⁵ Προς τὰς ἀκίας καὶ τὰς ἡϊόνας. Our author makes here a difference between ἀκίας and ἡϊόνας; the first signifying a high, and the other a low, shore: This distinction in the Greek language, though not constantly observed, is as old as ^m Homer, who gives to ἀκίη the epithet of ἐριδεπός; from the roaring of the sea at the foot of it,

Ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἀκίῶν ἐριδεπὼν μακρὸν αὔτει.

Any other voice but that of Minerva, I imagine, would have been silenced by the noise of the waves. As for ἡϊών, ⁿ Homer gives that name to the space between two promontories;

πλησαν αἵπασης

Ἠϊὸς σῶμα μακρὸν, ὅσον συνεργαθὸν ἀκραι.

⁴⁶ Τῷ πονηρᾷ τὰς ἀναδόσεις ποιεῖν τῆς

^m Il. v. ῥ. 50.

τροφῆς. I am sorry that I cannot pursue the panegyric strain in speaking of le Jay: But he has translated this passage in so burlesk a manner that his version is below censure: He has said, *ni propres à bien cuire les viandes qu'on mettoit bouillir*. The reader may possibly be surpris'd at this ridiculous mistake, but I can explain it. He found in Portus (for the Greek word ἀναδόσεις could not possibly lead him into it) *malam cibi concoctionem faciebat*; and his misfortune arose from taking this *concoction*, not for the concoction performed by the stomach, but for that performed in a kettle. *Αναδόσεις σίλων* is a medicinal term of no very difficult comprehension, and signifies *the digestion, and distribution of nourishment through the whole body*.

ⁿ Il. ξ. ῥ. 35.

city

city only, but extended themselves to the country also; where the husbandmen felt the severity of the distemper in no less a degree; the infection being communicated to them by the sheep, and the other cattle they were always tending. While the people had any hopes in the assistance of Heaven, they all had recourse to sacrifices, and expiations: And, upon this occasion, many innovations, and practices unknown to the Romans, and indecent in themselves, were introduced into the worship of the gods; but, when they found these shewed no regard, or compassion to their sufferings, they abandoned, even, the observance of religious rites. During this calamity, Sextus Quintilius, one of the consuls, died, as also Spurius Furius, who had been appointed in his room; and four of the tribunes; together with many worthy senators. While the city was afflicted with this distemper, the Aequi prepared to make war upon the Romans, and sent embassadors to the other nations, who were their enemies, to ingage them to enter into the war; but they had not time to draw the forces out of their cities: For, while they were making preparations, they were attacked with the same distemper; which spread itself, not only, over the country of the Aequi, but, also, over Those of the Volsci, and the Sabines, and carried off great numbers of their people; by which means, it happened that, as the lands were not cultivated, the plague was followed by a famine. By reason, therefore, of this distemper, no action, either military or civil, worth relating, was performed by the Romans under these consuls.

LIV. The following year, ⁴⁷ Caius Menenius, and Publius ⁴⁸ Cestius were chosen consuls, when the distemper, intirely, ceased. After which, public sacrifices of thanksgiving were performed to the gods, and magnificent games celebrated at a great expence; the people passing their time, as may well be supposed, in rejoicings, and festivals: And thus was the winter employed. In the beginning of the spring, a large quantity of corn was brought to Rome from many places; the greatest part of which was purchased with the public money, and some imported by private merchants: For the people laboured under a great want of provisions, the lands having lain uncultivated by reason of the distemper, and the death of the husbandmen. At the same time, the embassadors arrived from Athens, and the Greek cities in Italy, with the laws. After which, the tribunes went to the consuls, and desired them to appoint the legislators pursuant to the decree of the senate: These knew not how to elude their solicitations, and importunities; but, as they disliked the thing, and were unwilling the aristocracy should be subverted during their consulship, they had recourse to a specious pretence, by telling them that the election of magistrates being at hand, they were under an obligation, first, to appoint the consuls; which they would soon do; and, after these were appointed, they said, they would, in conjunction with them,

⁴⁷ Γαίος ΜΕΝΕΝΙΟΣ. ° Livy, and the *Fasti consulares* call this consul, Caius: These I have followed instead of the editions, which call him, *Lucius*.

⁴⁸ ΣΕΣΤΙΟΣ. So this consul is also

called by ° Livy. In the *Fasti consulares* of Petavius, he is called *Cestius*, as he is also by Festus in the passage I quoted from him in the forty second annotation on this book.

• B. iii. c. 32. ° Id. ib.

refer to the senate the consideration, relating to the legislators. The tribunes consenting to this, they gave notice of the election much sooner than usual, and appointed Appius Claudius, and Titus Genucius, consuls. After which, laying aside all attention to the affairs of the public, as if that care was now devolved upon others, they paid, no longer, any regard to the tribunes; but determined to withdraw themselves, under this color, from their importunities, during the remainder of their consulship. And it happened that one of them, namely Menenius, was seized with some illness of long continuance. Some gave out that grief, and dejection of mind had brought on him a consumption hard to be removed. Cestius laid hold on this occasion, pretending he could do nothing alone; and eluded the sollicitations of the tribunes by sending them to the new consuls. The tribunes, destitute of all other relief, were forced to have recourse to Appius, and his colleague, who had not yet entered upon their magistracy, and solicited them sometimes in the presence of the people, and sometimes alone. At last, they overcame them, by displaying great hopes of honor, and power, if they would espouse the interest of the people: For Appius was desirous of a new magistracy, in order to constitute such laws for his country, as should produce unanimity and peace; and to teach all his fellow-citizens, by his own example, to look upon the commonwealth as one body. However, when he was, actually, invested with this great magistracy, he did not preserve his probity; but, corrupted with the greatness of his power, was, at last,

carried away with an ambition to perpetuate it; and was very near running into tyranny: All which I shall relate in its place.

LV. At that time, he took those resolutions with the the greatest sincerity; and, having prevailed upon his colleague to enter into the same, and the tribunes, often, calling upon Appius to be present at the assemblies of the people, he appeared there, and made many speeches to them full of benevolence; the sum of which was, that both he, and his colleague were intirely of opinion that legislators ought to be appointed, and an end put to the contests of the citizens, concerning the establishment of equal rights; and these they declared to be their sentiments: However, as they had not, yet, entered upon the magistracy, they said, they had no power to appoint the legislators, but would be so far from opposing Menenius, and his colleague in their execution of the orders of the senate, that they would not only assist them, but return them great thanks for it: And, if they declined it, pretending that, new magistrates being appointed, it was not lawful for them to create others with consular power, after the former had, already, been elected to it, they said that, as far as this related to themselves, they would give them no opposition: For they were willing to resign the consulship to such magistrates, as should be appointed in their room, provided the senate should approve of it. The people applauded them for these sentiments; and, running in a body to the senate house, Cestius was forced to assemble the senate alone (Menenius being unable to attend
by

by reason of his sickness) and proposed to them the consideration of the laws. Many speeches were made upon this occasion also, both by those, who contended that the commonwealth ought to be governed by laws, and by those, who advised to adhere to the customs of their ancestors. However, the opinion of the consuls elect carried it; which opinion was delivered by Appius Claudius, who was first called upon, that ten persons be chosen out of the most distinguished senators; that these govern during one year from the day of their election; and be invested with the whole power of the commonwealth, in as ample a manner as the consuls, and, before them, the kings, enjoyed it; and that all the other magistracies be abrogated during the government of these decemvirs; that these select, as well out of the Roman customs, as out of the Greek laws brought by the ambassadors, the best institutions, and such as are advantageous to the Roman commonwealth, and form them into a body of laws; that these laws, after they have been approved of by the senate, and confirmed by the people, be established for a perpetuity; and that all future magistrates shall determine private contests, and administer the affairs of the public, according to these laws.

LVI. The tribunes, having received this decree from the senate, went to the assembly of the people; and, having read it, gave great commendations both to the senate, and to Appius, who had proposed it: And, when the time came for the election of magistrates, the tribunes assembled the people, and desired the consuls elect to come, and per-

form the promises they had made to them ; and they appearing, abdicated their magistracy ; upon which, the people commended, and admired them ; and, when they were to chuse legislators, named them first ; and the persons appointed in an assembly by centuries were Appius Claudius, and Titus Genucius, who had been chosen consuls for the following year ; Publius Cestius, then consul ; Spurius Postumius, Servius Sulpicius, and Aulus Manlius, who had brought the laws from the Greeks ; and Titus Romilius, who having, a few years before, been consul, was condemned by the people upon a charge brought against him by Siccius, and was now chosen in consideration of the popular advice, of which he seemed the author ; and with these, Caius Julius, Titus Veturius, and Publius Horatius, all consular senators. At the same time, the authority of the tribunes, aediles, quaestors, and of all the other magistracies instituted by their ancestors, was abrogated.

LVII. The following year, the legislators took upon themselves the administration of affairs, and established this form of government : One of them had the rods, and the other ensigns of the consular power ; assembled the senate ; declared their resolutions ; and performed all the other functions belonging to the head of the commonwealth : While the rest, contracting their invidious power within a more popular compass, differed in their appearance but little from the other citizens : After that, another succeeded to the exercise of this power. And thus they governed
suc-

⁴⁹ ſucceſſively, during the ⁵⁰ number of days they had agreed upon, till the year expired. But all of them ſate in the tribunal early in the morning, and took cognizance of all cauſes, both private and public, and alſo of the complaints, that were brought againſt the ſubjects, and allies of the Romans, and againſt thoſe, who gave reaſon to doubt of their obedience to them; every one of which they examined with great moderation, and juſtice. And the Roman commonwealth ſeemed, that year, to be exceedingly well governed by the decemvirs. But, above all, they were commended for their care of the plebeians, and for oppoſing every kind of violence, that was offered to the weaker ſort: And the generality of the people ſaid that the commonwealth ſtood, no longer, in need of tribunes, or of any other magiſtracies, while all affairs were managed with prudence by this ſingle regency; of which Appius was looked upon as the chief; and the people gave to him the praiſe flowing from the conduct of the whole decemvirate: For he gained the reputation of probity, not only, by thoſe things, which he did in concert with his colleagues from the beſt motives, but much more

⁴⁹ Εκ παρανομης. I know nothing of this word; neither have I ever met with it before; though it ſtands in all the editions, and manuſcripts, except the Vatican, which has εκ περινομης. This expreſſion, though very uncommon, yet, when joined to παραλλαξ, may ſignify a *cuſtomary ſucceſſion*. The ſente ſeems to require εκ διαδοχης; but παραλλαξ ſupplies that.

⁵⁰ Εἰς συγκεκριμενον τινα ημερων αριθμον.

⁹ Livy ſays that each of the decemvirs (whom he calls upon that occaſion, *praefectum juris*) governed one day; during which, he was attended with the twelve *faſces*, and each of the other nine with an officer, called by the Romans, *Accenſus*; *Decimo die jus populo ſinguli reddebant. eo die penes praefectum juris faſces duodecim erant: collegis novem ſinguli accenſi apparebant.*

⁹ B. iii. c. 33.

by those, that were owing to his personal behaviour, with regard to his salutations, his obliging affability, and the other favors he conferred upon the poorer sort. The decemvirs, having formed a body of laws, both from Those of the Greeks, and their own unwritten customs, proposed them to the consideration of the public in ten tables; and, by receiving every amendment suggested by private persons, endeavoured to correct them in such a manner, as to give a general satisfaction. They consulted long in public with the best men concerning these laws, and examined them with the greatest attention; and, when they were satisfied with them, they, first, assembled the senate, and no new objections being made to the laws, they procured a previous vote of that assembly in approbation of them: After which, they convened the people by centuries, and the pontifs, the augurs, and the rest of the priests being present, and having directed the performance of the customary rites, they gave the centuries their votes. And these laws being, also, confirmed by the people, they caused them to be ingraved on brazen pillars, and placed them in order in the most conspicuous part of the forum. Then, as the time of their magistracy was near expiring, they assembled the senate, and proposed to their consideration what kind of magistrates should be chosen at the next election.

LVIII. After a long debate, it was carried that a decemvirate should, again, be invested with the supreme power: For this collection of laws seemed to be imperfect, by reason of the shortness of the time, in which they had been compiled,
and

and some magistracy, absolute in power, seemed necessary to compel the unwilling to observe those laws, that were already enacted. But the chief motive, that induced the senate to give the preference to the decemvirate, was the suppression of the tribunitian power, which they desired above all things. This was the result of their public consultations; but, in private, the leading men of the senate determined to make interest for this magistracy, from an apprehension that the turbulent, if invested with such a power, might occasion some great mischief. The people having, cheerfully, received the resolutions of the senate, and confirmed them with the greatest alacrity, the decemvirs themselves appointed a day for the election; and those among the patricians, who were the most distinguished both for their dignity, and age, stood candidates for this magistracy. Upon this occasion, Appius, who was the chief of that decemvirate, received great praise from the whole assembly, and all the plebeians desired to continue him in the magistracy, since no man had governed better than himself: But he pretended, at first, to refuse it, and desired they would discharge him from a service, that was both troublesome and invidious. But, at last, when they all pressed him, he, not only, submitted to sue for it himself, but, accusing the most worthy of those, who stood candidates with him, of being ill disposed to him through envy, he openly solicited in favor of his friends: So that, he was, again, chosen legislator by the centuries; and with him Quintus Fabius, surnamed Vibulanus, who had been thrice consul, a man irre-

irreprehensible till that time, and adorned with every virtue: These patricians, whom he favoured, were also chosen, Marcus Cornelius, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius, and Manius Rabulejus, men of no great note; and, of the plebeians, Quintus Poetilius, Caeso Duillius, and Spurius Oppius; for these also were taken in by Appius, in order to flatter the plebeians: His pretence was that, as only one magistracy was appointed to govern all the citizens, it was just that the people should likewise have some share in it. Thus Appius, whose reputation was raised by all these things, and who was looked upon as superior both to their kings, and consuls, received, again, this magistracy for the following year: These were the transactions of the Romans under that decemvirate, nothing else having happened worth relating.

LIX. The year after, Appius, and his colleagues having received the consular power on the 5th ides of May (for the Romans computed their months according to the course of the moon, and the full moon coincided with the ides) the first step they took was to enter into an agreement, without the privity of the people, which they confirmed by their oaths, not to oppose one another in any thing; that, whatever was proposed of by any one of them, all the rest should support it; that they should hold their magistracy during their lives, and admit no other person into the administration;

5th. Εἰδοῖς Μαΐαις. This was the day *Maiae solennes ineundis magistratibus*
then appointed for the magistrates to *erant.*
enter upon their office. ^r *Idus tum*

^r Livy, B. iii. c. 36.

that

that all should enjoy the same honors, and the same power; and that they would seldom make use of the votes either of the senate, or people, and only in those things, that were absolutely necessary; but transact the greatest part of affairs by their own authority. When the day was come, on which they were to enter upon their magistracy, after they had offered up the usual sacrifices to the gods (for the Romans look upon this day as holy, and particularly make it a point of religion neither to hear, nor see any thing disagreeable on that day) they appeared in public early in the morning, each of them being attended with all the ensigns of royalty. When the people saw they, no longer, preserved the same popular, and modest appearance in the use of their power, nor took the ensigns of royalty, as before, by turns, they were greatly afflicted, and cast down: They were terrified with the axes fixed to the rods, which were borne by the lictors, twelve of whom preceded each of the decemvirs, and with blows forced the people to make way, as had been formerly practised under the kings; but this custom was abolished presently after their expulsion by Publius Valerius, a popular man, who succeeded to their power; and all the consuls after him, following the good example he had set them, would never, from that time, suffer the axes to be fixed to the rods, unless they went out of the city either to command the armies, or upon any other occasion; but, when they were in the field, or went to inspect the affairs of those, who were subject to the Romans, the axes were added to the rods, to the end that this sight might terrify

their enemies, or subjects, but never give offence to the citizens.

LX. When, therefore, they all saw this, which was considered as a mark of the kingly power, they were, as I said, greatly terrified, and concluded they had lost their liberty, and chosen ten kings instead of one. The decemvirs having, by this means, struck terror into the multitude, and resolved to make that terror the support of their future government, each of them formed a faction consisting of the most daring among the youth, and of those, who were most attached to their persons. That most men of desperate fortunes, and low condition should shew themselves the flatterers of a tyrannical power, and prefer their private advantages to the public good, is neither extraordinary, nor surprising; but that there should be found many, even among the patricians, qualified both by their fortune, and birth to entertain sentiments of some elevation, who could submit to join with the decemvirs in subverting the liberty of their country, This every one must wonder at, who considers that these decemvirs governed the commonwealth with great licentiousness, indulging every passion, that subdues mankind, and disregarding both the senate, and people; assuming to themselves to be not only the legislators, but the judges, of all laws; putting many of the citizens to death, and depriving many others of their fortunes, contrary to justice: However, to give a color to their illegal, and cruel proceedings, they appointed tribunals to try every cause; but the accusers, who were chosen from among the instruments

ments of their tyranny, were suborned by the decemvirs themselves, and the tribunals filled with men of their own faction, who gratified one another by turns in the decision of those causes; and many, not of the least consequence, the decemvirs themselves heard: So that, those suitors, who had the least right, were under a necessity of entering into these factions, since they could not, otherwise, be secure of success: And, in time, the corrupted, and infected became more numerous than the incorrupt: For those, who were dissatisfied with the conduct of the decemvirs, would not so much as stay in the city; but retired to the country, in order to wait for the election of magistrates, from an expectation that the decemvirs would resign their power after the year was expired, and appoint other magistrates. But Appius, and his colleagues, having caused the remaining laws to be inscribed on two tables, added them to Those they had, before, published: Among the former there was this law, “That⁵² it should not be lawful for the patricians to contract marriages with the plebeians;” which law they inserted for no other reason, in my opinion, than to prevent the two orders from uniting, and mixing together by reciprocal marriages, and a communication of affinity: Even when the time for the election of magistrates was come, they bid adieu both to the ancient customs, and to the new laws;

⁵² Μη εἶναι τοῖς πατρικίοις, etc. I shall defer speaking of the laws of the twelve tables till I come to that unfortunate hiatus in the next book, which must have consisted of many

pages, since our author says he there gave an account of these laws, and compared them with Those of the Greeks.

and, without the appointment either of the senate, or of the people, they continued in the same magistracy.

LXI. After the expiration of this year, the eighty third Olympiad was celebrated; at which Criso of Himera won the prize of the stadium, Philiscus being archon at Athens, while, at Rome, Appius Claudius, who was at the head of the decemvirate for the third year successively, retained the consular power; and the other decemvirs, who had governed jointly with him the year before, continued in the same magistracy for the second time.

The end of the Tenth book.

T H E

THE
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES
OF
DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

IN the eighty third Olympiad, at which Criso of Himera won the prize of the stadium, Philiscus being archon at Athens, the Romans abolished the decemvirate, after it had governed the commonwealth three years. I shall now endeavour to relate from the beginning in what manner they attempted to extirpate a domination, by this time, deeply rooted; who the leaders were in the cause of liberty; and what reasons, and motives induced them to undertake it. I look upon it that knowledge of this kind is necessary, and does honor indeed to all men, but particularly to those, who are employed either in philosophical speculations, or the administration of civil affairs: For the generality of mankind are not satisfied with learning this alone from history,

history, that, in ¹ the Persian war (for example) the Athenians, in conjunction with the Lacedaemonians, overcame the Barbarian, whose forces amounted to three millions, in two battles at sea, and in one at land, when the army of the former, with their allies, did not exceed one hundred and ten thousand: But they require, also, to be informed of the places, where those battles were fought; of the causes, that enabled them to perform such wonderful, and astonishing exploits; who were the commanders of the Greek, and Barbarian armies, and to be unacquainted with no one circumstance, as I may say, that happened in those engagements: For the minds of all men are pleased with being conducted by narrations to facts, and not only with hearing what is related, but, also, with seeing what is acted. In the same manner, when they read an account of civil transactions, they are not satisfied with knowing only the prin-

ANNOTATIONS on the Eleventh Book.

¹ Τον Περσικον πολεμον. See the twenty fourth annotation on the sixth book. The reader, by this time, may not be surpris'd to find that the two French translators did not know how many τριακοσαι μυριαδες amounted to; but he may be surpris'd to find they have rendered, *trices centena millia*, in the Latin translators, *trois cents mille hommes*. Τριακοσαι μυριαδες, or ten thousand, multiplied by three hundred, make three millions; and *trices centena millia*, or one hundred thousand, multiplied by thirty, make the same

sum. They had both the ill luck to translate *trices*, *three times*, not *thirty times*, as they ought to have rendered it. Our author seems to have taken the number of which the Persian army consisted, from the epitaph, which ² Herodotus says was inscribed on the monument of the four thousand Peloponnesians, who lost their lives so gloriously at Thermopylae in defending that pass against the Persians:

ΜΥΡΙΑΣΙΝ ΠΟΛΕ ΤΗΔΕ ΤΡΙΗΚΟΣΙΑΙΣ ΕΜΑΧΟΝ
Εκ Πελοποννασας χιλιαδες τελορες.

² In Polym. c. 228.

cipal points, and the events of those transactions, as, for instance, that the ² Athenians suffered the Lacedaemonians

² ΟΤΙ ΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΑΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙΣ, etc. After Lysander had destroyed the Athenian fleet at Aegospotamos, he sailed to the port of Piraeus, and blocked up Athens by sea, with one hundred and fifty ships, while the ^b Lacedaemonians, with all the forces of Peloponnesus except Those of the Argivi, invested the city by land, incamping in the gymnasium of the academy. This blockade lasting a considerable time, the Athenians, being oppressed with famine, of which many had died, sent to Agis, one of the Lacedaemonian kings, who commanded a body of forces at Decelia, to treat of a peace: The terms they offered, were to enter into an alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and to preserve the port of Piraeus, and the walls that lead to that port from the city of Athens, called by them, μακρά τεχνη. But Agis alledged that he had no power to treat with their ambassadors, and sent them to Sparta. While they were on their way thither, and before they entered the territories of the Lacedaemonians, the ephori, hearing they had brought no other proposals than Those they had offered to Agis, ordered them to depart; and, if they desired peace, to consider better, and return. Upon this, the Athenians sent Theramenes to Lysander to sound his intentions concerning their fate. Theramenes staid above three months with Lysander in expectation that the Athenians, when all their provisions

were spent, would hear reason. In the fourth month he returned, and told the Athenians that Lysander had detained him so long, and ordered him to go to Sparta, since the Ephori, not he, had the power to grant what was desired. The Athenians then sent him, and nine others to Sparta, with full power to conclude a peace. The Ephori, being informed of their arrival with these powers, called an assembly of the Lacedaemonians, and their allies: Of these the Corinthians, and Thebans, with several others, pressed, with great vehemence, that Athens might be totally destroyed; but the Lacedaemonians generously said they would not enslave a people, who had done so great service to Greece in the greatest dangers. They made peace, therefore, with the Athenians upon these terms; that the latter should demolish the long walls, together with the port of Piraeus; deliver up all their ships except twelve; restore their exiles; have the same friends, and enemies with the Lacedaemonians, and follow them by sea, and land, whithersoever they should lead them. These are the dreadful conditions our author alludes to; and this is the peace, which put an end to the Peloponnesian war. In consequence of this peace, the Athenians delivered up to Lysander all their ships except twelve, and the long walls, on the sixteenth of the month ^d Munychion, about the eighteenth of April.

^b Xenoph. Ελληνικ. B. ii. p. 458. Edit. of Leunclav.

^c Plutarch, Life of Lysand.

^d Petav. part. prim. B. iii.

to demolish the walls of their city ; to destroy their ships ; to garrison their citadel, and, instead of a democracy, which was their established form of government, to vest the administration in an oligarchy, without so much as fighting a battle with them : But they will, presently, want to be informed of the necessity, that reduced them to submit to such dreadful, and miserable calamities ; what the reasons were, that persuaded them to it ; and by whom those reasons were urged ; and of every circumstance, with which those transactions were attended. Men, who are engaged in the management of civil affairs, among whom I place even those philosophers, who look upon philosophy to consist in the exercise of fine actions, rather than in That of fine discourses, have this in common with the rest of mankind, that they

The year, in which this peace was made, is surely ascertained, because ^e Xenophon says that the Olympiad was celebrated the year after, in which year Pythodorus was archon at Athens, though not named by the Athenians, because he was chosen during the oligarchy, they calling that year an anarchy : In that year also, he says, there happened an eclipse of the sun. All these characters coincide with the first year of the ninety fourth Olympiad, when Pythodorus, as appears by the succession of the Athenian archons, was archon at Athens ; and the eclipse of the ^f sun he mentions fell out, that year, on the third day of September in the morning. In the same year, the Athenians, at the desire, or rather by the command, of the Lacedaemonians,

changed their form of government in the manner related by our author, that is, they transformed their constitution from a democracy to an oligarchy, consisting of thirty tyrants, as they soon appeared. Xenophon, by setting down all their names, has condemned them to perpetual infamy. Not long after, these tyrants desired the Lacedaemonians to send them troops to garrison their citadel, which troops they engaged to pay. It may be easily supposed they found no sort of difficulty in obtaining this request. These troops arrived ; and they were, as our author says, introduced into the citadel, and made use of by the oligarchy to secure every man, who had virtue, and spirit enough to oppose their unwarrantable proceedings.

^e Xenophon Ελληνικ. B. ii. p. 451.

^f Usher, p. 123.

are pleased with the intire view of all the particulars, that accompany every action : But, besides that pleasure, they have this advantage, that the experience they have acquired by such means, enables them to do great service to their countries in times of difficulty, and to lead them to their interests through choice, by the power of their eloquence : For all men are easiest convinced both of their advantages, and disadvantages, when they discover them through the medium of many examples ; and those, who advise them to make use of these, are applauded by them for their prudence, and great wisdom. For these reasons, therefore, I have determined to enter into an accurate detail of all the circumstances worthy of notice, that attended the subversion of the oligarchy. I shall not begin this relation from the last incident, which many people look upon as the sole cause of the reestablishment of liberty, I mean, the excess committed by Appius in regard to the virgin he was in love with : For this was an accession, and served to fill up the measure of the people's resentment, which a thousand other indignities had provoked : But I shall begin with an account of the first insults offered by the decemvirate to the Romans, and relate, successively, all the enormities committed under that administration.

II. The first cause of the hatred conceived against the oligarchy seems to have been this, that the members of it had connected their second magistracy with the first, in contempt both of the senate, and people. Another was, that, by false and heinous accusations, they banished some

of the worthiest men, who were dissatisfied with their proceedings, and put others to death: And, to effect this, they suborned some of their own faction to accuse them, and they themselves tried these causes. But nothing drew upon them so much hatred, as the licence they gave to the most audacious of the young men, with whom each of them was always attended, to plunder and pillage the fortunes of all, who opposed their administration. These men, as if the city of Rome had been taken by force of arms, not only stripped the legal possessors of their effects, but even ravished their wives, when inflamed by their beauty; abused such of their daughters, as were marriageable; and, when the others resented their brutality, they beat them like slaves. And, by this usage, they forced those, who were unable to bear it, to leave their country with their wives, and children, and take refuge in the neighbouring cities, where they were received by the Latines, on account of their affinity, and by the Hernici, in acknowledgement for the concession lately made to them by the Romans of the rights of citizens. So that, at last, as might be expected, there were none left at Rome but the friends to tyranny, and such, as had no concern for the public good: For neither the patricians, who were equally incapable of flattering the decemvirs, and of opposing their proceedings, continued there; nor the senators, whose presence was necessary to the magistrates; but the greatest part also of these had removed with their whole families; and, leaving their houses empty, lived in the country. The oligarchical faction were pleased with the flight of the most

con-

considerable men for many reasons, but particularly, because it encreased the arrogance of the licentious youth not to have before their eyes those persons whose presence would have made them blush at their enormities.

III. Rome being, thus, deserted by her best citizens, and absolutely deprived of her liberty, the nations, who had been conquered by her, looked upon this as the most favourable opportunity both to revenge the insults they had received, and to repair the losses they had sustained, while the commonwealth was weakened by the government of the oligarchy, and unable, from henceforth, to assemble its forces, to unite, or resume the administration of affairs: And, to this end, they prepared every thing, that was necessary for the war, and marched towards Rome with numerous armies: The Sabines, at the same time, making an irruption into that part of the Roman territories, that lay next to them, possessed themselves of a large booty; and, having killed great numbers of the husbandmen, incamped at ³ Eretum, a city situated near the river Tiber, at the distance of one hundred and seven stadia from Rome. On the other side,

³ Ηερήω. So must we read the name of this town, notwithstanding the authority of Stephens, and even of the Vatican manuscript, both which have εν Πρυω, as Hudson has observed: For ³ Livy says, in speaking of this incursion of the Sabines, *recepto ad Eretum quod passim vagatum erat, agmine, castra locant*. But here is a difficulty: Dionysius told us in the third book, chapter 32, that Eretum was

only 107 stadia from Rome, and here he says it is 140. ^b Cluver, I find, thinks the last number is corrupted, because *Eretum*, now ⁱ *Monte Ritondo*, is 13 Roman miles from Rome, or 107 stadia, which make only 375 paces more than 13 miles. Upon the authority, therefore, of Cluver, I have made this passage correspond with the other.

^a E. iii. c. 38. ^b Ital. Antiq. B. ii. p. 668. ⁱ See the twenty seventh annot. on the third book.

the Aequi made an inroad into that part of the territories of the Tusculani, that was contiguous to their confines; and, having laid waste a large tract of it, placed their camp near the city of Algidum. When the decemvirs were informed of this irruption of their enemies, they were confounded; and, assembling the men of their own faction, consulted with them what measures they were to take: These were all of opinion that they ought to send an army into the enemies country, and not stay till their forces advanced to Rome itself: But they were in great doubt, first, whether they should arm all the Romans, even those, who were dissatisfied with their administration; and, secondly, whether they should make the levies in an overbearing, and rigorous manner, according to the practice both of the kings, and consuls, or with indulgence, and moderation: They were of opinion, also, that no small consideration was necessary to determine this point, who should authorize the war, and the levies; whether the senate, or the people; or neither, since they suspected both; but the decemvirs themselves: At last, after a long consultation, they concluded to assemble the senate, and prevail with them to vote for the war, and to allow them to make the levies: For, if both these were decreed by the senate, they imagined, first, that all would obey them, particularly since the tribunitian power was suppressed, which alone could legally oppose the orders of the magistrates; and, in the next place, that, if they obeyed the directions of the senate in any one point, and carried their orders into execution, they should
appear

appear to have received a legal commission to enter upon the war.

IV. After they had taken this resolution, and prepared their friends, and relations to deliver such opinions in the senate, as were calculated to promote their views, and to oppose those, who should not espouse the same sentiments, they went to the forum, and ordered the cryer to call over the names of the senators: But no man of worth answered. The cryer often repeating this, and none appearing but the flatterers of the oligarchy, and these the most profligate of their faction, every one who happened to be then in the forum, rejoiced that the decemvirs, who had never assembled the senate upon any account, found, the first time they attempted it, that there was ⁴still at Rome an assembly even of worthy men, who deserved to be consulted in all things relating to the public. The decemvirs, observing that the senators did not answer to their names, resolved to send to their houses, and summon them to attend; but, hearing the greatest part of these were left empty, they deferred the matter till the next day: In the mean time, they sent into the country, and called them from thence. The senate being full, Appius, the chief of the decemvirate, rose up, and informed them that Rome was attacked on two sides, by the Aequi; and the Sabines; the consequences of which he set forth in a very elaborate speech; and ended with pressing them to

⁴ ΕΤΙ. The reader will observe by my translation that I read *ετι*, instead of *τι*; in which I think myself justified by what our author before told us,

viz. that *the greatest part* of the senators, disgusted at the government of the decemvirs, had retired into the country.

order

order levies to be made, and the armies to take the field immediately, since the juncture admitted of no delay. While he was speaking, Lucius Valerius, surnamed Potitus, rose up; a man, whose ancestors inspired him with exalted sentiments: For his father was that Valerius, who retook the capitol, when it was possessed by Herdonius the Sabine, and recovered the fortrefs, and he himself lost his life in the action; and his ⁵ grandfather by the father's side was Poplicola, who expelled the kings, and established the aristocracy. Appius, observing that he was going to speak, and expecting he would say something against him, "This is not your rank, Valerius, says he; neither does it become you, now, to speak: But, when these senators, who are older and more dignified than yourself, have delivered their opinions, then you also will be called upon, and may say what you think proper: In the mean time, be silent, and sit down." Neither did I rise up, says Valerius, to speak to these points; but to others of greater moment, and far more necessary, which, I think, the senate ought first to hear; and, from what they will hear, they will be able to judge whether the subject, for which you have assembled us, is more necessary to the commonwealth, than That, which I shall lay before them. Consider that I am a senator, and that my name is Valerius; hinder me not, therefore, from speaking, when the object of it is the preservation of my country: But, if you persist in your usual arrogance

⁵ Παππος δὲ πρὸς πατέρα Ποπλικόλας, ὁ τὰς βασιλεῖς ἐκβάλων. See the first annotation on the seventh book.

“ to all men, what tribunes shall I call upon to assist
 “ me? For you have abolished this relief of the citizens
 “ against oppression; and what greater oppression can there
 “ be than this, that Valerius Potitus, like a man of the lowest
 “ rank, cannot enjoy a right common to all, but stands in
 “ need of the tribunitian power? However, since we are de-
 “ prived of this magistracy, I implore the assistance of you
 “ all, who, with this man, are invested with the power of
 “ that magistracy, and exercise a domination over the com-
 “ monwealth: I am not ignorant that I do this in vain;
 “ but my design is to lay open your conspiracy; to shew
 “ that you have thrown every thing into confusion, and that
 “ you have all the same intentions: But I chuse rather to
 “ call upon you alone, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, you, who
 “ have been honoured with three consulships, if you still
 “ preserve the same sentiments: Rise up, therefore, and
 “ relieve the oppressed: For the senate fix their eyes upon
 “ you.”

V. After Valerius had said this, Fabius sat still through shame, and made him no answer. But Appius, and all the rest of the decemvirs, leaping from their seats, hindered Valerius from going on. Upon this, there was a great tumult in the senate, the greatest part of the senators expressing their resentment at the behaviour of the decemvirs, and those of their faction justifying them; when Marcus Horatius, surnamed Barbatus, ⁶ the grandson of that

⁶ Ἀπογονίος Ὁράτιος τοῦ συνυπαίουσαντος Πιπλίου Οὐαλερίου Ποπλικολά. The grandfather of this Marcus Horatius, was also Marcus Horatius, who, upon the death of Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, was the colleague of P. Valerius Horatius,

Horatius, who was consul with Publius Valerius Poplicola, after the expulsion of the kings, rose up ; he was a man of great personal bravery, and not uneloquent, and had been long a friend of Valerius ; who, unable to contain his resentment, said : “ You will the sooner force me, Appius, “ to break through all restraint by your want of moderation, “ and by acting the part of Tarquin, in not suffering those “ to speak, who are led to it by a desire to save their coun- “ try. Have you forgotten that there are descendants still left “ of that Valerius, who expelled tyranny, and successors of “ those Horatii, in whom it is hereditary to oppose, both “ ⁷ with others, and alone, all, who would inflame their “ country ? Or do you imagine that both we, and the rest “ of the Romans, have so mean a spirit, as to be contented “ if we are suffered to enjoy life on any terms, and neither to “ speak, nor act in favor of liberty, and freedom of speech ? “ Or are you intoxicated with the greatness of your power ?

Poplicola in the year 245, the year after the expulsion of the kings : They were also colleagues in the year 247. Here we see the two worthy descendants of these consuls opposing the tyranny of the decemvirs with a spirit, which speaks that descent. We shall presently find them the great instruments in effecting that glorious revolution, by which the decemvirate was abolished, the tyrants punished, and the liberty of their country restored.

⁷ Καὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μόνους. I look upon the first words of this sentence to relate to Marcus Horatius,

the surviving champion of the three, who fought for the sovereignty of their country against the Curatii, from whom, as ^k our author says, Horatius Cocles was descended, who was also nephew to Marcus Horatius, one of the consuls at the time, when he defended the bridge *alone* : And this, in my opinion, is the circumstance, to which the last word in this passage alludes. These considerations seem necessary to characterize the speech of Horatius, and to shew that these words could be spoken by none but himself.

^kB. v. c. 23.

“ Who are you, or what legal magistracy are you invested
 “ with, that you dare to deprive Valerius, or any other sc-
 “ nator of the liberty of speaking? Were you not appointed
 “ to govern the commonwealth for a year? Is not the term
 “ of your magistracy expired? Are you not become private
 “ men by that law? Think of laying these things before
 “ the people : For, what should hinder any of us from as-
 “ sembling them, and from charging you with exercising a
 “ power unwarranted by the laws? Take their votes upon
 “ this point, whether your decemvirate shall subsist, or, the
 “ usual magistracies be reestablished; and, if the people are
 “ so mad, as to submit to the former, reassume your ad-
 “ ministration; and, then, hinder any man from saying
 “ what he pleases in defence of his country : For, if the
 “ people give their sanction to these things, we shall deserve
 “ to suffer this, and a worse treatment, by living subject to
 “ you, and by sullyng both our own virtues, and Those of
 “ our ancestors.”

VI. While he was yet speaking, the decemvirs surrounded him, crying out; urging the tribunitian power, and threatening to throw him down the Tarpeian rock, if he was not silent. Upon which, all called out that their liberty was taken away : And the senate was full of indignation, and confusion. When the decemvirs saw the senators were exasperated at their behaviour, they presently repented both of the obstruction they had given to the freedom of speech, and of their threats : Then Appius, rising up, desired those, who were raising disturbances, to have patience a moment ; and,

having appeased the disorder, he said : “ We hinder none of
“ you, fathers, from speaking, provided you speak at a proper
“ time : But we hinder those, who are too forward, and rise
“ up before they are called upon. Be not, therefore, of-
“ fended : For we shall give leave to Horatius, and Valerius,
“ and to every other senator, to deliver his opinion in his own
“ rank, according to the ancient custom and order, provided
“ they speak to those points, that are the subject of your
“ deliberation, and to no others ; but, if they endeavour to
“ seduce you by popular harangues, and to divide the com-
“ monwealth, without speaking to the subject in debate,
“ you shall then find, Marcus Horatius, that we are in pos-
“ session of a power to restrain the disorderly, which we
“ received from the people, when they invested us with the
“ magistracy both of the consuls, and tribunes ; and that
“ the term of it is not yet expired, as you may think : For
“ we were not appointed for a year, or for any other limited
“ time ; but till we had instituted the whole body of laws :
“ When, therefore, we have completed what we propose,
“ and established the remaining laws, we shall then resign
“ our magistracy, and give an account of our actions to any
“ of you who desire it : In the mean time, we shall suffer no
“ part either of the consular, or the tribunitian power to be
“ infringed. As to the war, I desire you will deliver your
“ opinions in what manner we may repulse our enemies with
“ the greatest celerity, and success ; and that, in doing this,
“ the oldest senators, according to custom and decency, may
“ speak first ; after them, those of a middle age ; and, last
“ of all, the youngest.”

VII. Having said this, he first called upon his uncle, Caius Claudius, who, rising up, spoke in the following manner: “ Since Appius, fathers, by a deference due to
 “ our affinity, desires me to deliver my opinion first, and
 “ that I am under an obligation to say what I think con-
 “ cerning the war with the Aequi, and Sabines, before I
 “ acquaint you with my own sentiments, I would desire you
 “ to inquire what hopes have induced the Aequi, and Sa-
 “ bines to dare to make war upon us, and to lay waste our
 “ country; they who, till now, thought themselves happy,
 “ and under great obligations to Heaven in being suffered
 “ quietly to enjoy their own: For, if you once know what
 “ those hopes are, you will also know what measures will
 “ be the most effectual to deliver you from this war. Those
 “ people then being informed that our constitution has, long
 “ since, been shaken, and disordered, and that neither the
 “ plebeians, nor the patricians are well affected to those, who
 “ are at the head of the commonwealth (and, in this, their
 “ information was not groundless, but really true, the causes
 “ of which I need not explain to you, who are acquainted
 “ with them) they concluded that, if any foreign war should
 “ be brought upon us, while we are oppressed with these
 “ domestic evils, and the magistrates should determine to
 “ march out with an army in defence of the country, all
 “ the citizens would not present themselves chearfully, as
 “ before, to take the military oath, by reason of their dis-
 “ affection to the magistrates; neither would these inflict the
 “ punishments ordained by law upon those, who did not

“ present themselves, lest they should occasion some greater
“ mischief; and that those, who did obey, and take arms,
“ would either desert their ensigns, or, if they staid, volun-
“ tarily misbehave themselves in every action. None of
“ these hopes were ill grounded : For, when an united people
“ enter upon a war, and both the governors, and the go-
“ verned look upon their interests to be the same, they
“ encounter terrors with alacrity, and decline no toil, nor
“ danger : But, when disunited among themselves, they
“ march against a foreign enemy, before they have composed
“ their domestic troubles, and the army comes to consider
“ that they are labouring not for their own advantages, but
“ to secure the domination of others over them; and the
“ generals reflect that their own forces are not less animated
“ against them than the enemy, every thing is distempered,
“ and any force sufficient to defeat, and destroy such armies.

VIII. “ These are the thoughts, fathers, both of the
“ Sabines, and Aequi; in confidence of which they have
“ made an irruption into our territories. And, if we, in
“ resentment for their insolence, and contempt of us, suffer
“ ourselves to be so far transported with our passion, as to re-
“ solve to march out against them, I am afraid lest those things
“ they have foreseen should happen to us; or rather I know
“ they will happen. Whereas, if we establish those re-
“ gulations, that are the first, and the most necessary (I
“ mean the good order of the people, and that all may
“ look upon their interests to be the same) by banishing
“ the pride, and ambition that are now grown familiar
“ to us, and by restoring the constitution to its ancient
“ form,

“ form, these enemies, who are now so confident, will
 “ tremble; and, throwing down their arms, will soon
 “ come to us to indemnify us for our losses, and to treat of
 “ a peace; and we shall have it in our power, which all
 “ men of sense would wish, to put an end to this war with-
 “ out employing our arms. I am, therefore, of opinion
 “ that, for these reasons, we ought for the present to defer
 “ the consideration of the war, since our domestic affairs
 “ are in great disorder; and, instead of that, give leave to
 “ every one, who desires it, to propose the means of re-
 “ storing concord, and good order in the commonwealth:
 “ For, till this war broke out, we were never called upon
 “ by these magistrates to take the affairs of the common-
 “ wealth into consideration, nor had liberty to debate whe-
 “ ther any of them were ill conducted. That man, there-
 “ fore, would deserve great censure, who should let slip this
 “ opportunity, and employ it in speaking of other things:
 “ Neither can any one affirm with certainty, that, if we
 “ neglect this occasion as improper, we shall ever be able to
 “ find one that is more proper: For, if one may judge
 “ of the future by the past, it will be a long time before
 “ we shall meet again to consider of any one thing relating
 “ to the public.

IX. “ I desire this of you, Appius, and of your colleagues,
 “ who are at the head of the commonwealth, and under
 “ an obligation of consulting the advantage of the public,
 “ rather than your own interest, that, if I speak the truth
 “ with freedom, and do not flatter you, you will not for
 “ that reason be offended, when you consider that I
 “ shall

“ shall not speak with a design to abuse, and insult your
 “ magistracy, but to shew in how great a storm the com-
 “ monwealth is tossed, and to point out the road that leads
 “ to safety, and a redress of these grievances. It is, per-
 “ haps, incumbent upon all, who have any concern for
 “ their country, to plead for the advantages of it, particu-
 “ larly upon me: First, by reason of the honor I have re-
 “ ceived in being the first person, whose opinion is asked;
 “ and it would be a great shame, and folly for the man,
 “ who first rises up, not to mention those things, that require
 “ first to be reformed: In the next place, as I am, by the
 “ father’s side, uncle to Appius, who is at the head of the
 “ decemvirate, I have more reason than any one both to be
 “ pleased, when the commonwealth is governed by them in
 “ the best manner, and to be grieved, when it is not so.
 “ Besides these motives, I have inherited such political prin-
 “ ciples from my ancestors, as teach me to prefer the good
 “ of the public to my own private advantage, and to consider
 “ no personal danger; which principles I would not will-
 “ ingly betray: ⁸ This is the rule of life they delivered down
 “ to me, and I will endeavour not to dishonour the virtues
 “ of these men. As to the present form of government,
 “ there can be no stronger proof to convince you that it is
 “ bad, and that almost all ranks of men are dissatisfied with

8. Οὗτοι δὲ παρεσκευασαν ταύτην εἶναι
 μοι τὰ βιβλῖα προαίρεσιν. Sylburgius, and
 Portus have attempted to restore this
 passage, which is plainly defective in
 all the editions, and manuscripts.
 Hudson has given us their amend-

ments: The learned reader will judge
 whether the two words I have added
 do not render the sense complete. I
 need not inform him that ἐκείνων in the
 next sentence does not always suppose
 a distant reference.

“ it,

“ it, than this ; all the former magistrates (which you alone
 “ cannot be ignorant of) abandon their paternal houses,
 “ and fly out of the city every day ; the most considerable
 “ of the plebeians do the same, some removing, with their
 “ wives and children, to the neighbouring cities, and others
 “ to that part of the country, which is farthest from Rome ;
 “ few even of the patricians live now in the city as they
 “ used to do, the greatest part of these also being retired to
 “ the country : But why should I say any thing of the others,
 “ when only a few even of the senators, and those such as
 “ are attached to you either by affinity, or friendship, remain
 “ within the walls ? The rest look upon solitude to be more
 “ desirable than their country. This you were sensible of,
 “ when you thought it necessary to assemble the senate ;
 “ they were then called up from their country seats one
 “ by one ; they, with whom it was an established custom
 “ to watch over the safety of their country in conjunction
 “ with the magistrates, and to absent themselves from nothing
 “ that concerned the public. And do you think that men
 “ leave their country to fly from happiness, or misery ?
 “ From misery I think. And what greater misery can there
 “ be to a commonwealth, particularly to That of the Ro-
 “ mans, which stands in need of a great number of national
 “ forces to preserve the sovereignty she exercises over her
 “ neighbours, than to be abandoned by the plebeians, and
 “ deserted by the patricians, without being oppressed with
 “ war, pestilence, or any other calamity inflicted by the
 “ hand of Heaven ?

X. “ Would

X. “ Would you be informed of the reasons, that have
“ compelled these men to abandon the temples, and se-
“ pulchres of their ancestors, to desert the houses, and pos-
“ sessions of their fathers, and to look upon every country
“ as dearer to them than their own? For these things
“ happen not without reason; this I shall inform you of
“ without concealing any thing: Many censures are passed
“ upon your government, Appius, by many people: Whe-
“ ther they are true, or false, I need not at present inquire;
“ but such censures are passed: In a word, none but your
“ own faction are friends to your administration. For the
“ men of worth, descended from men of worth, who ought
“ to enjoy the priesthood, the magistracies, and the other
“ honors, which were enjoyed by their fathers, cannot bear
“ to be deprived of these by you, and to lose the dignities
“ of their ancestors: The men of middle rank, who have
“ nothing in view but an undisturbed tranquillity, accuse
“ you of rapine; and lament the insults you offer to their
“ wives, and your drunken licentiousness to such of their
“ daughters, as are marriageable; and many other grievous
“ abuses: And the poorer sort of the people, who have no
“ longer the power either of choosing magistrates, or of
“ giving their votes upon any occasion; who are never
“ called to hold their assemblies, or partake of any other
“ instance of humanity, to which citizens are intitled, hate
“ you upon all these accounts, and call your government a
“ tyranny.

XI. “ How

XI. “ How then shall you reform these things, and
 “ silence the accusations of your fellow-citizens? For this
 “ remains to be spoken to. The way to effect this, is for
 “ you to procure an order from the senate, by virtue of
 “ which you will restore to the people the power of deli-
 “ berating whether consuls, tribunes, and the usual magi-
 “ strates shall be reestablished, or the same form of govern-
 “ ment continued: For, if all the Romans are content to
 “ be governed by an oligarchy, and vote that you shall retain
 “ the same power, your magistracy will be founded on law,
 “ and not on violence: But, if they desire that consuls,
 “ and all the former magistrates should again be chosen,
 “ you will resign your power in a legal manner, and avoid
 “ the imputation of governing your equals without their
 “ consent; for this is tyrannical; but to receive power from
 “ the consent of the governed, aristocratical. This is a
 “ measure, of which, in my opinion, you ought to be the
 “ author, and put an end to an oligarchy instituted by your-
 “ self, Appius, which was, once, an advantage to us, but is,
 “ now, a grievance. Hear then what you will gain by
 “ following my advice, and by resigning this invidious
 “ power: If all your colleagues are actuated with the same
 “ sentiments, every one will think they owe their virtue to you,
 “ who set the example; but, if they delight in the enjoyment
 “ of their illegal power, every one will think themselves
 “ obliged to you for being the only person, who desired to
 “ act with justice; and will force the power out of the
 “ hands of those who refuse to resign it, with ignominy, and

“ a severe chastisement: But, if you have entered into any
 “ contracts, and given private assurances to one another
 “ by calling the gods to attest them (for it is possible you
 “ may have done something of this kind) look upon these
 “ contracts, since they are formed against your fellow-
 “ citizens, and your country, to be impious, if observed,
 “ and pious, if transgressed: For the gods desire not to be
 “ called upon to secure the performance of shameful, and
 “ unjust contracts, but of Those, that are honourable, and just.

XII. “ However, if you are afraid to resign your magi-
 “ stracy, lest your enemies should form some dangerous de-
 “ signs against you, and you be compelled to give an account
 “ of your actions, your fear is vain: For the Roman people
 “ will be neither so mean spirited, nor so ungrateful, as to re-
 “ member your faults, and forget your services; but will
 “ ballance your present merits, with your past errors, and look
 “ upon these as worthy of forgiveness, and those of praise.
 “ You will, also, have the advantage of putting the people in
 “ mind of the many great actions you performed before the
 “ establishment of the oligarchy, of claiming the acknow-
 “ ledgement due to them, as a means to assist, and save you,
 “ and of defending yourself by various methods against these
 “ accusations; as, that you yourself were not in fault, but
 “ one of the others without your knowledge; that, as the
 “ person, who committed the crime, was of equal authority
 “ with yourself, you had no power to restrain him; and
 “ that you were forced to submit to some things against
 “ your will for the sake of others, which you thought useful.

“ I should

“ I should say a great deal, if I endeavoured to enumerate
 “ every thing you may alledge in your defence: Even those,
 “ who can make no defence, that is either just, or plausible,
 “ by acknowledging their crime, and begging pardon, soften
 “ the resentment of the injured; some, by laying the fault
 “ on the folly of youth; and others, on the conversation of
 “ wicked men; these, on the greatness of their power; and
 “ those, on fortune, that misleads all human considerations.
 “ If you resign your magistracy, I myself will undertake that
 “ all your faults shall be buried in oblivion, and that the
 “ people shall be reconciled to you upon such terms, as, in
 “ your unfortunate situation, will be honourable.

XIII. “ But I am afraid that the danger is not the real
 “ motive of your unwillingness to resign your power (for many
 “ men have resigned their tyrannies without being punished
 “ in any manner by their fellow-citizens) but that a vain
 “ ambition, which pursues the shadow of an honest glory,
 “ and a fondness for those pernicious pleasures, that accom-
 “ pany the lives of tyrants, are the true causes of this un-
 “ willingness: However, if, instead of pursuing the fancies,
 “ and shadows of honor, and glory, you desire to enjoy real
 “ honors, restore the aristocracy to your country, receive
 “ honors from your equals, and gain the admiration of
 “ posterity; and, in exchange for a mortal life, leave an
 “ immortal glory to your descendants: For these honors
 “ are lasting and real; they can never be taken from you,
 “ and afford pleasure without repentance: Transform
 “ your mind; take satisfaction in the advantages of your
 M m 2 “ country,

“ country, of which you will be looked upon as the chief
 “ cause, by delivering her from an insupportable domination;
 “ imitate the example of your ancestors upon this occasion,
 “ and consider that not one of those men aimed at despotic
 “ power, - or suffered himself to be a slave to the infamous
 “ pleasures of the body : For which reasons, they were not
 “ only honoured while they lived, but, after their death,
 “ applauded by posterity ; and all acknowledge that they
 “ were the firmest guardians of that aristocracy, which Rome
 “ established after the expulsion of the kings. Neither
 “ ought you to forget the great glory both of the senti-
 “ ments you displayed, and of the actions you performed :
 “ For your views, when you first entered upon the admini-
 “ stration, deserved applause, and gave us great hopes of your
 “ virtue ; and we desire that the rest of your actions may
 “ correspond with those views. Return to your own dis-
 “ position, Appius, my child ; and, instead of the cause
 “ of tyranny, espouse That of the aristocracy ; fly from
 “ those flatterers, by whom you have been prevailed upon
 “ to deviate from your virtuous principles, and to wander
 “ from the right way : For it is not to be expected that a
 “ man can be restored to his virtue by the same persons,
 “ who first robbed him of it.

XIV. “ These things I have often desired to remonstrate
 “ to you in private ; to instruct you when you erred, and to
 “ reform you when you transgressed ; and, with this intention,
 “ I have been more than once at your house ; but your ⁹ fer-

⁹ Παιδες. See the 128th annotation on the first book.

“ wants

“ wants sent me away, saying you were busy, and employed
 “ in things more necessary ; as if any thing could be more
 “ necessary than piety to your family : It may be they shut
 “ your doors against me of their own accord, and not by
 “ your orders ; and I wish it may be so : This has laid me
 “ under a necessity of declaring my sentiments to you in the
 “ senate, since I had no opportunity of doing it in private ;
 “ and whatever is honourable, and advantageous, Appius,
 “ may be always mentioned seasonably in public, rather than
 “ no where. Having now performed the duty I owe to
 “ our family, I call the gods to witness, whose temples, and
 “ altars we, who are the descendants of Appius, honour
 “ with common sacrifices ; and the genius’s of our ancestors,
 “ to whom we pay a secondary worship, and acknowledge-
 “ ment in common, and above all these, this land, that con-
 “ tains your father, and my brother, that I have employed
 “ both my mind, and my voice to give you the best advice ;
 “ and, now, desiring to reform your errors to the utmost of my
 “ power, I beg of you not to attempt the ¹⁰ cure of evils by
 “ evils ; not to lose even what you possess by aiming at more ;
 “ nor, by affecting to give law to your equals, and your

¹⁰ Μη τοις κακοις ιασθαι τα κακα.
 This is a kind of proverbial expression
 among the Greek writers. The first
 author, in whom I remember to have
 met with it, though probably not the
 first, who made use of it, is ¹ Herodo-
 rus, who makes the sister of Lycophon
 say to her brother, μη το κακον τω κακω ιω.
 The ^m Greek Scholiast, in explaining

a similar passage of Thucydides, says
 that this proverb took its rise from
 Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, who
 cured the murder of his father by
 That of his mother : Την αρχαιαν πα-
 ροιμιαν εξ Ορεστη τε Αγαμεμνονος ρηθισαν,
 οςις τον τε παλρος θανατον τω της μητρος
 φονω εθεραπευσε.

¹ In Thalia, c. 53.

^m B. v. c. 65.

“ superiors,

“superiors, to expose yourself to receive it from those, who
 “are inferior to you both in dignity, and virtue. I could
 “willingly say more to you upon this subject, and many
 “others, but shall decline it: For, if the gods lead you to
 “better resolutions, I have said more than was necessary;
 “but, if to worse, what I have still to say, will be said in
 “vain. You have now my opinion, fathers, and you, who
 “are at the head of the commonwealth, concerning the
 “means to put an end both to the war, and to the civil
 “disorders. If any one shall offer a better opinion, let the
 “best carry it.”

XV. After Claudius had spoken thus, and given the senate
 great reason to hope that the decemvirs would resign their
 power, Appius did not think fit to make him any answer;
 but Marcus Cornelius, one of the other members of the
 oligarchy, advancing, said: “We, Claudius, shall deliberate
 “concerning our own interests, without standing in need of
 “your advice: For we are of an age the best qualified for
 “prudence, so as to be ignorant of nothing that concerns
 “us; and want no friends to advise us, if necessary:
 “Cease then, old man, to do an unseasonable thing, in
 “giving advice to those, who do not want it; and, if you
 “desire to advise, or abuse Appius (which is the truer) when
 “you are out of the senate, abuse him. Now, give us your
 “thoughts concerning the war with the Aequi, and Sabines,
 “in regard to which you have been called upon to deliver
 “your opinion, and cease to talk idly of things, that have
 “no relation to it.” After him, Claudius rose up again,
 with

with grief in his looks, and tears in his eyes, and said :
 “ Appius does not even think me, who am his uncle, worthy
 “ of an answer, fathers, in your presence ; but, as he shut
 “ his own house against me, so he does every thing in his
 “ power to render the senate inaccessible to me ; and, if I
 “ must speak the truth, I am even expelled the city :
 “ For I can, no longer, bear the sight of a man, who is
 “ unworthy of his ancestors, and emulates tyrants in his
 “ excess. I shall, therefore, retire with my family, and
 “ effects, to the Sabines, and live at ¹¹ Regillum, from whence
 “ we derived our original, as long as these men continue in
 “ the possession of this worthy magistracy ; and, when the
 “ fate I foresee shall have overtaken the decemvirate, which
 “ will soon happen, I shall then return. So much con-
 “ cerning myself. As to the war, I give you this advice,
 “ fathers, to come to no resolution concerning any thing
 “ whatever, till the usual magistrates are appointed.” After
 he had said this, and received great applause from the senate
 for the generous spirit, and love of liberty, with which he
 had given his opinion, he sat down. After him, Lucius
 Quintius, surnamed Cincinnatus, Titus Quintius Capitolinus,
 Lucius Lucretius, and all the leading men of the senate
 rose up one after another, and supported the opinion of
 Claudius.

XVI. Appius, and his colleagues, being ruffled at this,
 resolved, no longer, to ask the advice of the senators according
 to their age, or their dignity in the senate, but according to

¹¹ Πηγύλλον. See the thirty fifth annotation on the fifth book.

their

their friendship, and attachment to the decemvirs: And, with this view, Marcus Cornelius, advancing, called upon Lucius Cornelius his brother, who had been colleague to Quintus Fabius Vibulanus in his third consulship, a man of activity, and not uneloquent in political debates; this person, rising up, spoke as follows; “ Even this is wonderful, fathers, that
“ men of such an age as those are, who delivered their opi-
“ nions before me, and who pretend to be the principal
“ persons in the senate, retain an implacable enmity, derived
“ from political disputes, against the leading men of the
“ commonwealth, whom it is their duty to defend with all
“ their power, and to exhort the young men to engage with
“ the best intentions in contests, of which glory is the prize;
“ and to look upon those, who oppose them in order to pro-
“ cure advantages to the public, not as enemies, but as friends:
“ However, it is still more wonderful that they should transfer
“ their private animosities to the public affairs, and chuse
“ rather to perish with their enemies, than to be preserved
“ with all their friends. This is an excess of folly, and not
“ far from a Heaven-sent madness, which the leading men
“ of our senate have been guilty of: For these, being
“ displeased that others, who appeared more worthy at the
“ election, were preferred to them, when they stood can-
“ didates for the decemvirate, which they themselves now
“ inveigh against, declare an eternal, and irreconcilable
“ war against them, and are arrived to this pitch of folly,
“ or rather madness, that, in order to accuse these to
“ you, they resolve to subvert their whole country; who,
“ when

“ when they see our territories laid waste by the enemies, and
 “ that they are upon the point of coming even to our gates,
 “ as they are at no great distance from us, instead of ex-
 “ horting, and exciting the youth to fight for their country,
 “ and going themselves to her relief with all the alacrity,
 “ and earnestness, which their age, and strength will admit,
 “ they desire you will, at this juncture, consider of a form
 “ of government, create new magistrates, and do every thing
 “ rather than annoy the enemy; and even this they cannot
 “ see, that their opinions, or rather their wishes, are im-
 “ practicable.

XVII. “ For, consider the thing in this light; there must
 “ be a previous vote of the senate for the election of magi-
 “ strates; after that, the decemvirs must lay this resolution
 “ before the people, and appoint the third market day for
 “ the consideration of it: For how can any thing, that is
 “ voted by the people become really valid, if it is not transf-
 “ acted according to the laws? Then, after the tribes have
 “ given their votes, the new magistrates must take upon
 “ themselves the government of the commonwealth, and
 “ propose to you to consider of the war: In this interval
 “ between the appointment of the election, and the holding
 “ it, which will take up so much time, if our enemies march
 “ to the city, and approach the walls, what shall we do,
 “ Claudius? Shall we really say to them; Stay till we have
 “ appointed other magistrates? For Claudius advised us nei-
 “ ther to make a previous order of the senate upon any other
 “ account, nor to lay any thing before the people, nor to raise
 “ forces,

“ forces, till we had settled every thing, that relates to the
“ election of magistrates according to our desire: Return,
“ therefore, and when you shall hear that the consuls, and
“ the other magistrates are appointed, and that we have
“ made all the necessary preparations to give you battle,
“ then come, and sue for peace, since you first injured us
“ without any provocation; and let an estimate be made of
“ all the damages you have caused to us in your several irrup-
“ tions, and pay us punctually the sum, that shall appear by
“ that means to be due to us: As to the murder of the
“ husbandmen, the insults, and abuses offered by your
“ foldiers to women of free condition, or any other irrepa-
“ rable mischief, we shall charge you nothing for them.
“ And they, no doubt, upon our offering them such con-
“ ditions, will use moderation; and, after they have suffered
“ us to chuse new magistrates, and to make preparations
“ for the war, will then come with olive branches in their
“ hands, instead of arms, and deliver up themselves to us?

XVIII. “ O the great folly of those men, who can en-
“ tertain such idle imaginations! And as great must be our
“ insensibility, if, while they are uttering such things, we
“ shew no displeasure, but submit to hear them, as if we
“ were consulting how to save our enemies, and not how
“ to save ourselves, and our country. Shall we not get rid
“ of these triflers? Not vote a speedy relief to the country,
“ that is laying waste? Not arm all the youth of Rome?
“ Not march ourselves against the cities of our enemies?
“ Or shall we stay at home, and employ our time in abusing
“ the

“ the decemvirs; in establishing new magistracies; in con-
 “ sidering a form of government, as if we were in peace;
 “ let every thing in the country become a prey to the enemy;
 “ and, at last, run the hazard of being enslaved ourselves,
 “ and of seeing our city laid in ruins, by suffering the war
 “ to approach our walls? Such counsels, fathers, cannot be
 “ given by men in their senses, nor dictated by sound policy,
 “ which always prefers the public good to private animosities;
 “ but by an unseasonable contentiousness, a thoughtless
 “ enmity, and an unfortunate envy, which will not suffer
 “ those it has taken possession of, to judge rightly. However,
 “ let us take leave of these men, and of their animosities.
 “ I shall, now, endeavour to lay before you those resolutions,
 “ which, if you concur in them, will prove salutary to the
 “ commonwealth, becoming yourselves, and formidable to
 “ our enemies. Resolve, immediately, upon a war against
 “ the Aequi, and Sabines, and raise forces with the greatest
 “ alacrity, and expedition, to be employed against both:
 “ And, after the war shall be terminated in the happiest
 “ manner, a peace concluded, and our forces returned,
 “ then consider of the form of your government;
 “ call the decemvirs to an account for all their actions,
 “ during the time of their administration; create new
 “ magistrates; appoint judges, and honour with both these
 “ offices those, who are worthy of them, when both are in
 “ your power; and be assured that opportunities are not
 “ subservient to affairs, but affairs to opportunities.” Cornelius
 having delivered this opinion, those, who rose up after him,

him, except a few, declared in favor of it: Some looking upon these things as necessary, and suited to the present juncture; and others yielding to the times, and making their court to the decemvirs from a dread of their magistracy: For the greatest part of the senate stood in awe of their power.

XIX. After most of the senators had delivered their opinions, and those, who declared for the war, appeared to be much more numerous than the others, the decemvirs called upon Lucius Valerius among the last: He, as I said, had offered to speak in the beginning of the debate, but had been hindered by them: And now rising up, he spoke as follows: “ You see, fathers, the treachery of the decemvirs,
“ who would not suffer me at first to say those things to
“ you I had proposed, and now give me leave to speak
“ among the last, with this view, as may be easily judged,
“ that, if I adhere to the opinion of Claudius, I shall do no
“ service to the commonwealth, because few have espoused
“ it; and, if I deliver an opinion different from those they
“ have proposed, how advantageous soever it may be, my
“ reasons will appear an unavailing rhapsody: For those,
“ who are to rise up after me, are not many; and, if they
“ should all agree with me, what good shall I do, when their
“ numbers will be vastly inferior to those, who vote with
“ Cornelius? However, with all these things to fear, I shall
“ not decline giving you my opinion: For, when you have
“ heard all, you will have it in your power to chuse the best.
“ Concerning, therefore, the decemvirate, and the manner
“ in

“ in which they govern the commonwealth, I desire you will
 “ think that every thing Claudius, the best of men, has said,
 “ to have been said by me also, and that you ought to create
 “ new magistrates, before you come to any resolution in
 “ respect to the war: For, all he said upon that subject was
 “ founded on the greatest reason. But, since Cornelius has
 “ endeavoured to shew that his opinion is impracticable, and
 “ that much time would be spent in this civil oeconomy,
 “ while the war is pressing; and attempted to ridicule
 “ things, that do not deserve to be ridiculed, and by that
 “ means seduced many of you to concur with him; I shall
 “ shew you that the opinion of Claudius is not impracticable
 “ (for, that it is unprofitable, none even of those who derided
 “ it, have dared to alledge) and let you see by what means
 “ the country may be secured; those, who have dared to lay it
 “ waste, punished, and we recover our ancient aristocracy;
 “ and how these things may be brought to pass with the con-
 “ currence of all the citizens, and without the least oppo-
 “ sition: In doing this, I shall not pretend to display any
 “ sort of wisdom, but produce your own actions, as examples
 “ for you to follow: For, when experience suggests what is
 “ useful, why should we have recourse to conjectures?

XX. “ You remember that numerous forces, sent from
 “ the same nations, made an inroad into our territories,
 “ and into those of our allies at the same time, and in the
 “ same manner, when Caius Nautius, and Lucius Minucius
 “ were consuls, about nine or ten years ago; and that, upon
 “ our sending a numerous, and brave youth against both
 “ these

“ these nations, one of the consuls being obliged to incamp
“ in a streight, and disadvantageous post, could perform
“ nothing, but was besieged in his camp, and in danger of
“ being taken for want of provisions: While Nautius,
“ being pressed by the Sabines, and under a necessity of
“ engaging with them continually, was not in a condition
“ to relieve his colleague: Thus it was manifest that, if
“ our army which was opposed to the Aequi, should be
“ defeated, the other, that was carrying on the war against
“ the Sabines, would not be able to maintain its ground,
“ when both the armies of our enemies should be united.
“ While the commonwealth was surrounded with such
“ dangers, and even the city itself not free from dissension,
“ what relief had you recourse to? You assembled in the
“ senate about midnight, and came to a resolution, which
“ all acknowledge to have been of great advantage to your
“ affairs, and to have preserved the commonwealth from
“ imminent ruin; you created a single magistracy with
“ absolute authority both in war and peace, and abrogated
“ all the others; and, before it was day, Lucius Quintius,
“ that most worthy man, was appointed dictator, who was
“ then in the country. You are acquainted with the actions,
“ which this man performed soon after; that he raised a num-
“ ber of forces sufficient to answer his design; that he deli-
“ vered the camp, which was in danger; that he chastised
“ the enemy, and took their general prisoner; and, having
“ effected all these things within the compass of fourteen
“ days only, and reformed every disorder of the common-
“ wealth,

“wealth, he laid down the rods: And nothing hindered you
 “then from creating a new magistracy in one day, when
 “you thought proper to do it. This example, therefore,
 “I think you ought to imitate, since there is nothing else
 “we can do, and chuse a dictator before you go out of this
 “place: For, if we lose this opportunity, the decemvirs
 “will never assemble us again, to deliberate upon any thing:
 “And, in order to render the appointment of a dictator
 “regular, create an interrex, and chuse the person you shall
 “think the most proper to execute that office. This is no
 “unusual thing, when you have neither kings, consuls, nor
 “any other legal magistrates; which is the case at present:
 “Since the term, for which these men received their magi-
 “stracy, is expired, and the law has taken their rods from
 “them. This is the advice I give you, fathers, which is
 “both advantageous, and practicable: Whereas That of
 “Cornelius tends manifestly to the subversion of your aristo-
 “cracy: Since, if the decemvirs are once trusted with arms
 “under the pretence of this war, I am afraid they will
 “make use of them against ourselves: For will those,
 “who refuse to lay down their rods, lay down their arms?
 “Consider, therefore, what I have said; beware of these
 “men, and foresee all the effects of their treachery: For
 “forefight is better than repentance; and it shews more
 “prudence not to trust wicked men, than to accuse them
 “after they have betrayed you.”

XXI. This opinion of Valerius pleased the majority of
 the senators, as it was easy to conclude both from their
 accla-

acclamations, and the concurrence of those, who spoke after him (for there were still some of the young senators left) and, except a few, declared their approbation of it. After they had all delivered their sentiments, and the debate was near a conclusion, Valerius desired the decemvirs might propose to the senate to resume the debate, and again call upon all the senators in their order: This was approved of by many of them, who desired to retract their former opinions: But Cornelius, who had advised the senate to give the command of the war to the decemvirs, strongly opposed this, saying that the affair was already decided, and legally determined, since every man had given his vote; and he insisted on counting the votes, and that no innovation should be admitted. These things being urged by both with great heat, and exclamations, and the senate dividing in favor of each, such as were desirous to reform the disorders of the government, adhered to Valerius, while those, who espoused the worst cause, and all, who suspected some danger from a change, supported Cornelius: The decemvirs took advantage of this disturbance to carry their point, and adopted the opinion of Cornelius; and Appius, one of their number, advancing, said: “ We assembled you, fathers, to consider
“ of the war with the Aequi, and the Sabines, and have
“ given all of you leave to speak, from the oldest to the
“ youngest, in your respective ranks; and there having been
“ three different opinions delivered by Claudius, Cornelius,
“ and, last of all, by Valerius, the rest of you have consider-
“ ed them, and every one has declared, in the hearing of
“ the

“ whole senate, to which of the three he gave his assent:
 “ Every thing, therefore, having been transacted according
 “ to the laws, and That of Cornelius having been approved
 “ of by the majority, we pronounce that his opinion carries
 “ it, and accordingly we shall order it to be drawn up, and
 “ published. Let Valerius, and his partisans, when they
 “ shall obtain the consular power, rehear, if they think fit,
 “ causes already determined, and annul resolutions passed
 “ by you all.” Having said this, and ordered the clerk to
 read the decree, by which the power of raising forces, and
 the command of the war was given to the decemvirs, he
 dismissed the senate.

XXII. After this, those of the oligarchical faction, appeared every where with pride, and insolence, as if they had gained a victory over their adversaries, and prevented a dissolution of their power by having the sword put into their hands: While the men of the best affections to the commonwealth were under great affliction, and consternation, looking upon themselves as deprived for ever of any share in the government: These split into many parties; those of the least resolute dispositions, thinking themselves obliged to abandon every thing to the conquerors, and join the oligarchical faction: And such, as were less timorous, deserting the care of the public in exchange for a quiet life: But those, whose minds were warmed with a generous spirit, employed themselves in collecting a number of their friends, and united in the design of defending one another, and of changing the form of government. The heads of this party were

Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, who had the resolution first to propose in the senate the abolition of the decemvirate: These secured both their houses with arms, and their persons with a strong guard of their servants, and clients, in such a manner as to have nothing to fear either from force, or fraud. On the other side, those persons, who were unwilling to court the power of the conquerors, and thought it unbecoming in them either to abandon all care of the public, or to lead an inactive life, and looked upon it as no easy matter openly to attack so great a power, the subversion of which they thought it a folly to expect, quitted the city. At the head of these was the illustrious Caius Claudius, uncle to the chief of the decemvirate, who by this step performed the promises he had made to his nephew in the senate, when he attempted in vain to prevail upon him to resign his power: He was followed by a great number of his friends, and clients. After his example, many other citizens also, not privately as before, or in small numbers, but openly, and in a body, abandoned their country, taking with them their wives, and children. Appius, and his colleagues, being enraged at this, endeavoured at first to stop them, by causing the gates to be shut, and some persons to be seized. Afterwards, being afraid lest those they attempted to stop, should have recourse to violence, and judging it rightly to be more for their interest that their enemies should be out of the way, than that they should stay to create disturbances, they opened the gates, and suffered all, who were willing, to depart. However, they treated them as deserters,

deferters, and confiscated, in appearance, their houses, and estates, and every thing else they could not carry away with them; but, in reality, they bestowed those confiscations on their friends, pretending they had purchased them of the public. These grievances, added to the former, greatly inflamed the animosity both of the patricians, and plebeians against the decemvirs. However, it is my opinion that, if they had not gone on in multiplying their crimes, they might have preserved their power a considerable time: For the sedition, which maintained that power, still continued in the city, and had been increased by many causes, and by a great length of time. To this it was owing that each of the two parties rejoiced in the other's miseries: The plebeians in seeing the spirit of the patricians humbled, and the senate deprived of every branch of their authority; and the patricians, in seeing the people stripped of their liberty, and without the least strength, since the decemvirs had taken from them the tribunitian power: But those men, by treating both parties with great arrogance, and by using neither moderation in the army, nor modesty in the city, forced them both to unite, and to abolish their magistracy as soon as the war put arms into their hands. The last crimes they were guilty of, and for which their power was subverted by the people, whom they had chiefly enraged by their abuses, were these:

XXIII. After they had procured a decree of the senate for the war, they presently raised forces; and, dividing them into three bodies, left one of these, which consisted of two

legions, to guard the city: This body was commanded by Appius Claudius, the chief of the oligarchy, and by Spurius Oppius. Quintus Fabius, Quintus Poetilius, and Manius Rabuleius marched with the second, in which there were three legions, against the Sabines. And Marcus Cornelius, Lucius Minucius, Marcus Sergius, Titus Antonius, and Caeso Duillius led the third body, which was composed of the five remaining legions, against the Aequi. The auxiliary troops both of the Latines, and their other allies joined them, being not fewer than Those of the Romans. But the decemvirs succeeded in nothing they undertook, notwithstanding the armies they commanded consisted of such numbers both of national, and auxiliary forces: For the enemies, despising their troops as composed of new raised men, incamped opposite to them; and, placing ambuscades in the roads, cut off their provisions, and attacked them when they went out for forage; and, whenever they came to an engagement, in which both the horse, and foot charged one another, they were always superior to the Romans, many of whom voluntarily misbehaved themselves in every action; disobeyed their officers, and refused to charge: That part of the army, therefore, that was opposed to the Sabines, grown wise by lesser evils, resolved to leave their camp of their own accord; and, decamping about midnight, withdrew from the enemy's territories to their own, making a retreat not unlike a flight, till they came to Crustumium, a city not far from Rome. But the other, that lay incamped on mount Algidus in the country of the Aequi, having suffered also very much from
the

the enemy, and still resolving to stand their ground in the midst of these dangers, in hopes of repairing the disadvantages they had sustained, were most miserably treated: For the enemy, having attacked their camp, and cleared the intrenchments of those, who defended them, forced their way into it; and, possessing themselves of their camp, killed a few who resisted, but slew many more in the pursuit: Those, who escaped from this rout, being most of them wounded, and having almost all lost their arms, went to the city of Tusculum; but the enemy took their tents, beasts of burden, money, slaves, and the rest of their military provisions: When the news of this defeat was brought to Rome, the enemies of the oligarchy, and those who before had concealed their hatred, discovered themselves now by rejoicing at the misfortunes of the generals; and both Horatius, and Valerius, who, as I said, were the leaders of the aristocratical party, had already a strong body of men at their command.

XXIV. In the mean time, Appius, and Spurius supplied their colleagues, who were in the field, with arms, money, corn, and every thing else they stood in need of, taking all these with a high hand whether they belonged to the public, or to private persons; and, lifting all the men in every tribe, who were able to bear arms, in order to replace those, who had been killed, they sent them to the army: So that, the centuries were all completed: They were also very careful in providing for the security of the city, by placing guards in the most advantageous posts, lest those, who had joined Valerius, should privately foment some disorders: After that,
they

they gave secret instructions to their colleagues in the army to put to death all, who opposed their measures; the men of distinction privately; and those of less consideration openly; using always some pretences to make them appear criminal. These instructions were pursued: For some of the former being sent for forage, others to convoy provisions, and others upon different military services, when once out of the camp, were never seen after: As to the common men, they were accused of having been the first, who turned their backs upon the enemy; of giving them secret intelligence, or of quitting their ranks; and put to death publicly, in order to strike terror into the rest. Two causes, therefore, contributed to the destruction of the soldiers; the friends of the oligarchy were slain by the enemy in different actions, and Those of the aristocracy, by the generals.

XXV. Many cruelties of this nature were also committed in the city by Appius, and his colleague. However, the generality of the people were less affected with the loss of others, though many were taken off: But the cruel, and wicked assassination of one man, who was the most distinguished of all the plebeians, and had performed the greatest exploits in war, executed in one of the camps, where the three generals commanded, disposed every one there to a revolt. The person assassinated was Siccius, who had fought the hundred and twenty battles, and been rewarded for his bravery in all; and who, as I said, when he was exempt from service by reason of his age, voluntarily engaged in the war against the Aequi, at the head of a band of
of

of eight hundred men, who had also completed their term of service ordained by the laws, and followed him from their affection to his person; with whom being sent by one of the consuls to attack the enemy's camp, or rather to manifest destruction, as every one thought, he not only made himself master of their camp, but gave occasion to the consuls to obtain a complete victory: This man, who had made many speeches in the city against the conduct of the generals, who were then in the field, and accused them of the want both of courage, and experience, Appius, and his colleague resolved to destroy; and, to that end, invited him to friendly conversations, and to consult with them concerning the operations of the war, desiring him to give them his opinion by what means the errors of the generals might be corrected; and, at last, prevailed upon him to go to the camp at Crustumerium in quality of legate. This dignity is of all others the most honourable, and the most sacred among the Romans, and to it is annexed the power, and authority of a general, and the inviolable, and holy character of a priest. When he came to the camp, the generals received him with great marks of friendship; and, desiring him to stay there, and command in conjunction with them, and making him some presents, and promising others, this military man, indued with simplicity of manners, was deceived by these wicked dissemblers, and so far deluded by the magic of their professions, as not to see the snare, that was laid for him; and, among other counsels, which he thought advantageous to them, he first of all advised them to remove their camp from their own territories

territories to Those of the enemy, and laid before them both the inconveniences they then sustained, and the advantages they would gain, by removing their camp.

XXVI. The generals pretending to receive his advice with great satisfaction, “ Why then, said they, do you not
“ take upon yourself the command of the army, when they
“ decamp, and go before hand to view the ground, and chuse
“ an advantageous post? You are sufficiently acquainted
“ with the country by the many campaigns you have made
“ there, and we will give you a century of chosen youth armed
“ for expedition; you shall have a horse by reason of your
“ age, and armour becoming your dignity.” Siccius having accepted the commission, and desired an hundred chosen light armed men to attend him, they without delay sent him out while it was night, and with him the hundred men, whom they had picked out as the most daring of their faction, with orders to kill the man, promising them great rewards for the murder: These, when, at a great distance from the camp, they came to a mountainous place, where the road was narrow, and difficult for a horse to go any other pace than a walk, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, gave the signal to one another, and assembled with a design to return upon him in a body: But a servant of Siccius, who was his shield bearer, and a brave man, guessed at their design, and gave his master notice of it: Siccius, seeing himself confined in a narrow pass, where it was not possible for him to drive his horse full speed, alighted; and, standing against the hill to avoid being surrounded by his assailants, he, without any other assistance

assistance than that of his shield bearer, determined to receive their attack: They falling upon him all at once, he presently killed about fifteen of them, and wounded twice as many; and would have slain all the rest, if they had come to close fight with him; but they, convinced that he was a man not to be overcome, and that they could never vanquish him by engaging hand to hand, gave over this way of fighting; and, retiring farther off, threw javelins, stones, and sticks at him, and some, ascending the hills, that stood on each side, and getting above him, rolled down large stones upon him; till, by the number of the missive weapons, that were thrown by those before him, and the weight of the stones, that fell upon him from above, he fell dead. This was the end of Siccius.

XXVII. The assassins returned to the camp bringing their wounded with them, and spread a report that a party of the enemy having surpris'd them, had killed Siccius, and such of their company, as they first attacked; and that they themselves, after receiving many wounds, had escaped with great difficulty: This every one believed. However, their crime could not remain concealed; but, though committed in a solitude, and no information could be given of it, yet, by fate itself, and that justice, which inspects all human actions, undoubted proofs appeared to convict them: For the soldiers in the camp, looking upon the man to deserve not only a public funeral, but also distinguished honors for many reasons, but particularly because, though he was a person in years, and exempted by his age from the service, he

had voluntarily thrown himself into danger for the public good, resolved unanimously that a detachment from the three legions should go out in search of his body, to the end it might be brought to the camp with great security, and honor; and, the generals consenting to this for fear of creating some suspicion of their guilt by opposing a worthy, and becoming action, they took their arms, and went out of the camp. When they came to the spot, and saw neither woods, nor valleys, nor any other place proper to conceal an ambuscade, but a naked, and open hill on each side of the narrow pass, they presently suspected what had happened; then, approaching the dead bodies, and seeing Siccus himself, and all the rest lying unstripped, they wondered what should have induced the enemy, when victorious, to have taken away neither their arms, nor their clothes; and, when they examined every part round the place, and found no traces of horses, nor footsteps of men, besides Those in the road, they thought it impossible that the enemy should have presented themselves at once before their companions, as if they had wings, or fell from Heaven: But, besides these, and many other things, the most convincing proof that Siccus had been slain not by the enemy, but by his own men, was this; that not so much as one dead body of the former was to be found: For they could not conceive that Siccus, a man irresistible both by his strength, and valor, or his shield bearer, or those, who had been slain with him could have fallen unrevenged, particularly since they had fought hand to hand; this they observed by their wounds:

For

For both Siccius himself, and his shield bearer had many wounds, some by stones, others by javelins, and others by swords; whereas those, who had been slain by them, were all wounded by swords, and none by stones, javelins, or other missile weapons: This raised their resentment, and they all cried out, making great lamentations. After they had bewailed the calamity of this brave man, they took up his body; and, carrying it to the camp, threw out many invectives against their generals; and, above all things, they wanted to put the murderers to death by military violence; or, if that could not be done, to have judges presently appointed to try them, many offering themselves to be their accusers. The generals paid no regard to any thing they desired, but concealed the men, and put off the trial, telling them they should answer any accusations, when the army returned to Rome: Upon which, the soldiers, finding that the generals had been the authors of this assassination, buried Siccius in a most magnificent manner, and erected a large funeral pile, where every man, according to his power, presented the first offerings of every thing, that is usually employed in performing the last honors to brave men; but they were all alienated from the decemvirs, and resolved from that moment to revolt. Thus, the army, that lay incamped at Crustumium, and Fidenae, were, by the murder of Siccius the legate, irritated against the rulers of the commonwealth.

XXVIII. The other army, that lay on mount Algidus in the territories of the Aequi, as well as the whole body of the

people at Rome, became exasperated against them, for the following reasons: A plebeian, whose name was Lucius Virginius, a man inferior to none in military accomplishments, had the ¹² command of a century in one of the five legions, that were employed against the Aequi; this person had a daughter, called from her father, Virginia, who far surpassed all the Roman virgins in beauty, and was promised in marriage to Lucius, formerly a tribune, the ¹³ grandson of that Icilius, who first instituted, and was first invested with, the tribunitian power: Appius Claudius, the chief of the decemvirs, having seen this virgin, who was now marriageable, as she was reading in a school (for the schools stood at that time near the forum) he was presently captivated with her beauty, and the violence of his passion forcing him often to return to the school, his phrensy was, by this means, encreased. But, finding it impossible for him to marry her, both because she

¹² Λεχς τινος ἡγεμονίαν εἶχον ἐν τοῖς πέντε ταγμασὶν ἐλάχθη. Whenever Portus (who certainly understood Greek extremely well) mistakes the sense of our author, le Jay never fails to adopt his mistake: This, if it happened but seldom, might, and ought to be attributed to accident: But, when it is never otherwise, it can be ascribed to nothing but to his translating him without any regard to the Greek text. Portus, through inadvertency, had rendered this passage, *quinque illis legionibus praefectus fuerat*; and his faithful follower has said, *estoit parvenu au commandement des cinq légions.* ⁿ Livy,

in speaking of the command of Virginius, says, *honestum ordinem in Algidio ducebat.*

¹³ Υἱογιός. Sylburgius has very well observed that Lucius Icilius must have been the grandson, not the son of that Icilius, who was one of the first tribunes; since, from that time to the present year 305, there are no less than 44 years, and this Lucius is all along spoken of as a young man. This correction I have followed in the Greek text, and in my translation, have substituted υἱογιός in the room of υἱός, which is the reading of all the editions, and manuscripts.

ⁿ B. iii. c. 41.

was promised to another, and because he himself was married; and looking upon it, at the same time, to be below him to marry into a plebeian family, and contrary to the law, which he himself had inserted among Those of the twelve tables, he first endeavoured to corrupt her with money; and, for that purpose, was continually sending some women to her governesses (for Virginia had lost her mother) and gave them much, and promised more. The women he sent to tempt the governesses, had orders not to acquaint them with the name of the man, who was in love with Virginia, but only that he was a person, who had it in his power to do good, and bad offices, to those he thought fit. When he found himself unable to gain the governesses, and saw the virgin guarded even with greater care than before, his passion was inflamed, and he resolved upon more audacious measures: Then, sending for Marcus Claudius, who was one of his clients, a daring man, and ready for any service, he acquainted him with his passion; and, having instructed him with what he would have him do, and say, he sent him away, accompanied with a band of the most profligate men. Claudius, going to the school, seized the virgin, and attempted to lead her away publicly through the forum; but, there being an outcry, and a great concourse of people, he was hindered from carrying the virgin to the place he had designed, and addressed himself to a magistrate; this was Appius, who was then sitting alone in the tribunal to hear causes, and administer justice to those, who applied for it: But, when Claudius was going to speak, the people, who

who stood round the tribunal, cried out, and expressed their indignation, and all desired he might stay till the relations of the virgin were present : And Appius ordered it should be so. In a short time, Publius Numitorius, uncle to Virginia by her mother, a man of distinction among the plebeians, appeared with many of his friends, and relations ; and, not long after, came Lucius, to whom she had been promised by her father, accompanied with a strong body of young plebeians. He came to the tribunal out of breath, and ¹⁴ labouring for respiration, and desired to know who it was had dared to lay hands upon a virgin, who was a Roman citizen, and what he meant by it.

XXIX. All being silent, Marcus Claudius, who had laid hold on Virginia, spoke as follows : “ I have committed
 “ neither a rash, nor a violent action in relation to this
 “ virgin, Appius Claudius ; but, as I am her master, I take
 “ her according to law. I shall now inform you by what
 “ means she is become mine ; I have a female slave, who

¹⁴ Μέλωρος το πνευμα. ° Horace has translated this Greek expression very happily in that fine ode, where, in speaking of Tydides, he says to Paris,

*Quem tu, cervus uti vallis in alterâ
 Visum parte lupum graminis immemor,
 Sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu.*

I wish the reader would accept this version, and give me leave to follow the example of the French translators, who have both agreed to leave out these words : They have said, *tout hors*

d'haleine, which very well explains αἰσμαινών ; but what becomes of μέλωρος το πνευμα ? They have avoided these words as religiously, as if there was some conjuration in them. It is certain I cannot translate this expression. But it is too late now to call out for quarter, after I have attempted the translation of so many difficult passages, rather than leave them out. If the reader dislikes my translation of this, I can assure him that he cannot dislike it more than I do.

° B. i. Ode 15.

“ belonged

“ belonged to my father, and has served a great many years :
 “ This slave, being with child, was ingaged by the wife
 “ of Virginius ¹⁵ whom she was acquainted with, and used
 “ to visit, to give her the child she should be brought
 “ to bed of ; and, in performance of this promise, when
 “ delivered of this daughter, she pretended to us that she
 “ was brought to bed of a dead child, and gave the girl to
 “ Numitoria ; who, having no children, either male, or
 “ female, took the child ; and, ¹⁶ supposing it, brought it up :

¹⁵ Η Ουεργινίη γυνή συνηθῆ, καὶ εισοδίαν ἔσταν ἐπεισεν. M. * * * very justly censures le Jay for having suffered himself to be misled by Portus in rendering this passage. For my own part, I never censure le Jay for mistaking the Greek text, because it is plain that he never consulted it ; but here he has grossly mistaken the Latin of Portus ; and, by mistaking it, has invented an intrigue between the father of Claudius, and his slave, for which there is not the least foundation either in the Greek text (but that is out of the question) or in the Latin translation of Portus. The latter says, *quod ipsi esset familiaris, et cum ipsâ consuetudinem haberet*. These last words imposed upon le Jay, and gave him occasion to suppose this intrigue ; whereas, *ipsi* plainly relates to the wife of Virginius, and not to *patri*, as he has taken it ; since the father of Claudius is not mentioned either in the Greek text, or in the Latin of Portus : In the former, the slave is called *Θεραπαινα παῖς* ; and, in the latter, *paterna serva* ; and *consuetudinem haberet* is designed for a translation of *εισοδίαν*, as le Jay must

have known, if he had consulted, and understood, the Greek text : However, I shall do him the justice I have always done to transcribe his own words : *J'ay une esclave chez moy qui estoit autrefois à mon pere, et qui me sert depuis plusieurs années : elle eût l'avantage de lui plaire, et par le commerce qu'elle eût avec lui, elle en devint enceinte.*

¹⁶ ὑποβάλλειν. I hope the reader will allow me to translate this *supposes*, which I cannot do otherwise without a great circumlocution, nor properly with it. I own that I do not remember to have met with this word used in this sense as a verb in our language ; but we make use of the participle *supposed*, and of the adjective *supposititious*. I was surpris'd to find that the French translators did not employ this verb ; since *supposer un enfant* is certainly good French. If they had done this, le Jay needed not to have said *Numitorie la fit passer pour sa fille, and l'éleva avec le mesme soin que si elle en eust esté la mere* : Nor M. * * * — *elle l'éleva avec autant de soin que si c'eût été la sienne* : which, by the way, are almost the same words with the former. They

“ For

“ For a long time, I was ignorant of all this ; but now being
 “ informed of it, and provided with many credible witnesses,
 “ and having also examined the slave, I fly to that law,
 “ which is common to all, and determines that the children
 “ shall belong to their mothers, not to those who suppose
 “ them ; that, if the mothers are free, the children shall be
 “ free ; if those are slaves, the children shall be slaves also ;
 “ and that both the children, and the mothers, shall have
 “ the same masters : In virtue of this law, I desire that I
 “ may take the daughter of my slave, and am ready to sub-
 “ mit my pretensions to a trial ; and, if any one claims her,
 “ to give sufficient sureties to produce her at the time ap-
 “ pointed ; but, if they desire to have this affair speedily
 “ determined, I am willing this minute to plead my cause
 “ before you, and shall neither give security for her ap-
 “ pearance, nor offer any thing that may create a delay.
 “ Let them chuse which of these two conditions they like
 “ best.”

XXX. After Claudius had said this, and added many
 intreaties that his claim might not be less regarded than
 That of his adversaries, because he was his client, and of
 mean birth ; the uncle of Virginia answered in few words,
 and those such, as were proper to be addressed to a magi-
 strate, saying, that Virginius, a plebeian, was the father of
 this girl, and then abroad in the service of his country ; that
 Numitoria, his own sister, a woman of virtue, and worth,

might have saved themselves this cir-
 cumlocution by saying *elle la suppoja* :
 For I have read in the French law

books that *une femme qui a suppose un
 enfant, doit perdre son douaire*.

was her mother, who died not many years before; that the virgin herself had been educated in such a manner, as became a person of free condition, and a citizen of Rome; that she had been solemnly betrothed to Icilius, and that the marriage had taken effect, if the war with the Aequi had not intervened; that, during no less than fifteen years, Claudius had never attempted to aver any thing of this kind to the relations of Virginia; but that now the virgin was marriageable, and of distinguished beauty, he was charmed with it, and published an infamous calumny, contrived not indeed by himself, but by a man, who thought he had a right to gratify all his passions, by all the methods he could invent: He added that, as to the trial, the father himself would defend the cause of his daughter, when he returned from the campaign; and that, in the mean time, as he was her uncle, and ready to support her right, he himself claimed her person, to which he was intitled by the laws; and, in this, he insisted upon nothing that was either new, or not allowed to every Roman, if not to every other man, which is, that, if it is pretended that any person is a slave, not the man, who maintains that he is so, but he who asserts his liberty, shall have the custody of that person, till the decision of the contest: And he said that Appius was obliged, on many accounts, to observe this institution; first, because he had inserted ¹⁷ this very law with the rest in the twelve tables; and, in the next place, because he was

¹⁷ Τον νόμον τούτον. This law will be translated, when we come to Those of our author has here given us the sense of it.
the twelve tables. In the mean time,

chief of the decemvirate; and, besides, that he was invested not only with the consular, but also with the tribunitian, power, the principal function of which was to relieve such of the citizens, as were weak, and destitute of all other help: He then desired him to compassionate a virgin, who fled to him for assistance, and who had long since lost her mother, and was then deprived of her father, and in danger of losing not only her paternal fortunes, but also her husband, her country, and, the greatest of all human blessings, her liberty. And, having lamented the abuse, to which the virgin would be delivered up, and, by that means, raised great compassion in all present, he, at last, spoke of the time to be appointed for the decision of this cause, and said: “ Since Claudius, “ who, during fifteen years, never complained of any injury, “ now desires it should be presently decided, any other “ person but myself, to whom the event was of so great consequence, would say that he was severely treated, and have “ great reason to express his indignation, and also to insist “ that, when the peace was made, and all, who are now in “ the army, were returned, he should then defend his cause, “ by reason that both parties would then have great numbers “ of witnesses, friends, and judges; and, in that case, his “ demand would become a citizen, be full of moderation, “ and agreeable to the Roman constitution: But we, says “ he, stand in need of none of these reasons; we want “ neither peace, nor a number of friends, and judges; “ neither do we put off the cause to the time appointed for “ such decisions; but, even in war, in a scarcity of friends, “ before

“ before judges not impartial, and without delay, we submit
 “ to defend ourselves, and desire only that you will grant
 “ us so much time, Appius, as will be sufficient for the
 “ father of the virgin to return from the army, to lament
 “ his own misfortunes, and plead his own cause.”

XXXI. Numitorius having said this, and the people, who stood round the tribunal, signifying by their applause that his demand was just, Appius, after a short pause, said: “ I
 “ am not ignorant of the law concerning bailing those, who
 “ are claimed as slaves, which does not suffer their persons
 “ to continue in the power of the claimants till the hearing
 “ of the cause; neither would I willingly break through a
 “ law, of which I myself am the author: For which reason,
 “ as there are two claimants, the master, and the father, I
 “ think it just that, if they were both present, the father
 “ should have the custody of her person till the hearing:
 “ But, since he is absent, let the master take her away,
 “ giving sufficient sureties to produce her before the magistrate, when the father returns. I shall take great care,
 “ Numitorius, concerning the sureties, and the ¹⁸ sum they

¹⁸. Τὸ τιμημαῖος. The Latin translators have rendered this *de litis aestimatione*; and by them, both le Jay, and M. * * * have been misled; the first has said, *l'estimation des dépens*; and the other, *de l'estimation du procès, ou de l'amende qu'il faudra imposer*. Τιμημα, in this place, does not signify either *the costs*, or *a fine*; neither of which had any relation to the decree, which Appius had, just before, pro-

nounced. The word here plainly signifies the sum of money, in which the sureties were to be bound: This, and the sufficiency of the sureties to pay that sum, if they failed to produce Virginia, explains that part of the decree, where it is said ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιοχρεῶς δοῦναι. ^P Our author, in speaking of the affair of Cæso, has himself explained what he means by τιμημα in this place, viz. τὰ περὶ τὸ σωμαῖος τῆς ἀποκατάστασεως

“ are to be bound in, and also that you shall lose no advantage you are intitled to in the course of this cause ; now
 “ deliver up the virgin.” After Appius had pronounced this sentence, Virginia, and the women, who attended her, broke out into lamentations, and beat their breasts ; and all the people, who stood round the tribunal, cried out, and expressed their indignation : But Icilius, who was to marry her, caught her in his arms, and said : “ While I am alive
 “ at least, Appius, no man shall take away this virgin ; but,
 “ if you are resolved to violate the law, to confound our
 “ rights, and deprive us of our liberty, deny no longer the
 “ tyranny you are reproached with, but take off my head,
 “ and, after that, order this, and every other virgin, and
 “ matron to be carried away to any place you shall appoint ;
 “ to the end the Romans may, at last, be convinced that, from
 “ free men, they are transformed to slaves, and cease to entertain sentiments more elevated than their condition. What,
 “ therefore, do you stay for ? Why do you not pour out
 “ my blood before your tribunal in the presence of all the
 “ citizens ? But assure yourself that my death will prove
 “ to the Romans the source either of great miseries, or of
 “ great blessings.”

XXXII. He was going on, when the lictors, by order of the magistrate, kept him off from the tribunal, and commanded him to obey the sentence. Upon which, Claudius laid hold on the virgin, and was going to take her away, while she

ὁμολογηθέντα χρημαία. The great care Appius told Numitorius that he would take of these two points, was a piece

of judge craft, calculated to soften the injustice of his decree.

hung

hung upon her uncle, and her spouse. The people, who stood round the tribunal, seeing her in so moving an agony, cried out all at once; and, without regarding the authority of the magistrate, fell upon those, who were endeavouring to force her away: So that, Claudius, fearing their violence, quitted Virginia, and fled for refuge under the feet of the decemvir. Appius, seeing all the people in a rage, was, at first, greatly disordered, and in doubt for a considerable time what measures to take; then calling Claudius to the tribunal, and speaking a few words to him, as it seemed, he made a sign for the audience to be silent, and said: “ Since I find
 “ you are exasperated at the sentence I have pronounced,
 “ citizens, I shall wave the exactness of that part of it, which
 “ relates to the giving sureties by Claudius for the appearance
 “ of Virginia; and, in order to gratify you, I have prevailed
 “ upon my client to consent that the relations of the virgin
 “ shall bail her till the arrival of her father: Take away the
 “ virgin, therefore, Numitorius, and acknowledge yourself
 “ bound for her appearance to morrow: For this time is
 “ sufficient for you both to give Virginius notice to day,
 “ and to bring him hither in three or four hours from the
 “ camp to morrow.” And they desiring further time, he gave no answer, but rose up, and ordered his seat to be taken away.

XXXIII. He left the forum full of anguish, distracted with love, and determined not to relinquish the virgin any more to her relations; but, when she was produced by her surety, to take her away by force; to place a stronger guard
 about

about his person, in order to prevent any violence from the multitude, and early to post a great number of his friends, and clients round the tribunal. That he might execute this resolution with a shew of justice under the pretence of the nonappearance of the father, he sent some horsemen, whom he chiefly confided in, to the camp with letters for Antonius, who commanded the legion, in which Virginius served, to desire he would detain the man in safe custody, lest, when he was informed of the situation of his daughter, he might escape out of the camp: But his design was ¹⁹ prevented by the son of Numitorius, and the brother of Icilius, who being sent away by the rest of her relations upon the first motion of this affair, as they were young, and full of spirit, rode full speed; and, arriving at the camp before the men sent by Appius, informed Virginius of every thing which had passed; who, going to Antonius, and concealing the true cause of his request, pretended that he had received an account of the death of some near relation, whose funeral, and burial he was obliged by the law to perform; and, by that means, obtained his dismissal; and, setting out in the ²⁰ evening with the youths, he took a by road for fear of being pursued both from the camp, and the city; which really happened: For Antonius, having received the letters about the first

¹⁹ Εφθασαν δὲ αὐτὸν, etc. Nothing can be said with greater simplicity, and beauty than what ^a Livy says upon this occasion: *Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit.*

²⁰ Περί λυχνῶν αἴφας. Literally, at

the time of lighting up lamps. It is a very common thing with the ancient writers, particularly with Homer, to express the time of the day by the employment of it.

^a B. iii. c. 46.

watch, detached a party of horse after him, and others, sent from the city, patrolled all night in the road, that led from the camp to Rome. When Appius was informed of the unexpected arrival of Virginius, he was in a fury ; and, going to the tribunal with a great number of attendants, ordered the relations of Virginia to appear. When they were come, Claudius repeated what he had said before, and desired Appius to decide the contest without delay, saying that both his informer, and his witnesses were present, and that he was ready to deliver up the slave herself to be examined: He ended all with a feigned lamentation, grounded on a supposed fear of not obtaining the same justice with others, as he had said before, because he was his client ; and also with desiring that Appius would not relieve those, whose complaints were the most affecting, but, whose demands were the most equitable.

XXXIV. On the other side, the father of the virgin, and the rest of her relations, brought many just, and well-grounded proofs to shew the child could not have been supposed ; alledging that the sister of Numitorius, and wife of Virginius, could have no probable reason to suppose a child, since she was then young, and married to a young man, and had brought forth a child no very considerable time after her marriage ; neither, if she had been ever so desirous to introduce a foreign offspring into her own family, would she have taken the child of another person's slave, rather than That of a free woman united to her by consanguinity, or friendship, whose fidelity might have secured to her the possession

possession of the child she had taken; and, when she had it in her power to take either a male, or a female child, she would certainly have chosen the former: For, after a woman is brought to bed, if she wants children, she must necessarily be contented with, and bring up, whatever nature produces; whereas, a woman, who supposes a child, will in all probability chuse one of that sex, which excels the other: As to the informer, and the credible witnesses, which Claudius said he would produce in great numbers, they disproved their testimony by this reason drawn from probability, that Numitoria would never have done a thing openly, and in conjunction with witnesses of free condition, which required secrecy, and might have been transacted by one person; and, by that means, have exposed herself to have the girl taken from her by the master of the mother, after she had brought her up: The length of time also was no small proof, they said, that the claimant advanced nothing, that was well grounded: For it was not to be imagined that either the informer, or the witnesses would have kept this supposition of the child a secret during fifteen years, but would long before have disclosed it. After they had refuted the proofs of their adversaries, and shewn them to be neither true, nor probable, they desired that their own proofs might be weighed against them, and named many women, and those of no mean note, who, they said, knew that Numitoria was then with child by her shape: Besides these, they produced others, who, as relations, had been present at her labor, and delivery, and had seen the child brought into the world, and desired they might

might be examined: But, the clearest proof of all, which was attested by many both men and women, free people, and even slaves, they reserved for the last, and said that the child had been suckled by her mother; and that it was impossible a woman could have her breasts full of milk, if she had not been brought to bed.

XXXV. While they were alledging these reasons, and many others of equal weight, and such as could admit of no reply; and, at the same time, representing the calamities of the virgin in a very affecting manner, all who heard them, when they cast their eyes upon her, compassionated the distresses, in which her beauty had involved her (for, being dressed in mourning, her looks fixed on the ground, and the lustre of her eyes drowned in tears, she attracted the regard of all the spectators; such was her beauty, and such her grace, that she appeared more than mortal) and all bewailed this unexpected turn of fortune, when they considered from what prosperity she was fallen, and to what abuses, and insults she was going to be exposed: They also reflected that, since the law, which had secured their liberty, was violated, nothing could hinder their own wives, and daughters also from suffering the same treatment. While they were making these, and the like reflexions, and communicating them to one another, they could not refrain from tears. But Appius, who was not in his nature a man of sense, being then corrupted with the greatness of his power, his mind distempered, and his heart inflamed with the love of Virginia, paid no regard to the reasons alledged in her

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favor, nor was moved with her tears, but even resented the compassion shewn to her by the audience; since he looked upon himself to deserve greater compassion, and to suffer greater torments from that beauty, which had inflaved him. Wrought up to madness, therefore, by all these incentives, he had the confidence both to make a shameless speech, by which he plainly confirmed the suspicion, that he himself had contrived the calumny against the virgin, and to commit a tyrannical, and cruel action.

XXXVI. For, while they were going on to plead in her favor, he commanded silence; and all being silent, and the people in the forum flocking to the tribunal from a desire to hear what he would say, he often turned his eyes here and there, to observe the number of his friends, who by his orders had posted themselves in different parts of the forum, and then spoke as follows:

“ This is not the first time, Virginus, and you, who attend with him, that I have heard of this affair; I was
“ informed of it long ago, even before I was invested with
“ this magistracy. Hear now, by what means it came to my
“ knowledge: The father of this Marcus Claudius, when
“ he was dying, desired me to be trustee for his son, whom
“ he was leaving an infant: For the Claudii are hereditary
“ clients to our family. During the time of this trust, I
“ had information given me that Numitoria had supposed
“ this girl, whom she had received from the slave of Claudius;
“ and, upon examining into the matter, I found it
“ was so. As it did not become me to stir in this affair
“ myself,

“ myself, I thought it best to leave it to this man, when he
 “ grew up, either to take away the girl if he thought fit,
 “ or to come to an accommodation with those, who had
 “ brought her up, for a sum of money, or to gratify them
 “ with the possession of her. Since that time, being engaged
 “ in public affairs, I gave myself no further concern about
 “ Those of Claudius: But it is probable that, when he was
 “ taking an account of his own fortunes, he also received
 “ the same information concerning this girl, which had
 “ before been given to me; neither does he claim any thing
 “ unwarranted by law, in desiring to take the daughter of his
 “ own slave: If they would have accommodated this matter,
 “ it had been well; but, since it is brought into litigation,
 “ I give this testimony in his favor, and decree him to be
 “ the master of the girl.”

XXXVII. When those, who were uncorrupted, and
 friends to justice, heard this sentence, they held up their
 hands to Heaven, and raised an outcry mixed with lamen-
 tation, and resentment: While the flatterers of the oligarchy
 gave acclamations capable of inspiring the men in power
 with confidence. And the assembly being inflamed, and
 full of various expressions, and agitations, Appius commanded
 silence, and said; “ Disturbers of the public tranquillity,
 “ and useless both in peace and war, if you cease not to
 “ divide the city, and to oppose us in the execution of our
 “ office, necessity shall teach you to submit. Think not
 “ that these guards in the capitol, and the fortrefs, are placed
 “ there by us only to secure the city against a foreign enemy,

“ and that we shall suffer you to sit here, and taint the
 “ administration of the government. Be more prudent for
 “ the future than you are now; depart all of you, who have
 “ nothing to do here, and mind your own affairs, if you are
 “ wise. And do you, Claudius, take the girl, and lead her
 “ through the forum without fearing any one: For the
 “ twelve axes of Appius shall attend you.” After he had
 said this, the people withdrew from the forum fighting,
 beating their foreheads, and unable to refrain from tears;
 while Claudius was taking away the virgin, who hung round
 her father, kissing him, and calling upon him with the most
 endearing expressions. In this distress, Virginus resolved
 upon an action, deplorable indeed, and afflicting for a father;
 but, at the same time, becoming a lover of liberty, and a
 man of great spirit: For, having desired leave to embrace
 his daughter for the last time without molestation, and to say
 what he thought fit to her in private before she was taken
 from the forum, he obtained it of the magistrate; and his
 enemies retiring a little, he held her in his arms, while she
 was fainting, sinking to the ground, and scarce able to sup-
 port herself; and, for some time, called upon her, kissed her,
 and wiped off her tears that flowed without ceasing: Then,
 drawing her on by degrees, when he came to a cook’s shop,
 he snatched up a knife from the table, and plunged it in her
 breast, saying only this: “ I send thee, child, to the manes
 “ of thy ancestors with liberty, and innocence: For, if thou
 “ hadst lived, that tyrant would not have suffered thee to
 “ enjoy either.” An outcry being raised upon this, he held
 the

the bloody knife in his hand; and, covered as he was with the blood of his daughter, he ran like a mad man through the city, and called the citizens to liberty. Then, forcing his way through the gates, he mounted a horse, that stood ready for him, and rode to the camp accompanied by ²¹ Icilius, and Numitorius, who had attended him from thence to the city. He was followed by many other plebeians: So that, in the whole, their number amounted to about four hundred.

XXXVIII. When Appius was acquainted with the catastrophe of the virgin, he leaped from his seat, and would have pursued Virginus, betraying great indecency both in his words, and actions: But his friends standing about him, and begging of him to refrain from all excess, he departed with his heart full of resentment against every man. When he came home, some of his people informed him that Icilius, the spouse of Virginia, and Numitorius her uncle, together with many of their friends, and relations, were standing round her body, using all sorts of invectives against him, and calling the people to liberty. Appius, enraged as he was, sent some of the lictors, with orders to carry those, who had clamoured against him, to prison, and to remove the body out of the forum: Which was an action of the greatest imprudence, and least of all suited to the present juncture: For, when he ought to have courted the people, who had a

²¹ Ικίλιος. This was the brother of that Icilius, who was to have married Virginia: Which I mention, because the latter, who is called Ικίλιος ὁ κηδεύτης, and Numitorius, Virginia's uncle, with their friends, and relations, were standing round her body.

just cause of resentment, by yielding to them for the present, and afterwards justifying some parts of his conduct, and begging pardon for others, and regaining their affection by some instances of favor, he suffered himself to be hurried on to violent measures, and drove them to despair: For they would not suffer the lictors either to remove the body, or to carry the men to prison; but, encouraging one another by their cries, they pushed, and struck them, when they attempted to use violence, and forced them to leave the forum: So that, Appius, hearing this, was obliged to go to the forum himself, accompanied with a great number of his friends, and clients, and to order them to fall upon every one they found in the streets, and compel them to depart. But Valerius, and Horatius, who, as I said, were at the head of those, who desired to recover their liberty, being informed of his design, brought with them a numerous body of brave youth, and placed themselves before the body: And, when Appius, and his people advanced, they, first, inveighed against, and abused, the power of the decemvirs; then, confirming their words by their actions, they struck, and threw to the ground all who durst attack them.

XXXIX. Appius, exasperated at this unexpected opposition, and not knowing how to subdue the authors of it, resolved upon the most pernicious of all measures: For, confiding in the continuance of the people's attachment to him, he went to the temple of Vulcan; and, assembling them in that place, he attempted to charge those persons with having treated him in an outrageous, and abusive manner; and

and flattered himself that, as he was invested with the tribunitian power, the people would espouse his resentment, and suffer them to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock. On the other side, Valerius, and his party, possessed themselves of another part of the forum; and, placing the body of the virgin where it might be seen by all, they held another assembly of the people, and laid themselves out in many invectives against Appius, and the rest of the oligarchical faction. And it happened, as it might well be expected, that, while some were invited thither by the dignity of the persons; others, by their compassion for the virgin, whose unfortunate beauty had drawn upon her such "dreadful, and more than dreadful, disasters; and others, by the sole desire of seeing their ancient constitution restored, this assembly was more numerous than the other: So that, only a few, and those the abettors of the oligarchy, remained with Appius; among whom there were some, who adhered to it, no longer, for many reasons; and, if their adversaries gained strength, were ready to take arms against it. Appius, seeing himself deserted, was obliged to change his resolution, and leave the forum; which proved of the greatest advantage to him: For, if he had fallen into the

²² Δεινὰ καὶ πλεονεκτικὰ δεινῶν. Casaubon has very justly observed that this is a tragical expression: But, if any event can justify an historian in the use of these expressions, this catastrophe of Virginia will justify our author: If this will not, custom will: For the best Greek historians often paint tra-

gical events in the affecting colours of poetry. But the misfortune is that a mere modern reader, who is unaccustomed to these pathetic strains, will think the author, or rather the translator, mad, when he renders them, as he ought, literally.

hands

hands of the populace, he had met with the punishment he deserved. After that, Valerius, and his party, having all the opportunity they could desire, indulged themselves in declaiming against the oligarchy; and, by their harangues, determined those, who were yet unresolved: The relations of the virgin still encreased the disaffection of the citizens, by bringing her bier into the forum; by adorning her body with all possible magnificence, and carrying it through the most remarkable, and most conspicuous streets of the city: For the matrons, and virgins ran out of their houses, lamenting her misfortune, and some threw flowers upon the bier, some their girdles, or ribbands, others, their virgin toys, and others even cut off their curls, and cast them upon it: And many of the men, either purchasing ornaments in the neighbouring shops, or receiving them by the favor of the owners, contributed to the pomp by presents proper to the occasion: So that, the funeral was celebrated through the whole city; and all desired the subversion of the oligarchy: But the favourers of it, being armed, kept them in awe; and neither Valerius, nor his friends, were willing to decide the contest by shedding the blood of their fellow-citizens.

XL. The affairs of the city, therefore, were in this disorder. In the mean time, Virginius, who, as I said, had slain his daughter with his own hand, riding full speed, arrived at the camp on mount Algidus that evening, in the condition he had left Rome, all covered with blood, and holding the knife in his hand. When the guards, who were posted
before

before the camp, saw him, they could not imagine what had happened to the man; but attended him in expectation of hearing some great, and dreadful event. Virginus, for some time, went on weeping, and making signs to those he met to follow him; and the soldiers, who were then at supper, all ran out of their tents, as he passed by them, and with torches, and lamps, followed him on both sides, in suspense, and consternation. When he came to the open place in the camp, he stood upon a rising ground, so as to be seen by all, and related the misfortunes, which had befallen him, and called upon those, who came with him from the city, to attest the truth of his relation. When he saw great numbers of them lament, and shed tears, he had recourse to supplications, and intreaties, and conjured them not to suffer him to be unrevenged, or their country to be abused: While he was saying this, they all shewed a great desire to hear him, and encouraged him to go on. For which reason, he now declaimed against the oligarchy with greater confidence; and, having shewn that the decemvirs had deprived many men of their fortunes; caused many to be whipped; forced many innocent persons to leave their country; and enumerated their insults offered to matrons; their ravishments of marriageable virgins; their abuses of boys of free condition, and all their other excesses, and cruelties, he said: “ And thus are we insulted by those, “ who derive their power neither from law, the approbation “ of the senate, nor the consent of the people (for the term “ of their magistracy, that was confined to a year, after

“ which they were to deliver up to others the administration
 “ of affairs, is expired) but from the most violent of all
 “ means, while they look upon us as so many women
 “ without courage, or spirit. Let every one of you con-
 “ sider both his own sufferings, and those of others ; and,
 “ if any of you, allured by them with pleasures, or gratifi-
 “ cations, neither fear the oligarchy, nor apprehend that,
 “ one day, these calamities will reach them as well as others,
 “ let them reflect that tyrants are not to be trusted ; and
 “ that favors, and every thing of that nature, flow not from
 “ the good will of the men in power ; and let them change
 “ their opinion. Join, therefore, all in the resolution to
 “ free from these tyrants your country, in which are placed
 “ both the temples of the gods, and the sepulchres of your
 “ ancestors, whom you honour next to the gods ; in which
 “ are your aged fathers, who demand of you many ac-
 “ knowledgements, and such, as the pains they have be-
 “ stowed upon your education, deserve ; and in which are
 “ your lawful wives, and your marriageable daughters, who
 “ require no small attention from their parents, together
 “ with your sons, who have a natural right to continue
 “ the race derived to them from their ancestors : For I say
 “ nothing of your houses, your estates, and effects, which
 “ have been acquired with great pains both by your fathers,
 “ and yourselves ; none of which you can securely enjoy
 “ while you live under the tyranny of these decemvirs.

XLI. “ It is the part neither of prudent, nor brave men,
 “ to acquire the possessions of others by their valor, and to
 “ lose

“ lose their own by their cowardice ; neither does it become
 “ you to wage long, and incessant wars with the Aequi, the
 “ Volsci, the Sabines, and all the rest of your neighbours,
 “ for sovereignty, and dominion, and not to take arms
 “ against those, who govern you against law, when both
 “ your preservation, and your liberty are at stake. Is it
 “ possible, that you should not assume the spirit of your
 “ country ? That you should not enter into a consideration
 “ worthy the virtue of your ancestors, who, because one
 “ woman was abused by a son of Tarquin, and, by reason
 “ of this calamity, put herself to death, resented this mis-
 “ fortune with so much warmth, and were so much ex-
 “ asperated at it, looking upon the abuse to be common to
 “ all, that they not only expelled Tarquin, but even abo-
 “ lished monarchy itself, and passed a law that, for the future,
 “ no man should govern the Romans with a perpetual, and
 “ uncontrollable authority ; and, binding themselves with
 “ the most solemn oaths to observe this law, they cursed
 “ their posterity, if ever they should violate it. They could
 “ not bear the tyrannical abuse of one licentious youth,
 “ committed upon one person of free condition ; and will
 “ you bear a many headed tyranny, that revels in all sorts of
 “ excess, and licentiousness, and will still encrease in both,
 “ if you now submit to it ? I am not the only man, who
 “ had a daughter distinguished for her beauty, whom Appius
 “ openly attempted to force, and abuse, but many of you
 “ also have daughters, others, wives, and others, young sons
 “ remarkable for their beauty ; and what should hinder

“ these from being treated in the same manner by some
 “ other of the ten tyrants, or by Appius himself? Unless
 “ indeed some god should undertake that, if you suffer my
 “ calamities to go unrevenged, the same misfortunes will
 “ not fall upon many of you, but that this tyrannical lust
 “ will stop at my daughter, and grow chaste to all other
 “ youths, and virgins. Be assured that it is a great folly,
 “ and weakness to ²³ reflect that these things have happened,
 “ and then to say that they will not happen again: For the
 “ passions of tyrants are unlimited, as we may justly con-
 “ clude, since they are not to be checked either by law, or
 “ fear. Revenge, therefore, with justice the injury I have
 “ sustained; and, at the same time, secure yourselves from
 “ the like treatment; break your chains at last, O miserable
 “ men! and fix your eyes on liberty. What greater cause
 “ of resentment can you have than the present, when the
 “ tyrants take away the daughters of citizens, like slaves,
 “ and force them to their beds with stripes? At what junc-
 “ ture will you resume the spirit of free men, if you omit
 “ this, in which you have arms in your hands?”

²³ Τα γενομενα ταυτα νοησαι, και ως
 ηκ εσαι, λεγειν. This passage is allowed
 to be corrupted in all the editions, and
 manuscripts, where it stands thus, τα
 νοημενα ταυτα ως etc. Casaubon has
 endeavoured to correct it by reading
 προνοειν, ογ το προνοειν μεν ταυτα. This,
 to be sure, makes some sense, at least,
 of the words; but, in my opinion, it
 is not the sense of our author; who

makes Virginius conclude from the
 misfortune, which had happened to
 his own daughter, that the same would
 happen to the daughters of others.
 The passage, therefore, must be re-
 stored in such a manner, that some
 words may express the past, as ως ηκ
 εσαι expresses the future. The learned
 reader will chuse which of these cor-
 rections he likes best.

XLII. While he was yet speaking, most of the soldiers cried out, and promised to revenge him: Then, calling upon the centurions by name, they desired them to begin the work; and many of them presented themselves, and were not afraid to publish any ill treatment they had suffered. In the mean time, the five generals, who, as I said, had the command of the legions, fearing some attempt from the soldiers, ran all to the general's tent, and considered with their friends whether it might not be possible to appease the tumult by arming those of their own faction, and posting them round the tent: But, being informed that the soldiers were retired to their tents, and that the disturbance was ended, and appeased, and not knowing that the greatest part of the centurions had secretly conspired to revolt, and to unite in freeing their country, they resolved to seize Virginius, when it was day, as the author of this disorder, and to keep him in custody; and then to decamp, and, marching against the enemy, to post themselves in the best part of their country, and lay it waste; and not to suffer their men so much as to inquire, from that time, what was doing in the city, but to divert them from that inquiry, partly by the booty they would acquire, and partly by the continual battles, in which their own safety would be the sole object of their thoughts. But they succeeded in none of their designs: For the centurions would not suffer Virginius to go to the general's tent, when he was sent for, suspecting he might suffer some ill treatment; but, hearing accidentally that the generals had resolved to lead the troops against the enemy, they

they broke out into the following reproaches ; “ How successfully have you commanded us hitherto, that we should now also entertain any hopes of success in following you, who, after you had raised more forces both in Rome itself, and among our allies, than any other Roman generals, never gained any victory over the enemy, nor did them any damage, but only exposed your own want of valor, and experience, by incamping in disadvantageous posts ; and, by harraſſing your own country inſtead of That belonging to the enemy, you have impoverished us, and deprived us of all thoſe advantages we uſed to acquire by our victories, when we were commanded by better generals ; and the enemy now erect trophies to perpetuate the memory of our defeats, and have ſeized, and ſtill retain our tents, our ſlaves, our arms, and our money.”

XLIII. Virginius ſtill indulging his reſentment, and ſtanding, no longer, in awe of the generals, inveighed againſt them with the greater confidence, calling them the bane, and ſcourge of their country, and exhorting all the centurions to ſeize the enſigns, and lead back the forces to Rome. But the greateſt part of them were ſtill afraid to remove theſe holy enſigns, and did not think it either conſiſtent with religion, or ſafe for the whole army to deſert their commanders, and generals : For the military oath, which the Romans obſerve with greater ſtrictneſs than any other people, obliges them to follow their generals whitherſoever they lead them ; and alſo the law gives power to the generals to put to death, without a trial, all who are diſobedient,

dient, or desert their ensigns. Virginus, therefore, perceiving that these motives kept them in awe, told them that the law had dispensed with their oath, because it is necessary that the general, who commands the troops, should be legally appointed; and the power of the decemvirs was illegal, since the term of a year, for which they had been created, was expired; and that, to obey the orders of those, whose power was not supported by law, was not obedience, and piety, but folly, and madness. The men, hearing these representations, approved of them; and, after mutual exhortations, and receiving even some encouragement from Heaven, they seized the ensigns, and marched out of the camp: However, as it often happens among men of various dispositions, and when all have not the best intentions, some, both soldiers and centurions, stayed with the decemvirs, but these were greatly inferior in number to the others; who, after they had left the camp, marched the whole day, and arrived at Rome in the evening, no notice having been given of their arrival: For this reason, the inhabitants were under no small consternation, supposing an enemy was within their walls, which occasioned an outcry, and a disorderly concourse throughout the whole city. However, this tumult did not last long enough to produce any mischief: For, the soldiers, passing through the streets, called out that they were friends, and come to preserve the city: And indeed they confirmed their professions by their behaviour, in doing no injury to any person: Then, proceeding to the Aventine hill (which, of all those that are within the walls, is the most proper for a camp)

camp) they stood to their arms near the temple of Diana. The day after, they secured themselves by an intrenchment; and, having appointed ten tribunes, at the head of whom was Marcus Oppius, to take care of their common interests, they remained quiet.

XLIV. They were soon joined by the most eminent of the centurions belonging to the three legions, that lay at Fidenae, who came to their assistance with a great number of forces: These had been long disaffected to their generals, for having caused Siccius to be assassinated, as I said: However, they were afraid to begin the revolt, because they looked upon the five legions, that lay at Algidus, to be attached to the decemvirs; but, as soon as they heard of their revolt, they cheerfully embraced the opportunity presented to them by fortune. These legions were also commanded by ten tribunes, who had been created during their march, the most considerable of whom was ²⁴Sextus Manilius. The troops, after their junction, incamped, and commissioned the twenty tribunes to ²⁵transact all affairs in the name of the rest: Out of these twenty, they appointed two persons,

²⁴ Σέξτος Μανίλιος. Thus, I think, we must read this name, because Livy says that M. Oppius, and Sextus Manilius were chosen to command these seceders: Though he makes them to have been chosen after the junction of their forces; and our author says that Manilius was first appointed commander by the troops from Fidenae during their march, and

that he, and M. Oppius were afterwards chosen out of the twenty tribunes. I shall not repeat what I mentioned in the fortieth annotation on the sixth book from Livy, concerning the deputation sent by the senate to the forces, that lay incamped on mount Aventine.

²⁵ Λεγειν τε και πραττειν. Literally, *to say and do*.

Marcus Oppius, and Sextus Manilius, who were the most considerable among them, to be their presidents: These formed a council consisting of all the centurions, and transacted all things in concurrence with them. Their intentions not being as yet generally known, Appius, who was conscious to himself of having given occasion to the present disturbance, and to all the evils, that were expected to result from it, did not think fit, any longer, to act in a public capacity, but staid at home: However, Spurius Oppius, who had been appointed to govern the city in conjunction with him, being himself also in a consternation at first, and expecting that their enemies would presently fall upon them, and were come to Rome with that intention, when he found they attempted nothing further, he laid aside his fears, and assembled the senate, sending officers to the houses of every senator with directions for them to attend. While these were coming to the house, the commanders of the army at Fidenae arrived, full of indignation that both the camps had been abandoned by the soldiers, and endeavoured to persuade the senate to resent this desertion in the manner it deserved. When the senators were to deliver their opinions, Lucius Cornelius said that the soldiers, who were posted upon the Aventine hill, ought, that very day, to return to their own camps, and obey their generals; that no other persons be called in question for what had happened, but the authors of the revolt; that these ought to be punished by the generals; and that, if they refused to return, the senate should deliberate concerning them, as concerning

persons, who had abandoned their post, in which they had been placed by their generals, and violated their military oath. On the other side, Lucius Valerius²⁶ * * * * *

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²⁶ It appears that we have lost many things by this untoward hiatus. The first, is the speech of Valerius in answer to the motion of Cornelius, and possibly some others on both sides of this important question. It seems probable by Livy, as the reader will observe presently, that the decemvirs had still so strong a party in the senate, as to prevent them from coming to any resolution in prejudice of their usurpation. This obliged the army, which was still incamped on the Aventine hill, to remove to the Holy mountain, after the example of their ancestors. All these, and the subsequent transactions to the consulship of Valerius and Horatius, with which our author begins the next chapter may be pretty well supplied out of Livy, whom I shall translate so far, to the intent that those, who do not read Latin, may have an uninterrupted thread of this revolution in the Roman government. The loss of the other part, I mean of That, which relates to the laws of the twelve tables, and to our author's reflexions

on them; and, above all, to the comparison we find he made between these laws, and Those of Greece, cannot possibly be, in any degree, repaired. All I can do, shall be done; but that is not much: It will consist of the collection of those laws as published by Fulvius Ursinus, which Hudson has also inserted from Sylburgius, at the end of his first volume. But, as these laws were written in the language then spoken by the Romans, and according to the orthography then in use among them, I have added, I had almost said, a version of them into such Latin as every one, who is acquainted with this language, will understand at first sight, which will be accompanied with a translation of those laws into English. I do not know that any thing of this kind has been attempted before; and, if the trouble, which this attempt has cost me, can recommend it to the reader, on that account at least, I may hope for his approbation of it. But I shall begin with translating that part of * Livy, which I before mentioned.

* B. iii. c. 51.

[“ The fathers, solicitous for the safety of the commonwealth, assembled every day; yet spent the time in contests oftener than in deliberations. The assassination of Siccus, the

the lust of Appius, and the disgraces in the field were objected to the decemvirs. The senate resolved to send Valerius, and Horatius to the Aventine hill. These refused to go unless the decemvirs would lay down the ensigns of that magistracy, which had expired the year before. But the decemvirs complained that they were reduced to the condition of private men, and said they would not resign their power, till those laws were enacted, for compiling which they had been created. The people, being informed by Marcus Duilius, who had been one of their tribunes, that thing was resolved upon by reason of these perpetual contests, went from the Aventine hill to the Holy mountain: Duilius assuring them that the senate would take no care of any thing till they saw the people abandoning the city: *That the Holy mountain would put them in mind of the steadiness of the people. They would then know that, without the restitution of the tribunitian power, concord could never be restored.* The army marched through the road Nomentana, which was then called Ficulnensis, and incamped on the Holy mountain; imitating the modesty of their ancestors by committing no sort of violence. The people followed the army, none, whose age allowed him to go, declining it. They were accompanied by their wives and children, who asked them, in moving accents, to whom they designed to abandon them in that city, in which neither modesty, nor liberty could be safe. When an unusual solitude had rendered every thing desolate at Rome, and none were to be seen in the forum but a few of the elder sort; and conse-

quently the fathers, when summoned to the senate, observed that place to be deserted, others, besides Horatius and Valerius, now called out, “What will you stay for, conscript fathers? If the decemvirs do not put an end to their obstinacy, will you suffer every thing to fall to pieces, and burst into flames? But, what is this dominion, decemvirs, that you are so tenacious of? Will you administer justice to houses and walls? Are you not ashamed that there should be almost a greater number of your lictors seen in the forum than of citizens, and others? What will you do, if our enemies approach the city? What if our own people should presently come armed, since their secession makes so small an impression on us? Do you desire that your dominion should end with the destruction of the city? It is certain that we must either not have a people, or have their tribunes. We shall sooner bear the want of patrician, than they of plebeian, magistrates. They extorted this new, this untried power from our ancestors; think not that, now they have once tasted the sweet of it, they will ever brook its absence; particularly, since we, on our side, do not abstain from those powers, that teach them how much they want a protection.” These things being thrown out on all sides, the decemvirs, overcome by the concurrent sense of the senate, said that, since this was their pleasure, they would be governed by them; they only requested, and advised that the senate would protect them from the resentment of the public; and not, by their blood, accustom the people to the punishment

ment of senators. Then Valerius, and Horatius were sent to bring back the people, and compose the present disturbances upon such terms, as they should think proper; and also ordered to provide for the security of the decemvirs against the resentment, and violence of the populace. When they arrived, they were received in the camp with great joy by the people, who looked upon them as their undoubted deliverers both in the beginning of the commotion, and in the event of it. For these reasons, at their arrival, thanks were given to them. Icilius spoke in the name of the rest. The same man, when the conditions came to be discussed, and the deputies desired to know the demands of the people, having, before their arrival, concerted his plan with the rest of the seceders, demanded such things, as made it apparent that greater confidence was placed by them in the equity of those demands, than in arms: For they redemanded the tribunitian power, and the right of appealing to the people (which had been their safeguards before the institution of the decemvirate) and that no person should be called in question for having excited either the soldiers, or the people to recover their liberty by the secession: The only severe demand they made related to the punishment of the decemvirs: For they insisted upon their being delivered up to them; and threatened to burn them alive. To these things the deputies made answer: “ That part of your demands, which
“ flows from deliberation, is so reasonable, that we should
“ have offered it to you of our own accord: For you desire
“ such things, as are the supports of liberty, not of licenti-
“ ousness

“ousness to annoy others. Your resentment deserves rather
“to be forgiven, than indulged; since you run into cruelty
“through the detestation of it; and, almost before you
“yourself are free, desire to domineer over your adversaries.
“Shall our commonwealth never be at rest from punish-
“ments inflicted either by the senate on the Roman people,
“or by the people on the senate? You stand in need of a
“shield, rather than of a sword. That man is at least suf-
“ficiently humbled, who lives in a state upon the same terms
“with others, without either doing, or suffering, injuries.
“Besides, if at any time you desire to render yourselves for-
“midable, let it be after the recovery of your magistracies,
“and your laws, when you will have the power of trying us
“for our lives and fortunes; then you will determine every
“cause according to its own merits: Now it is sufficient that
“your liberty is restored.” All giving leave to the deputies
to do as they thought proper, these promised soon to return
with a ratification of their desires. After they arrived at
Rome, and had laid the demands of the people before the
senate, all the decemvirs except Appius, finding that, con-
trary to their expectation, no mention was made of their
punishment, consented to every thing: He, who was fierce
in his nature, and the principal object of public resentment,
measuring the hatred of others to himself by his own to
them, said; “I am not ignorant of the fate, that hangs
“over my head. I find that the attack upon us is deferred
“till arms are delivered to our adversaries. Our blood
“must be offered up to public odium. However, even I
“myself shall make no delay in resigning the decemvirate.”

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The senate passed a decree that the decemvirs should forthwith abdicate their magistracy : That Marcus Papirius, the high priest, should appoint the tribunes; and that no man should be questioned for the secession of the soldiers, and the people. After the decree was passed in these terms, and the senate dismissed, the decemvirs proceeded to the assembly of the people, where, to the great satisfaction of all men, they abdicated their magistracy. The account of these things was sent to the seceders. And all, who had been left in the city, attended the deputies. This multitude was met by another rejoicing multitude from the camp. They congratulated each other upon the restitution of liberty, and concord. The deputies spoke thus to the assembly : “ Return to your country, to your household gods, to your wives and children; and may your return prove beneficial, auspicious, and fortunate to yourselves, and to the commonwealth. But bring with you to the city the same modesty you have observed here, where, in the consumption of so many things necessary to so great a multitude, no man’s land has suffered. Return to the Aventine hill, from whence you came. On that auspicious spot, where you laid the first foundations of your liberty, you shall create your tribunes. The high priest will be present to hold the comitia.” Every thing was approved of with a general concurrence, and alacrity. They took up their ensigns; and, in their march to Rome, contended with those they met in their demonstrations of joy. They proceeded in silence through the city to the Aventine hill with their arms:

arms : Where, the comitia being held by the high priest, they immediately chose their tribunes ; first of all Lucius Virginius, then Lucius Icilius, and Publius Numitorius the uncle of Virginia, who had been the authors of the secession ; in the next place, Caius Sicinius, a descendant of that Sicinius, who, as it is recorded in history, was created the first tribune on the Holy mountain ; and Marcus Duilius, who had signalized himself in the exercise of the tribuneship before the creation of the decemvirs, and had not been wanting to the people in their contests with them : After these, Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, and Caius Oppius were chosen rather through expectation than merit. As soon as Lucius Icilius had entered upon his magistracy, he proposed a law, which the people enacted, that no person should be called to account for the secession from the decemvirs. Presently after, Marcus Duilius procured a law to be passed for the creation of consuls with an appeal from them to the people. All these things were transacted in an assembly of the people held in the Flaminian meadows, now called the *Circus Flaminius*.”]

Then follows the election of Lucius Valerius, and Marcus Horatius to the consulship, with which, as I said, our author begins the next chapter.

I, now, proceed to the laws of the twelve tables, which I shall transcribe from Fulvius Urfinus, rather than

from Hudson ; because the former has exhibited them, as they were originally written, in capital letters, with a full point after each word ; which ancient way of engraving inscriptions Hudson has thought fit to change to small characters with modern points.

LEGES DUODECIM TABULARUM.

The laws of the twelve tables.

DE JURE PRIVATO.

Of private right.

1. SEI. IN. IOVS. VOCAT. NEI. EAT. STATIM. ENCAPITO. ANTESTARIER.

1. *Si in jus vocat, ni eat statim, incipito antestari.*

1. If any one cites another to appear before a magistrate, and he does not go presently, let the other call witnesses.

2. SEI. CALVITOR. PEDEMVE. STRVIT. MANOM. EN. DO. IACITO.

2. *Si decipit, pedemve struit, manum injicito.*

2. If he endeavours to deceive, or to run away, let the plaintiff seize him.

3. SEI. IN. IOVS. VOCATO. MORBOS. ALVITASVE. VITIOM. ESCIT. QVEI. IN. IOVS. VOCASIT. IVMENTOM. DATO. SEI. NOLET. AR CERAM. NEI. STERNITO.

3. *Si in jus vocato morbus, aetasve vitium erit, qui in jus vocaverit, jumentum dato. Si nolet, arceram ne sternito.*

3. If the person cited is infirm, or old, let the person citing provide him with a cart. If he refuse it, let him not furnish him with a litter.

4. AERIS. CONFESSEI. REBOSQVE. IOVRE. IOVDIKATEIS. XXX. DIES. IOVSTEI. SVNTO. POSTIDEA. EN. DO. MANOS. IACTIO. ESTOD. IN. DV. IOVS. EDOVCITO. NEI. IOVDIKATOM. FACIT. AVT. QVIPS. EN. DO. EO. IM. IOVRE. VINDICIT. SECOM. DVCITO. VINCITO. AVT. NESVO. AVT. COMPEDEBOS. XV. PONDO. NEI. MAIOSE. AVT. SEI. VOLET. MINOSE. VINCITO. SEI. VOLET. SOVO.

VOL. IV.

VIVITO. NEI. SOVO. VIVEIT. QVEI. IM. VINCTOM. HABEBIT. LIBRAS. FARIS. EN. DO. DIES. DATO. SEI. VOLET. PLVVS. DATO. ENDOTERATIM. PACIO. ESTOD. NEI. CVM. EO. PACIT. LX. DIES. VINCTOM. HABETOD. EN. IEIS. DIEBOS. TERTIEIS. NONDINEIS. CONTINOEIS. IN. DV. COMITIOM. EN. DO. IOVRE. IM. PROCITATO. QVANTEIQVE. STLIS. AESTVMATA. SIET. PRAEDICATO. POSTIDEA. DE. KAPITE. ADEICTEI. POENAS. SVMITOD. AVT. SEI. VOLET. TRANS. TIBERIM. PEREGRE. VENOM. DATOD. AST. SEI. PLVSEBOS. ADEICTOS. SIET. TERTIEIS. NONDINEIS. PARTEIS. SECANTO. SEI. PLVVS. MINVSVE. SECVERINT. SE. FRAVDED. ESTOD.

4. *Aeris confessi rebusque jure judicatis triginta dies justi sunt. Postea manus injectio esto. In jus educito. Ni judicatum facit, aut quis in eo illum jure vindicat, secum ducito, vincito, aut nervo, aut compedibus quindecim pondo ne majore; aut si volet, mincre vincito. Si volet, suo vivito. Ni suo vivit, qui eum vinctum habebit, libras farris indies dato. Si volet, plus dato. Interim pactio esto. Ni cum eo pagit, sexaginta dies vinctum habeto. In eis diebus tertiis nundinis continuis in comitium in jure eum procitato; quantique lis aestimata sit, praedicato. Postea de capite addicti poenas sumito: Aut si volet, trans Tiberim peregre venum dato. Ast si pluribus addictus sit, tertiis nundinis partes secanto. Si plus minusve secuerint, sine fraude esto.*

4. Let thirty days grace be given to the debtor after the debt is confessed,

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and judgement given. After which, let him be arrested. Let the creditor bring him before the judge. If he does not comply with his order, nor is bailed by any one, let the creditor take him away, and bind him with a nerve, or fetters weighing no more than fifteen pounds, or, if he will, less. If the debtor pleases, let him maintain himself. If he does not maintain himself, let the person, who keeps him in bonds, give him a pound of spelt every day; if he thinks fit, let him give him more. In the mean time, let them agree. If the debtor does not agree with his creditor, let the latter keep him in bonds for sixty days. During these days, let his creditor cite him to appear in court three market days successively, and let him proclaim the sum, at which the debt, and costs are laid. After which, let him put the debtor to death; or, if he pleases, sell him for a slave to a foreign country, on the other side of the Tiber: But, if the debtor is delivered up to many creditors, let them, on the third market day, cut his body into several pieces. If they cut more, or less, let it be without prejudice.

5. SEI. QVEI. EN. DO. IOVRE. MANOM. CONSERONT. VTREIQUE. SOPERSTITEBOS. PRAESETEBOS. VINDICIAS. SVMVNTTO.

5. *Si qui in jure manum conserunt, utrique superstilibus praesentibus vindicias sumunto.*

5. If any join issue, let both lay hold of the thing in contest in the presence of witnesses.

6. SEI. VECINEI. ENTER. SE. IORCASINT. ENTERA. QVINQVE. PEDEIS. OESOCAPIO. NEI. ESTOD. PRAETOR. ARBITROS. TREIS. DATO. EOROM. AR-

BITRIO. FINIOM. CONTROVERSIAS. COMONITO.

6. *Si vicini inter se jurgarint, intra quinque pedes usucapio ne esto: Praetor arbitros tres dato: Eorum arbitrio finium controversias componito.*

6. If neighbours have a contest with one another, let not prescription prevail with regard to the boundary of five feet lying between their lands: Let the praetor appoint three arbitrators; and compose the controversies concerning the limits, according to their report.

7. QVOI. TESTIMONIOM. DEFVERIT. IS. TERTIEIS. DIEBOS. OB. PORTOM. OFVACOLATOM. EITO.

7. *Cui testimonium defuerit, is tertiis diebus ad domum obvagulatum ito.*

7. If a person has no witness to prove that his goods are in another man's house, let him go thither on the third day, and demand entrance with outcries to search for them.

8. TICNOM. IVNCTOM. AEDEBOS. VINIAEQVE. NEI. SOLVITO. QVEI. OLVD. IVNXSIT. DVPLIONE. LVITO.

8. *Tignum junctum aedibus vineaeque ne solvito. Qui illud junxit, duplione luito.*

8. Let no man pull down any part of a house, that is built joining to his own, or to his vineyard. Let the person, who erected it, pay double damages.

9. QVOM. NEXSOM. FACIET. MANCIPIOMQVE. VTEI. DINCVA. NVNCVPA-SIT. ITA. IOVS. ESTOD.

9. *Quum nexum faciet mancipiumque, ut lingua nuncuparit, ita jus esto.*

9. When any one shall warrant the title of any thing he sells, as the tongue pronounced the words, so let the law be.

10. PATERFAMILIAS. VTEI. SOPER. FAMILIA. PEQVNIAQVE. SOVA. LECA-SIT. ITA. IOVS. ESTOD.

10. *Paterfamilias uti super familiâ pecuniâque suâ legarit, ita jus esto.*

10. As the master of a family shall dispose of his slaves, and possessions by his will, so let the law be.

11. PATREI. EN. DO. FIDIO. VITAE. NECISQVE. POTESTAS. ESTOD. TER-QVE. IM. VENOM. DARIER. IOVS. LSTOD. SEI. PATER. FIDIOM. TER. VENOM. DVIT. FIDIOS. A. PATRE. LEBER. ESTOD.

11. *Patri in filio vitae necisque potestas esto: Terque illum venum dari jus esto. Si pater filium ter venum dederit, filius a patre liber esto.*

11. Let a father have the power of life and death over his son: Let it be lawful for the son to be sold for a slave three times. If the father shall sell his son three times, let the son be free from his father.

12. ASVORSOM. HOSTEM. AETERNA. AVCTORITAS. ESTOD.

12. *Adversus peregrinum aeterna auctoritas esto.*

12. Let the right of a citizen never be extinguished by the prescription of a foreigner.

13. SEI. QVIS. FOVSIOSVS. SIET. ACNATOROM. CENTILEOMQVE. EN. DO. EO. PEQVNIAQVE. EIVS. POTES-TAS. ESTOD.

13. *Si quis furiosus sit, agnatorum gentiliumque in eo pecuniâque ejus potestas esto.*

13. If any one is mad, let his relations by the father's side, and those of the same family have power over him, and his possessions.

14. SEI. QVIS. ALIENAS. ARBORES.

INIOVRIA. SECVESIT. XXV. AERIS. IN. DV. SINCOLAS. POENAE. SVNTO.

14. *Si quis alienas arbores injuriâ secuerit, viginti quinque librae aeris in singulas poenae sunt.*

14. If any one shall cut the trees of another wrongfully, let the punishment be twenty five pounds of brass for every one.

15. QVEI. ÂLIENAS. AEDES. FRV-MENTEIVE. ACERVOM. IVXSTA. AE-DEIS. POSITOM. SCIENS. D. M. VSIT. VSERITVE. PRAETORIS. ARBITRATVV. VINCTOS. VERBERATOSQVE. ICNE. NECATOR. AST. SEI. IMPRVDENS. SE. D. M. DAMNOM. DVIT. NOXSAM. SARCITO. AVT. PRAETORIS. ARBI-TRATVV. VIRCEIS. CAESOS. POENAM. LVITO.

15. *Qui alienas aedes, frumentive accervum juxta aedes positum sciens dolo malo ussit, usseritve, praetoris arbitratu vinctus verberatusque igne necator. Ast si imprudens sine dolo malo damnum dederit, noxiam sarcito, aut praetoris arbitratu virgis caesus poenam luit.*

15. Whoever has burned, or shall burn designedly, and maliciously, another's house, or a stack of corn standing near his house, let him be bound, and whipped at the discretion of the praetor, and burned. But, if he did the mischief undesignedly, and without malice, let him repair the damage, or be punished for it by being whipped at the discretion of the praetor.

16. CLANDEM. QVAE. DE. TVOD. IN. DV. ALIENOM. ACROM. CADIT. SE. FRAVDED. LECERE. LICETO.

16. *Glandem, quae de tuo in alienum agrum cadit, sine fraude legere licet.*

16. Let it be lawful for thee to
U u 2 gather

gather up the fruit, that falls from a tree growing on thy land into the land of another, without molestation.

17. QVEI. NOX. FRUCEM. ARATRO. QVAESITAM. FORTIM. PAVESIT. SECVESITVE. SEI. POBES. SIET. CERERI. SACER. ESTOD. IMPOBES. PRAETORIS. ARBITRATVV. VERBERATOS. NOXSIAM. DVPLIONE. SARCITO.

17. *Qui noctu frugem aratro quaesitam furtim paverit, secueritve, si puber sit, Cereri sacer esto: Impuber praetoris arbitratu verberatus noxiam duplione sarcito.*

17. Whoever shall privately in the night feed, or cut grain raised by the plough, if a man grown, let him be consecrated to Ceres. If not arrived to manhood, let him be whipped at the discretion of the praetor, and repair the mischief by paying double damages.

18. SEI. QVADROPES. PAVPESIEM. FAXSIT. QVADROPEDIS. DOMINGS. NOXSIAM. SARCITOD. AVT. QVOD. NOXSIAM. NOCVIT. DARE. DAMNAS. ESTOD.

18. *Si quadrupes damnum fecerit, quadrupedis dominus noxiam sarcito; aut quod noxiam nocuit dare damnatus esto.*

18. If a quadruped shall do any damage, let the owner of the quadruped repair the damage; or let him be sentenced to deliver That, which caused the damage.

19. SEI. VIR. AVT. MOLIER. ALTER. ALTEREI. NONTIOM. MISEIT. DEVORSIOM. ESTOD. MOLIER. RES. SOVAS. SIBEI. HABETO. VIR. MOLIEREI. CLAVEIS. ADIMITOD. EXICITOQVE.

19. *Si vir aut mulier alter alteri nuntium miserit, divortium esto: Mulier res suas sibi habeto; vir mulieri claves adimito ejicitoueque.*

19. If either the husband, or the wife shall send notice to the other, let this be a divorce: Let the wife have her own fortune to herself: Let the husband take away the keys from his wife, and turn her out of his house.

20. MOLIER. TERTIEIS. NOCTEBOS. OESORPATOM. EITO. NEI. ITA. OESORPASIT. AF. VIROD. OESOCAPITOR.

20. *Mulier tertiis noctibus usurpatum ito. Ni ita usurparit, a viro usucapitor.*

20. Let the wife go three nights to disturb the prescription. If she has not disturbed the prescription by this method, let her be possessed by her husband by prescription.

21. QVEI. REM. DE. QVA. CONTROVERSIA. SIET. IN. DV. SACROM. DEDICASIT. DVPLIONE. POENAM. LVITO.

21. *Qui rem de qua controversia sit, in sacrum dedicarit, duplione poenam luito.*

21. Whoever shall consecrate to religion any thing litigated, let him be punished by paying double the value of it.

22. PATRISFAMILIAS. QVEI. EN. DO. TESTATO. MORITOR. QVOIQVE. SOVOS. HERES. NEC. ESCIT. ACNATOS. PROXSV MOS. FAMILIAM. PEQVNIAMQVE. HABETO.

22. *Patrisfamilias, qui intestato moritur, cuique suus heres nec erit, agnatus proximus familiam, pecuniamque habeto.*

22. When the master of a family dies intestate, and without heirs of his blood, let the next of kin by the father's side have his slaves, and possessions.

23. LEIBERTO. QVEI. EN. DO. TESTATO. MORITOR. QVOIQVE. SOVOS. HERES. NEC. ESCIT. PATRONOS. HERES. ESTOD.

23. *Liberto,*

23. *Liberto, qui intestatò moritur, cuique suus heres nec erit, patronus heres esto.*

23. When a freed man dies intestate, and without heirs of his blood, let his patron be his heir.

24. SEI. COHEREDES. PARTEM. REROM. SINCOLEI. SOVAM. HABERE. MALONT. FAMILIAE. ERCISCVNDAE. ARBITROM. SVMONTO. EIQVE. IOVS. ARBITRIOMQVE. REROM. PERMITTVNTO.

24. *Si coheredes partem rerum singuli suam habere malunt, familiae erciscendae arbitrum sumunto, eique jus arbitriumque rerum permittunto.*

24. If coheirs chuse to have each their own share of the inheritance, let them take an arbitrator for the division of it, and let them leave to him the right, and arbitration concerning the inheritance.

25. SEI. QVIS. PRODICOS. SIET. PRAETOR. EI. BONEIS. SOVEIS. EN. DO. TERDEICITO. IN. DO. QVE. EO. PEQVNIAQVE. EIVS. ACNATOROM. CENTILEOMQVE. POTESTAS. ESTOD.

25. *Si quis prodigus sit, praetor ei bonis suis interdicto; inque eo pecuniâque ejus agnatorum gentiliûque potestas esto.*

25. If any one is prodigal, let the praetor forbid him the use of his fortune; and let his relations by the father's side, and those of the same family have power over him, and his possessions.

26. SEI. QVIS. DOLEI. MALEI. CALPAEVE. SVSPECTOS. EN. DO. TOTELA. SIET. EIVS. QVEI. VOLET. NOMEN. DEFERTO. VBEI. DETOLERIT. SEI. DOLEI. MALEI. ARCVESIT. PRAETOR. IM. CVM. FLACITIO. REMOVETOD. AST. SEI. TOVTOR. REM. POPILEI.

FORATOS. SIET. DVPLIONE. POENAM. LVITO.

26. *Si quis doli mali fraudisve suspectus in tutelâ sit, ejus qui volet nomen deferto. Ubi detulerit, si doli mali arguerit, praetor eum cum flagitio removeto. Ast si tutor rem pupilli furatus sit, duplione poenam luito.*

26. If any one is suspected of deceit, or fraud in a guardianship, let any person, who will, sue him: After he has sued him, if he proves him guilty of the deceit, let the praetor remove him with ignominy. But, if a guardian has robbed his ward, let him be punished by paying double damages.

27. SEI. QVIS. INIOVRIAM. ALTERI. FAXSIT. XXV. AERIS. POENAE. SVNTOD.

27. *Si quis injuriam alteri fecerit, viginti quinque librae aeris poenae sunt.*

27. If any one shall do an injury to another, let the punishment be twenty five pounds of brass.

28. SEI. MEMBROM. RVPSIT. NEI. CVM. EO. PACIT. TALIO. ESTOD.

28. *Si membrum ruperit, ni cum eo pagit, talio esto.*

28. If a person shall break the limb of another, and does not agree with him, let retaliation take place.

29. QVEI. NOX. FORTOM. FAXSIT. SEI. IM. ALIQVIPS. OCISIT. IOVRE. CAESOS. ESTOD. SEI. LOVCI. FORTOM. FAXSIT. TELOQVE. SE. PRAEHENDIER. PROHIBESIT. SEI. IM. ALIQVIPS. OCISIT. IOVRE. CAESOS. ESTOD. AST. SEI. LOVCI. FORTOM. FAXSIT. NEQVE. TELO. SE. PRAEHENDIER. PROHIBESIT. SEI. LEBER. SIET. PRAETOR. IM. VERBERARIER. IOVRETOD. EIQVE. QVOI. FORTOM. FAXSIT. ADEICITO. SII. SERVOS. SIET. VIRCEIS. CAESOS. EX. SAXSO. DEICITOR. SEI. IMPOBES. SIET.

PRAE-

PRAETORIS. ARBITRATVV. VERBERATOS. NOXSIAM. SARCITO.

29. *Qui noctu furtum fecerit, si eum aliquis occiderit, jure caesus esto. Si luce furtum fecerit, teloque se prebendi prohibuerit, si eum aliquis occiderit, jure caesus esto: Sed si luce furtum fecerit, neque telo se prebendi prohibuerit, si liber sit, praetor eum verberari jubeto; eique cui furtum fecerit, addicito: Si servus sit, virgis caesus, ex saxo dejicitor. Si impuber sit, praetoris arbitratu verberatus noxiam sarcito.*

29. If a person shall rob in the night, and any one shall kill him, let his death be warranted by law. If he shall rob by day, and make use of a weapon to prevent his being apprehended, if any one shall kill him, let his death be warranted by law: But, if he shall rob by day, and not make use of a weapon to prevent his being apprehended, if he is a free man, let the praetor order him to be whipped; and deliver him over as a slave to the person he robbed: If he is a slave, let him be whipped, and cast down the Tarpeian rock. If he is not arrived to manhood, let him be whipped at the discretion of the praetor, and repair the damage.

30. FORTA. PER. LANCEN. LICIOMQVE. CONCEPTA. VTEI. MANIFESTA. VINDICATO.

30. *Furta per lancem liciumque concepta, ut manifesta, vindicato.*

30. Let him punish thefts, when the goods are found upon a search, in the same manner as if the thief had been taken in the fact.

31. STATOLOBEROM. VENOM. DARIER. LICETO. DVM. NEI. QVID. ASVORSOM. EIVS. STATOM. FVAT.

31. *Statu liberum venum dari liceto;*

dum ne quid adversum ejus statum fuerit.

31. Let it be lawful for that man to be sold for a slave, who is ordered by his master's will to be made free upon some condition not yet performed; provided nothing is done to disable him from performing that condition.

DE JURE PUBLICO.

Of public right.

I. REM. VBEI. PACONT. OR ANTONI. PACONT. ANTE. MEDIDIEM. EN. DO. COMITIO. AVT. EN. DO. FORO. CAVSAM. CONICIVNTO. POST. MEDIDIEM. PRAESETED. AMBOBOS. LEITEM. ADEICITO. SOL. OCASOS. SOPREMA. TEMPESTAS. ESTOD.

1. *Rem ubi pagunt, oranto: Ni pagunt, ante meridiem in comitio, aut in foro causam agunto. Post meridiem, praesentibus ambobus, litem addicito. Sol occasus suprema tempestas esto.*

1. If the parties agree, let them pray judgement according to that agreement: If they do not agree, let them plead their cause before noon in the comitium, or in the forum. In the afternoon, let the praetor give judgement in the presence of both parties. Let the setting of the sun be the last hour.

2. ASIDVO. VINDEX. ASIDVOS. ESTOD. PROLETARIO. QVOI. QVEIVIS. VOLET. VINDEX. ESTOD.

2. *Affiduo vindex assiduus esto: Proletario cui quivis volet, vindex esto.*

2. Let a rich man be bail for a rich man; and let any one, who will, be bail for a poor man.

3. QVEI. SE. SEIERIT. TESTARIER. LIBRIPENSVE. FVERIT. NEI. TESTIMONIOM.

NIOM. FARIATOR. IMPROBOS. INTES-
TABELISQVE. ESTOD.

3. *Qui se siverit testari, libripensve fuerit, ni testimonium fari velit, improbus intestabilisque esto.*

3. Whoever has suffered himself to be cited as a witness, or been a weigher of money, and refuses to give his testimony, let him be deemed a wicked man, and incapable of being a witness.

4. SEI. PATRONOS. CLIENTEI. FRAVDEM. FAXSIT. PATRONOS. CLIENTIS. DEIVEIS. SACER. ESTOD.

4. *Si patronus clienti fraudem fecerit, patronus clientis diviis sacer esto.*

4. If a patron shall defraud his client, let the patron of such client be consecrated to the gods.

5. NEXSO. SOLVTOQVE. FORCTEI. SANATEIQVE. EIDEM. IOVS. ESTOD.

5. *Nexo solutoque, forcti sanatique idem jus esto.*

5. Let the debtor, who is in bondage, enjoy the same right with him, who is released; and the stranger, who returns to his duty, enjoy the same right with the Roman, who never fell from it.

6. PEQVNIAM. QVEI. NANCITOR. HABETO. SEI. QVID. PICNORIS. NANCITOR. SIBEI. HABETO.

6. *Pecuniam qui nanciscitur, habeto: Si quid pignoris nanciscitur, sibi habeto.*

6. If a person has acquired any possessions, let him have them: If he has acquired any pledge, let him have it to himself.

7. SEI. QVIS. OCENTASIT. CASMENVE. CONDVIT. QVOD. ALTERI. FLACITIOM. FAXSIT. KAPITAL. ESTOD.

7. *Si quis occentarit, carmenve condiderit, quod alteri flagitium fecerit, capital esto.*

7. If any one shall publish slander, or write verses to the defamation of another, let the offence be capital.

8. QVEI. PERDVELEM. CONCITASIT. QVEIVE. CEIVEM. PERDVELEI. TRANS-
DVIT. KAPITAL. ESTOD.

8. *Qui perduellem concitaverit, quive civem perduelli tradiderit, capital esto.*

8. Whoever shall excite an enemy to make war against the Romans, or deliver up a citizen to an enemy, let the offence be capital.

9. PREIVILECIA. NEI. IROCANTO. NEI. VE. DE. KAPITE. CEIVIS. NISEI. MAXVMO. COMITIATVV. FERVNTO.

9. *Privilegia ne irroganto, neve de capite civis nisi maximo comitiatu ferunto.*

9. Let them enact no private laws, nor try a citizen for his life, otherwise than in the greatest comitiatus.

10. PATREBOS. CVM. PLEBED. CON-
NVBIA. NEI. SVNTO.

10. *Patribus cum plebe connubia ne sunt.*

10. Let there be no intermarriages between the patricians, and the plebeians.

11. IOVSVS. POPLEI. SOFRACIAQVE. SVNTO. QVODCVOMQVE. POSTREMOM. POPLOS. IOVSIT. ID. IOVS. RATOMQVE. ESTOD.

11. *Jussus populi suffragiaque sunt. Quodcumque postremum populus jussit, id jus ratumque esto.*

11. Let there be a command, and suffrages of the people. Whatever the people shall command last, let that be law, and valid.

12. QVEI. IOVDIX. QVEIVE. ARBITER. IOVREDATOS. OB. REM. IOVDI-
KANDAM. PEQVNIAM. CEPET. KAPITAL. ESTOD.

12. *Qui judex, quive arbiter jure datus ob rem judicandam pecuniam ceperit, capital esto.*

12. If any judge, or arbitrator appointed by law shall take money for a judgement to be given, let the crime be capital.

13. QVEI. FALSOM. TESTIMONIOM. DIXERIT. EX. SAXSO. DEICITOR.

13. *Qui falsum testimonium dixerit, ex saxo dejicitor.*

13. If any one shall give a false testimony, let him be thrown down the Tarpeian rock.

14. QVEI. ADORAT. LECE. SEI. PLVVS. PETET. QVAM. IOVS. SIET. CAUSA. CADITO.

14. *Qui agit lege, si plus petet quam jus sit, causâ cadito.*

14. If a suitor prays for more than the law allows, let him lose his cause.

15. IOVRIS. IOVRANDI. AD. STRINCENDAM. FIDEM. MAXVMA. VIS. ESTOD.

15. *Jurisjurandi ad stringendam fidem maxima vis esto.*

15. Let an oath be of the greatest force to insure credit.

16. QVEI. CALIM. EN. DO. VRBE. NOX. COIT. COIVERIT. KAPITAL. ESTOD.

16. *Qui clam in urbe noctu coit, coiverit, capital esto.*

16. Whoever assembles, or shall assemble in the city privately in the night, let the crime be capital.

17. VNCIASIO. FOENOSE. NEI. QVIS. PLVVS. EXSERCEROD. SEI. QVIS. ALIVTA. FAXSIT. QVADRVPLIONE. POENAM. LVITO.

17. *Unciario foenore ne quis plus exerceto. Si quis aliter fecerit, quadruplione poenam luito.*

17. Let no man take more interest for money than one per cent. every month. If any one shall do otherwise,

let him be amerced in four times the sum.

18. SEI. QVIS. EX. LEIBERTATED. IN. DV. SERVITVTEM. ASERITOR. PRAETOR. SECVNDVM. LEIBERTATEM. VINDICIAS. DATOD. QVEI. VINDICIAS. TOLLIT. SPONSORES. IOVDICIO. SISTIER. DATOD.

18. *Si quis ex libertate in servitutem asseritur, praetor secundum libertatem vindicias dato. Qui vindicias tollit, sponsores iudicio sisti dato.*

18. If any one supposed to be free, is claimed as a slave, let the praetor decree the possession in favor of liberty: And let the man, who has obtained this decree for the possession, give sureties to produce the person at the trial.

19. AMBITOS. PARIETIS. SESTERTIOS. PES. ESTOD.

19. *Ambitus parietis sestertius pes esto.*

19. Let there be a space of two feet and a half round the outer wall of every house.

DE JURE SACRORUM.

Laws concerning religious rites.

1. PRAECO. FONVS. ENDEICITO. DOMINOS. FONERIS. EN. LVDEIS. ACENSO. LICTOREBOSQVE. OETITOR. EN. DO. FONERE. TRIBOS. RICINIEIS. RICA. PORPOREA. DECEMQVE. TIBICINEBOS. OETIER. LICETO. HOC. PLVVS. NEI. FACITO.

1. *Praeco funus indicito. Dominus funeris in ludis accenso licitoribusque utitor. In funere tribus riciniis, ricâ purpureâ, decemque tibicinibus uti liceto. Hoc plus ne facito.*

1. Let the cryer proclaim the funeral. Let the master of the funeral, in

in the games, make use of a public officer, and lictors. Let it be lawful for him to make use of three square mantles in the funeral, a purple fillet for the head, and ten players on the flute. Let him do no more than this.

2. SERVILIS. VNCTVRA. CIRCOM-
POTATIOQVE. QVOM. FONVS. EXSEQUI-
ANTOR. VINEI. VE. RESPERSIO. NEI.
FVAT. ACERAS. SEPOLCREIS. AVT.
LONGAS. KORONAS. NEI. EN. DO. PO-
NITO.

2. *Servilis unctura, circumpotatioque,
quum funus exequiantur, vinive respersio
ne fiat. Acerras sepulchris, aut longas
coronas ne imponito.*

2. Let not the body of a slave be anointed; let there be no drinking round a dead body, when they perform the funeral rites, nor sprinkling of wine. Let none place altars with perfumes, or festoons on the sepulchres.

3. MVRINAM. MORTVO. NEI. EN-
DITO.

3. *Murinam mortuo ne indito.*

3. Let none pour wine mixed with precious ointment into dead bodies.

4. PLVSA. FONERA. VNEI. NEI. FA-
CITO. NEI. VE. PLVSEIS. LECTOS. EN.
DO. FERTO.

4. *Plura funera uni ne facito: Neve
plures lectos inferto.*

4. Let none make more than one funeral for one person: Nor carry more than one bier in the funeral procession.

5. NEI. VE. AVSOM. ADVITO. AST.
QVOI. AVSO. DENTEIS. VINCTEI.
SIENT. IM. CVM. OLO. SEPELIRE. VRE-
RE. VE. SE. FRAVDED. LICETO.

5. *Neve aurum addito: Sed cui auro
dentes vincti sint, eum cum illo sepelire
urereve sine fraude liceto.*

5. Let none make use of gold in

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funerals: But, if the teeth of any person were fastened with gold, let none be impeached for burying, or burning him with that gold.

6. HOMINI. MORTVO. OSA. NEI.
LECITO. QVO. POST. FONVS. FACIAT.
EXSTRA. QVAM. SEI. QVIS. FORIS.
MILITIAEQVE. MORTVOS. SIET.

6. *Homini mortuo ossa ne legito, quo
postea funus faciat; extra quam si quis
foris militiaeque mortuus sit.*

6. Let none gather up the bones of a dead body in order to make a funeral afterwards; unless the person died abroad, and in war.

7. HOMINEM. MORTVOM. EN. DO.
VRBE. NEI. SEPELITO. NEI. VE. VRITO.

7. *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne se-
pelito, neve urito.*

7. Let none bury, or burn a dead body in the city.

8. ROCOM. ASCIA. NEI. POLITO.

8. *Rogum ascia ne polito.*

8. Let none polish the billets of a funeral pile with a plane.

9. ROCOM. BVSTOM. VE. NOVOM.
PROPIVS. AEDEIS. ALIENAS. LX. PE-
DEIS. INVEITO. DOMINO. NEI. ADI-
CITO. NEI. VE. FOROM. SEPOLCREI.
BVSTOM. VE. OESOCAPITO.

9. *Rogum bustumve novum propius
aedes alienas sexaginta pedes invito do-
mino ne adjicito: Neve forum sepulchri
bustumve usucapito.*

9. Let no one erect a funeral pile, or a new sepulchre, nearer to another's house than sixty feet, without leave of the owner: Neither let any one enjoy the porch of a sepulchre, or the sepulchre itself, by prescription.

10. QVOM. FONVS. EXFERTOR. NEI.
ENCOMITIATO.

10. *Quum funus exfertur, ne incomi-
tiato.*

X x

10. Whilst

10. Whilst the funeral is proceeding through the city, let not the comitia be held.

11. MOLIERES. FACIEM. NEI. CARPVNT. NEI. VE. CENAS. RADVNT. LESOM. FONERIS. NEC. HABENTO.

11. *Mulieres faciem ne carpunto; neve genas radunto: Lessum funeris ergo nec habento.*

11. Let not women scratch their faces; nor tear their cheeks; nor use lamentations on account of a funeral.

12. HONORATOROM. VIROROM. LAVDES. EN. DO. CONTIONE. MEMORANTOR. EASQUE. NAENIAE. AD. TIBICINEM. PROSEQVNTOR.

12. *Honoratorum virorum laudes in concione memorantor; easque naeniae ad tibicinem prosequuntor.*

12. Let the praises of honoured men be displayed in an assembly of the people; and let mournful songs, accompanied with a flute, attend those praises.

13. QVEI. KORONAM. PARET. IPSVS. PEQVNTIA. VE. EIVS. VIRTVTIS. DITOR. IPSEIQVE. MORTVO. PARENTIBVSQVE. EIVS. QVOM. ENTVS. POSITOS. EST. QVOMQVE. FORIS. EXFERTOR. IMPOSITA. SE. FRAVDED. ESTOD.

13. *Qui coronam pararit ipse, pecuniave ejus, virtutis ergo dator ei: Ipsique mortuo, et parenti ejus, quum intus*

positus est, quumque foris exfertur, imposita sine fraude esto.

13. If any one had obtained a crown himself, or his slaves, or horses for him, let it be given to him on account of his merit: And, after he is dead, let the crown be placed on his, and his father's head with impunity, as well whilst the body remains in the house, as when it is carried out to be buried.

There has been a great controversy among the learned concerning the sense of the last law. I have translated it according to That, which ^t Pliny has given to it; and, according to him also, I have said, in the law itself, *pecuniave*, instead of *pecuniaeve*; and *virtutis*, instead of *virtutisve*. By this means, the law becomes intelligible, which it was not before. I have, also, said in the law, *parentibusque*, instead of *parentalebosque*, and have rendered *parentibus*, by *parenti*, upon the authority of ^u Cicero, who, in explaining this law, says, *et ejus parenti*.

The reader will find that, in translating these laws, I have given a sense to many passages in them, that may seem uncommon at first sight; but, if he pleases to consult the interpretations, which the civilians have given to these passages, I believe he will find my translation to be justified by them.

^t Nat. Hist. B. xxi. c. 3.

^u De Legib. B. ii. c. 24.

* * * But it behooved me neither to make no mention of the Roman laws, which we find written in the twelve tables, since they are so venerable in themselves, and so far superior to Those of the Greeks, nor to extend the account of them further than was necessary.

XLV. After the subversion of the decemvirate, the first persons, who were invested with the consular dignity by the people in an assembly of the centuries, being, as I said, Lucius Valerius Potitus, and Marcus Horatius Barbatus, these magistrates, who were themselves of a popular disposition, and had inherited these principles from their ancestors, adhering to the promises they had made to the plebeians, when they persuaded them to lay down their arms, that, in their whole administration, they would consult the interest of the people, ²⁷ enacted several laws, in the assemblies by centuries, which I need not take any notice of, and with which the patricians were dissatisfied, though ashamed to oppose them, but particularly That, which ordains that the laws, passed by the people in their assemblies by tribes, should bind all the

²⁷ Νομοὶς ἐκυρώσαν—ἄλλους τε τινας ἐς τὸ δεομαὶ γράφειν. These laws are set forth by ^w Livy, from whom I shall transcribe them. The first, after That already mentioned by our author, restored the appeal to the people from the magistrates, which the decemvirs had abolished, and made it capital for any person to create any magistrate without an appeal to them. *Ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet: Qui creasset, eum jus fasque esset occidi: Neve ea caedes capitalis noxae haberetur.* So that, from this time, there lay an appeal to the people, even from the dictators. The second related to the renovation of an old law, mentioned by ^x our author, in virtue of which the persons of the tribunes were to be held sacred. The third law

was brought in by M. Duilius, one of the tribunes, and passed: By this it was enacted that, whoever left the people without their tribunes, and created a magistrate without an appeal to the people, should be whipped, and beheaded. ^y *M. Duilius deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit, plebsque scivit; qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo et capite puniretur.* Thus we see that the Romans were not only brave enough to bring about a revolution, by which tyranny was abolished, but also wise enough to assert their liberty in the plainest, and strongest terms, and to secure it at once with all the precautions, that wisdom could suggest, or a regard to themselves, and their posterity, inspire.

^w B. iii. c. 55.

^x See the sixth book, c. 89.

^y Livy, B. iii. c. 55.

Romans without distinction, and have the same force with Those, which should be passed in the assemblies by centuries : And the punishments appointed against such, as should abrogate, or transgress this law, if convicted thereof, were death, and the confiscation of their fortunes: This law put an end to the cavils made use of, before, by the patricians against the plebeians, when they refused obedience to the laws enacted by the latter, and would not allow, upon any account, that Those passed in the assemblies by tribes, were binding to the whole body of the commonwealth, but only to the plebeians; but allowed that they themselves, as well as the rest of the citizens, were concluded by the resolutions of the assemblies by centuries. It was observed before that, in the assemblies by tribes, the plebeians, and the poorer sort were superior to the patricians; but, in the assemblies by centuries, the patricians, though far less numerous, were superior to the plebeians.

XLVI. This law being enacted by the consuls, together with some others of a popular nature, immediately the tribunes, looking upon this as a proper time to punish Appius, and his colleagues, resolved to summon them to appear before the people, not all together, lest they might assist one another, but one by one: For they concluded that, by this means, they would the more easily be brought to justice. They considered which of them it was most proper to begin with, and determined to try Appius first, who was odious to the people on account both of his other crimes, and of the outrages he had lately been guilty of with regard to Virginia:

Virginia: For they judged that, if they convicted him, they should easily get the better of the others; whereas, if they should begin with those of a lower rank, they imagined that the resentment of the citizens, which is always more violent in the first contests, would grow languid with regard to the most considerable men, if these should be tried last, which had often happened before. Having resolved upon this, they ordered the decemvirs to be secured; and appointed Virginius to be the accuser of Appius, without drawing lots. After that, Appius, being cited before the tribunal of the people to answer an accusation, exhibited against him in their assembly by Virginius, desired time to prepare himself for his defence; but, being committed to custody till he should be tried (for he was not allowed to be bailed) he was put to death in prison before the day appointed for his trial, as it was generally suspected, by order of the tribunes; but others, who desired to wipe off this aspersions, gave out that he ²⁸ hanged himself. After him, Spurius Oppius was brought before the people by Publius Numitorius, another of the tribunes; and, being allowed to make his defence, was unanimously condemned; sent to prison, and put to death the same day: The rest of the decemvirs punished themselves by a voluntary exile, before they were accused; and the quaestors confiscated the fortunes both of those who had been put to death, and of those who had fled.

²⁸. Ἀπίας ἑαυτὸν ἀναγκίσσας βροχῶ. put himself to death: *Priusquam prodita dies adesset, Appius sibi mortem*
² Livy does not say how he died; but *confecit*.
 affirms, in so many words, that he

² B. iii. c. 58.

Marcus Claudius, who had attempted to take away Virginia, as his slave, was also accused by Icilius her spouse: However, by laying the fault on Appius, who had ordered him to commit that crime, he escaped death; but was condemned to perpetual banishment. As for the others, who had been the instruments of the decemvirs in any iniquitous action, none were brought to a public trial; but an impunity was granted to them all. Marcus Duilius, one of the tribunes, was the author of this measure, the citizens being already dissatisfied, and expecting to be treated like enemies.

XLVII. After the domestic troubles were appeased, the consuls assembled the senate, and procured a decree to be passed empowering them to lead out the forces immediately against the enemy; and the people having confirmed the decree of the senate, Valerius, one of the consuls, marched against the Aequi, and the Volsci, with one half of the army (for these two nations had joined their forces) and, knowing that the Aequi were elated with their former successes, and entertained a great contempt of the Roman army, he had a mind to increase their presumption, and confidence, by infusing into them a false opinion that he apprehended an engagement, and affected in his whole conduct the appearance of fear: For he placed his camp upon an eminence of difficult access; surrounded it with a deep ditch, and fortified it with high palisades; and, when the enemy provoked him to battle, which they often did, and reproached him with cowardice, he bore it with patience, and remained quiet: But, after he had received intelligence that their best forces
were

were marched out to lay waste the territories of the Hernici, and the Latines, and that those left to guard the camp, were neither many in number, nor good troops, he thought this a proper opportunity to execute his design; and, leading out his army in order of battle, he advanced with an intent to engage; but none coming out to encounter him, he remained quiet that day: The day after, he led his army to their camp, which was not very strong. When the forces, that were before gone out to lay waste ²⁹the country, heard that their camp was besieged, they appeared, though not in a body, and in good order, but scattered, and in small parties, every one coming up as he could: As soon as those in the camp saw their own men advancing, they took courage, and sallied out in a body. Upon this, a great battle ensued, and many fell on both sides: The Romans, gaining the victory, put to flight those, with whom they were engaged hand to hand; and, pursuing such as fled, killed some, and made others prisoners. After this victory, Valerius overrun the enemy's country with impunity, and laid it waste.

XLVIII. On the other side, Marcus Horatius, who had been sent against the Sabines, hearing of the exploits of his colleague, marched out of his camp also, and presently advanced with all his forces against the enemy, who were not inferior to him in number, and perfectly acquainted with

²⁹ Της χώρας. So we must read this, or της γης, instead of τῆς αἰσας, which stands in all the editions, and manuscripts; because our author before told us that the forces of the enemy were gone out ἐπὶ προνομῇ της

Ἑρνίκων τε καὶ Λατίνων γης, and never mentioned any town they proposed to besiege: And if he had, he would never have called it αἶς, but πόλιν; and even to this, ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς, is, in no degree, applicable.

the

the art of war : For they all fought with spirit, and great boldness, the consequence of their former victories ; and particularly their commander, who was not only a good general, but also a man of personal bravery : However, the Roman horse behaving themselves with distinguished courage, the consul obtained a most illustrious victory, killing many of the enemy, and taking more of them prisoners ; he also made himself master of their camp, which they had abandoned, and in which he found all their baggage, and all the booty they had taken in their excursions into the territories of the Romans ; and here he found, and recovered a great number of his own people, who had been taken prisoners : For the Sabines despised the Romans so far, that they had not sent away their booty before the battle. All the effects, therefore, of the Sabines he distributed among the soldiers, after he had selected such a part of them, as he designed to consecrate to the gods ; and the booty, which had been taken from the Romans, he restored to the owners.

XLIX. Having performed these things, he returned to Rome with his army : And Valerius came thither at the same time : And both of them, being greatly elated with their victories, expected illustrious triumphs ; but the event did not answer their expectations : For the senate assembling in order to defeat their views, while they lay incamped without the city in the field called the field of Mars, and being informed of the exploits of both, would not suffer them to perform the triumphal sacrifice : Many of the senators opposed their demand openly, and particularly Caius Claudius,

Claudius, the uncle, as I said, of Appius, who had established the oligarchy, and lately been put to death by the tribunes: He objected to them the laws they had enacted, by which they had weakened the power of the senate, and the other measures they had taken during the whole course of their magistracy; and, last of all, the death of some of the decemvirs, and the confiscation of the fortunes of others, whom they had betrayed to the tribunes, contrary to their oaths, and to the treaties: For he said that, by the convention entered into upon the victims between the patricians and the plebeians, all were intitled to an impunity, and to an amnesty for every thing that was past. To this he added that Appius had not fallen by his own hand, but by the treachery of the tribunes, who had taken him off before his trial, that he might not, when tried, obtain either leave to defend himself, or compassion; which, if he had been brought to his trial, would never have been refused to a man of his dignity, who had done many great services to the commonwealth, while he implored the faith of a treaty confirmed by oaths, in confidence of which mankind accommodate their differences, and presented himself, with his children, and relations before the people, whose pity his very habit of a suppliant, and many other circumstances could not have failed to excite. All these accusations having been thrown out against the consuls by Caius Claudius, the senators, who were present, concluded that they ought to content themselves with not being punished: But that they

had not the least pretence to a triumph, or to any other favors of that nature.

L. The senate having rejected the demand of a triumph, Valerius, and his colleague were full of resentment; and, looking upon themselves to be highly affronted, they assembled the people; and, after many invectives against the senate, they obtained the triumph from the former by a law, which the tribunes proposed in their favor, and ³⁰ were the

30. Πρῶτοι Ρωμαίων ἀπάντων τῶτο εἰση-
γρησάμενοι τοῦ εἶναι. Glareanus, and, after
him, M. * * *, without naming the
former, have observed that our author
contradicts himself here; because he
had said, before, that Servilius ob-
tained the honor of a triumph from
the people after the senate had refused
it. But this is a mistake in both those
authors: For Servilius did not obtain
his triumph, like Valerius and Hora-
tius, by virtue of a vote passed by the
people; but, as he says himself, he
derived the power of triumphing from
his own exploits, and the army, which
had served under him; ^a ἐφ' ἧ παρα τῶν
ἐαυτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ τῶ συναγωνισαμένων
σελεύματις εἶχεν τὴν τῶ πομπεῖν—ἐξουσίαν.
The people did not indeed contradict
him, and even attended his triumph,
but they passed no vote in favor of it.
These two cases, therefore, are very
different; and we find not only by our
author, but also by ^b Livy, that Va-
lerius and Horatius were the first per-
sons, who triumphed by the order of
the senate: *Tum primum, sine auctori-
tate senatus, populi jussu triumphatum est.*

^a B. vi. c. 30.

I am not at all surpris'd that M. * * *
should think that our author contra-
dicts himself; because he has added to
the words quoted by me from the
sixth book those which follow, and
for which there is not the least au-
thority in the Greek text; *que ses belles
actions—l'autorisent à recevoir du peuple
les honneurs que le senat lui a refusés.*
So that, it is not Dionysius, who con-
tradicts himself; but his translator,
who has mislead himself. But the tri-
umph of these consuls is attended with
another difficulty, which must not be
pass'd over in silence. The *Fasti Ca-
pitolini* make Valerius triumph on the
ides of the month Sextilis, that is, the
27th of the Julian August; and Ho-
ratus on the seventh of the kalends of
September, that is, the seventh of the
Julian September, in the year of Rome
304, according to that computation,
which is the 305th of Varro, and the
306th of our author, and of Cato:
The consequence of all this is, that,
according to the two first, they tri-
umphed during the third year of the
decemvirate, or more properly before
the expiration of it; in other words,

^b B. iii. c. 63.

first of all the Romans, who introduced this custom. This gave occasion to fresh disputes, and accusations urged

that the third year of the decemvirate, and the year of these consuls was one and the same year. This opinion, I find, Dodwell has embraced; and yet many arguments may be brought, both from our author and Livy, in opposition to it, and in support of That, which Dionysius has adopted; namely, that the year of this consulship was distinct from, and subsequent to, the last year of the decemvirate: Even Dodwell himself is forced to have recourse to two suppositions in order to maintain the computation of Varro; I call them suppositions, because they are not in fact founded on the authority of any author: The first is, that Valerius, and Horatius entered upon their magistracy on the ides of December of the Varronian year 305: And the second, that this year, which he says began on the ides of May in the Varronian year 304, comprehended 18 months. Nothing less than these two assumptions was necessary to support this opinion. I own indeed that the consuls of the year 312 entered upon their magistracy on the ides of December, as our author says expressly. From whence Dodwell concludes that Valerius, and Horatius entered upon theirs at the same time: His reason is, because Dionysius does not say that the former were the first consuls, who entered upon their magistracy on the ides of December. But, I think, this argument may be turned upon him: For, if, from the year 306,

• B. xi. c. 63.

as he contends, the ides of December had been the stated time for the consuls to enter upon their magistracy, our author needed not to have said that the consuls of the year 312 entered upon theirs on that day. But it is not improbable that these consuls were chosen later than usual; because, the year before, there had been first military tribunes, who, being deterred by some omens, abdicated their magistracy, after they had held it only seventy three days: Upon their abdication, the senate, according to custom, chose interreges, who referred it to the determination of the people whether they would chuse military tribunes, or consuls; and they resolving to chuse consuls, the patricians stood candidates for this magistracy, two of whom were chosen. All these things, I say, may probably, have occasioned the consuls of the following year to be chosen, and consequently to enter upon their magistracy later than usual. I shall, now, proceed to shew that the third, and last year of the decemvirate was complete before Valerius, and Horatius were chosen consuls, and consequently that the year of their consulship did not coincide with the last year of the decemvirate. There are many passages, both in our author, and in Livy, that insinuate this very strongly; but I shall only quote one from each, which do something more; they prove it. The first shall be taken from the speech of Virginius in ^d Livy,

^d B. iii. c. 56.

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by

by the plebeians against the patricians; which were inflamed by the daily harangues, and invectives of the tribunes against the senate. But the thing, which exasperated the plebeians the most, was a jealousy, confirmed by the artifice of the tribunes, and encreased by unavowed reports, and not a few conjectures, that the patricians designed to abolish the laws, which had been enacted by Valerius, and his colleague; and a strong opinion of this, which was little less than an assurance, possessed the minds of the people. These were the transactions of this consulship.

LI. The consuls of the following year were ³¹ Larus Herminius, and Titus Verginius, who were succeeded by Marcus Ge ³² * * * * *

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when he is accusing Appius: He tells him that he will pass over all the accumulated acts of wickedness, and injustice he had been guilty of *during two years*; *Omnium igitur tibi, Appi Claudii, quae impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es cufus, gratiam facio.* These *two years* plainly relate to the two last of the decemvirate; because all authors agree that Appius had gained universal applause by his behaviour in the first year of his magistracy. If, therefore, he governed wickedly the two following years, he governed those two years. The next passage shall be taken from our author, where he says that the Romans abolished the decemvirate, after it had go-

verned the commonwealth during *three years*: * καὶ ἀλυσσι Ρωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν δεκά αρχὴν ΕΤΗ ΤΡΙΑ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελήθησαν. If the decemvirate governed the commonwealth three years, the last year must have been complete, and consequently distinct from, as well as antecedent to, the year, in which Valerius, and Horatius were consuls.

³¹ Λαρος Ερμίνιος. ^f Livy calls this consul Lar. Herminius, which the *Fasti consulares* of Petavius explain by Larsius.

³² Here is another hiatus, which I shall likewise fill up by translating as much of ^s Livy, as will carry us to the next chapter.

^e B. xi. c. 1.

^f B. iii. c. 65.

^s B. iii. c. 65.

[“ The succeeding consuls, Marcus Geganius Macerinus, and Caius Julius, dispersed the cabals of the tribunes levelled against the patrician youth without impeaching the power of the former, and, at the same time, maintained the majesty of the senate. Levies having been ordered for the war against the Volsci and the Aequi, they restrained the people from seditions by forbearance; and also by representing to them that, when the city was quiet, every thing was quiet abroad; and that civil discord inspired foreigners with courage. Their care to maintain peace abroad was the cause likewise of tranquillity at home: But one order always insulted the modesty of the other. When the people were quiet, the young patricians began to oppress them; and, when the tribunes endeavoured to relieve the lower sort, their endeavours were, at first, of little effect; and, at last, even they themselves did not escape violation, especially during the last months of their office, since not only, through the cabals of the powerful, injuries were done, but also the force of every magistracy grows generally something more languid at the latter end of the year: And now the people derived some hope from the tribuneship, provided they could have tribunes like Icilius; since Those of the two last years had been only nominal tribunes. On the other side, the elder senators, though they might think their youth too fierce, yet they chose rather, if there must be some excess, that their own party should have too much spirit, than their adversaries: So difficult a thing is moderation in the defence of liberty, while every one, by pretending
to

to aim at an equality, exalts himself so far as to depress others; and men, by taking care to have nothing to fear, wantonly render themselves formidable: And thus we repel injuries from ourselves, and inflict them on others, as if there was a necessity either to do, or suffer them.

Titus Quintius Capitolinus for the fourth time, and Agrippa Furius, the consuls of the following year, received with their magistracy neither a domestic sedition, nor a foreign war; but both hung over their heads: For the civil discord could now be no longer repressed, both the tribunes, and the people being inflamed against the senate, since a citation of any one patrician always disturbed their assemblies with fresh contests. On the report of which, as at a signal, the Aequi, and Volsci took arms; being at the same time assured by their chiefs, who were desirous of plunder, that the levies, ordered two years before, could not be raised, because the people refused to obey those orders: “ For this
 “ reason, they told them no armies had been sent against
 “ them; that the military discipline of the Romans was
 “ now dissolved by licentiousness; neither was Rome looked
 “ upon by them as their common country; that all the
 “ anger, and animosity they used to exert against foreigners,
 “ was turned upon themselves: And that this was the time
 “ to destroy those wolves, while they were blinded with their
 “ intestine rage.” They first desolated the territories of the Latines with their joint forces; and, after that, when none appeared there to defend them, the authors of the war now indeed exulting, they advanced to the very walls
 of

of Rome near the Esquiline gate, laying waste the country in their march; and exposing to the view of the city, by way of insult, the devastation of her lands; from whence they drove their booty before them unpunished, and returned by a regular march to Corbio: When Quintius, the consul, called an assembly of the people; where, I find, he spoke to this purpose: “ Though I am conscious to
 “ myself of no crime, Romans, yet I am come to your as-
 “ sembly under the greatest confusion: That you should
 “ know, that posterity should know that the Aequi, and
 “ Volsci, who were, the other day, scarce a match for the
 “ Hernici, should, in the fourth consulship of Titus Quin-
 “ tius, have approached the walls of Rome in arms, with
 “ impunity. Could I have foreseen (though we have long
 “ lived in such a manner, such is the state of our affairs,
 “ my mind could presage no good) that this ignominy
 “ threatened this particular year, I should have avoided it,
 “ either by exile, or death, if there had been no other means
 “ of flying from this honor. Might then Rome have been
 “ taken in my consulship, if those arms, that were at our
 “ gates, had been in the hands of brave men? I had en-
 “ joyed a sufficiency of honors, and more than a sufficiency
 “ of life; and ought to have died in my third consulship.
 “ Whom then did the most dastardly of all our enemies
 “ despise? Did they despise us consuls? or you Romans?
 “ If the fault lies at our door, depose us, as unworthy;
 “ and, if that is too little, add chastisement to our depoli-
 “ tion: If at yours, may neither gods, nor men punish your
 “ errors,

“ errors, Romans; may you yourselves only repent of them!
“ But they neither despised your cowardise, nor relied on
“ their own valor; since, by being often routed, and put
“ to flight, dispossessed of their camps, amerced in their
“ lands, and sent under the yoke, they knew both them-
“ selves, and you. The discord between the two orders,
“ the contests between the senate, and the people are the
“ bane of this city: While neither we set bounds to power,
“ nor you to liberty, while you are dissatisfied with patri-
“ cian, and we with plebeian, magistrates, they took courage.
“ What, in the name of the gods, would you have? You
“ wanted tribunes of the people; we granted them for the
“ sake of union: You desired decemvirs; we suffered them
“ to be established: You grew tired of decemvirs; we
“ forced them to resign their magistracy: When you per-
“ sisted in your resentment against them, after they were
“ become private men; we allowed these most noble, and
“ most dignified persons to be put to death, and banished:
“ You desired that tribunes might again be created;
“ you created them: Though we saw the injustice that
“ would be done to the senate, if you chose consuls of your
“ own party; yet we have seen a patrician magistracy also be-
“ come a grant to the people: The protection of the tri-
“ bunes, the appeal to the people, the laws made by these
“ imposed on the senate, and the abolition of our rights,
“ under the pretence of rendering the laws equal, we have
“ suffered, and still suffer. What end will there be of our
“ dissensions? Shall we ever be allowed to have one city?
“ Shall

“ Shall this ever become our common country? We, who
 “ are conquered, are more willing to be quiet than you,
 “ who are conquerors. Is it not enough that you are for-
 “ midable to us? In opposition to us the Aventine hill is
 “ possessed; in opposition to us the Holy mountain is seized:
 “ But the Aesquiliae were near being taken by the enemy;
 “ and no man offered to repulse the Volsci, when they were
 “ scaling our ramparts. Against us you are brave; against
 “ us you are armed: Well then, after you have here besieged
 “ the senate house, rendered the forum terrible, and filled
 “ the prison with the principal men of the city, march out
 “ of the Esquiline gate with the same fierce spirit; or, if
 “ you dare not do even that, contemplate from the walls
 “ your lands laid waste with fire and sword, the booty
 “ carrying away, and your houses all over the country in
 “ flames, and smoking: However, the commonwealth
 “ suffers by these things; the country is ravaged; the city
 “ besieged, and the glory of the war transferred to our
 “ enemies. But, in what situation are your private affairs?
 “ Presently every one of you will receive an account of the
 “ losses he has sustained in the country: And what fund is
 “ there in the city to repair those losses? Will the tribunes
 “ return, and restore what you have lost? They will indeed
 “ be as lavish as you please of their voice, and their words;
 “ of invectives against our principal men; of laws upon
 “ laws, and of their harangues; but none of you ever re-
 “ turned home from those harangues improved in his cir-
 “ cumstances, in his fortune: Who carried back to his wife,
 VOL. IV. Z z “ and

“ and children any thing but hatred, discontent, public
 “ and private animosities? From which you are always
 “ preserved not by your own virtue and innocence, but by
 “ the assistance of others. But so it is, when you served
 “ under us consuls, not under your tribunes, and in the
 “ camp, not in the forum, and your enemies trembled at
 “ your shouts in battle, not the Roman senators at Those
 “ in your assemblies, you acquired booty; took lands from
 “ the enemy; full of riches, and of glory both public and
 “ private, you returned triumphant home to your household
 “ gods: Now, you suffer the enemy to go away loaded with
 “ your own fortunes. Stand fixed to harangues, and live
 “ in the forum: But the necessity of fighting, which you
 “ would avoid, follows you thither. Did you think it a
 “ grievance to march against the Aequi, and the Volsci?
 “ The war is at your gates; if it is not repelled from thence,
 “ it will presently be within the walls; will mount both
 “ the fortrefs, and the capitol, and pursue you even into
 “ your own houses. Two years ago, the senate ordered
 “ levies to be made, and the army to march to mount
 “ Algidus; but we sit idle at home, quarrelling with one
 “ another like women; pleased with the present ease, and
 “ unable to discern that, from this short tranquillity, war
 “ will return manifold. I am sensible that another kind of
 “ language would be more agreeable to you than this:
 “ But, if my own temper did not admonish me to say such
 “ things, as are true rather than agreeable, necessity would
 “ compel me to it. I could wish indeed to please you,
 “ Romans,

“ Romans, but I chuse much rather to preserve you, what-
 “ ever may be your future disposition towards me. It is
 “ in the order of nature that a man, who speaks to the
 “ multitude from a regard to his own interest, shall please
 “ more than he, who has no other view but the public
 “ good; unless, perhaps, you think that these common
 “ flatterers, these fawners on the people, who suffer you
 “ to be neither in war, nor in peace, incite and inflame you
 “ for your own sake: When you are inflamed, you admi-
 “ nister either to their honor, or profit; and, because they
 “ find themselves inconsiderable every where while the two
 “ orders are united, they chuse to be the chiefs in a bad
 “ thing, rather than in none, in disorders, and seditions.
 “ If these things can, at last, give you a disgust, and you
 “ will exchange your new conduct for That of your an-
 “ cestors, once your own, I refuse no punishments, if I do
 “ not, in a few days, rout and put to flight these ravagers
 “ of our lands; take their camp, and transfer the terror of
 “ this war, with which you are now astonished, from our
 “ gates and walls, to their own cities.” It has seldom
 happened that the speech of a popular tribune was better
 received by the people upon any occasion, than the speech
 pronounced by the severest of consuls was upon this. Even
 the youth, who had been accustomed, amidst such terrors, to
 make use of their refusal, to inlist themselves, as the sharpest
 weapon against the senate, now breathed war and arms;
 and the flight of the country people, some of whom had
 been stripped, and others wounded, by the relation they

made of more dismal havock than the citizens had beheld, inflamed them all with rage. When the senate was assembled, all turned their eyes upon Quintius, as upon the only assertor of the Roman majesty; and the principal senators said his speech was worthy of the consular dignity, worthy of the many consulships he had exercised, worthy of his whole life full of honors often borne, oftener deserved: That other consuls had either flattered the people by betraying the dignity of the senate; or, by maintaining the rights of that order with rigor, had rendered the multitude more impatient of controul: That, on the contrary, Titus Quintius had in his speech been mindful of the dignity of the senate; of the union of the two orders, and, above all, of the times. They besought him, and his colleague, to take charge of the commonwealth; they besought the tribunes to unite with the consuls in removing the war from the city, and their walls, and to prevail on the people to obey the senate in this article of danger: They said, their common country invoked the tribunes, and implored their assistance at a time when their lands were laid waste, and their city almost besieged. By general consent, the levies were decreed, and made. After the consuls had declared in the assembly of the people, “ that this was no time to inquire into the
 “ validity of excuses: That all the youth should appear in
 “ the Campus Martius the next morning by break of day:
 “ That, after the war was at an end, they would appoint a
 “ time to inquire into the excuses of those, who had not
 “ lifted themselves: And that all, whose excuses they did
 “ not

“not allow, should be treated as deserters,” all the youth appeared the next day. Each cohort chose their own centurions; and two senators were placed at the head of every cohort. I find that all these things were performed with such expedition, that the ensigns being, the very same day, taken out of the arsenal by the quaestors, and brought into the field, were removed from thence at the fourth hour; and this new army, followed by some few cohorts of veterans, who served as volunteers, incamped at the tenth stone. The next day gave them a fight of the enemy; and they incamped close to them at Corbio. On the third day, the Romans being irritated with resentment, and the others with the consciousness of the guilt they had contracted by frequent revolts, and by despair, they engaged without delay. As in the Roman army there were two consuls with equal authority, the sole command was, by the consent of Agrippa, devolved on his colleague, which is a most salutary thing in the administration of great affairs: And the person preferred made a handsome return to the condescension of the man, who submitted to him, by making him a partaker both of his counsels, and his praises, and by putting one, who was inferior to him, upon a level with himself. In the battle, Quintius commanded the right wing, and Agrippa the left: The care of the center was committed to Spurius Postumius Albus, a legate: And to Servius Sulpicius, another legate, they gave the command of the horse: The foot on the right fought bravely, and the Volsci made no faint resistance. Servius Sulpicius with the horse broke through the center
of

of the enemy ; and, though he might have returned to his own people the same way, before the enemy could have restored their broken ranks, he thought it more adviseable to charge them in the rear ; and, by attacking the enemy, when their backs were towards him, he would have dispersed them in a moment with the terror of this double assault, if the horse of the Volsci, and Aequi had not entertained him with a combat in his own way, and stopped him for a while. Then Sulpicius cried out, “ this was no time to hesitate ; “ they would be surrounded, and cut off from their own “ army, if they did not summon all their vigor, and put an “ end to this battle of the cavalry. Neither was it enough “ to make the enemy fly without loss of blood ; they ought “ to slay horse and man, that not one of them might return “ to the battle, or renew the engagement : That it was not “ possible the enemy’s horse could resist Those, before whom “ the close ranks of the foot had given way.” The men were not deaf to the orders of their general ; they routed the whole body of horse at the first shock ; threw many headlong to the ground, and pierced both the men, and the horses with their spears. Thus ended the battle of the cavalry : After that, they charged the foot, and sent the news of this action to the consuls, where the enemy’s line had already begun to give way : This news both increased the courage of the Romans, who were conquering, and struck terror into the Aequi, who were retiring. The first impression had been made in their center, where the furious charge of the horse had broken their ranks : Then
the

the left wing began to give way before Quintius, the consul. But their right gave the Romans most trouble: There Agrippa, exulting in his youth and strength, seeing every part of the action more successful than his own, began to point some of the ensigns, which he had snatched from their bearers, against the enemy, and even to throw others into the thickest of them: The soldiers, stung with the dread of this ignominy, fell on; by this means, the victory became equal on all sides. Then Quintius sent him word that he was victorious, and going to assault the enemy's camp; but would not break in, till he knew that the affair was over in the left wing also: And desired that, if he had then routed the enemy, he would join him, that the whole army might, at the same time, possess themselves of the booty. Agrippa, now victorious, advanced with mutual congratulation to his victorious colleague, and to the enemy's camp; where the few who defended it, being soon put to flight, they broke into the intrenchments without any resistance; and brought home the army enriched with a vast booty, having also recovered the effects, which the Romans had lost in the plunder of their country. I do not find that a triumph was either demanded by the consuls, or offered to them by the senate: Neither is there any reason assigned why that honor was * neglected, or not expected. As far as I can conjecture at so great a distance of time, since a

* The verbal analogy in Livy is, *spreti aut non sperati honoris*; which some of his readers may be pleased with: This analogy I have endea-

voured to preserve in the translation; not because I thought it a *beauty*, but because I thought it my *duty*.

triumph

triumph had been refused by the senate to the consuls Valerius, and Horatius, who, besides their victory over the Volsci and Aequi, had also acquired the glory of putting an end to the war with the Sabines, these consuls were ashamed to demand a triumph for half the exploits of the others: They might also apprehend lest, if they had obtained it, a greater regard might seem to have been shewn to their persons, than to their merit. This glorious victory, obtained over their enemies, was disfigured by an inglorious judgement pronounced at home by the people, concerning the bounds of some lands belonging to their allies. The Aricini, and the Ardeates, having often fought for a tract of contested land, and being tired out with frequent mutual losses, referred their dispute to the arbitration of the Romans. When they came to plead their cause before an assembly of the people, convened by the magistrates for that purpose, the affair was debated with great warmth: After the witnesses were produced, the tribes called, and the people ready to give their votes, Scaptius, a plebeian and an aged man, rose up, and said: "If, consuls, I may be allowed to speak concerning the commonwealth, I will not suffer the people to be misled in this cause." The consuls saying that such a trifler ought not to be heard, and ordering him to be taken away, he cried out that the cause of the public was betrayed, and appealed to the tribunes: These, who are governed by the multitude oftener than they govern them, indulged the curiosity of the people, by giving Scaptius leave to say what he thought fit; who told them
"that

“ that he was in his eighty third year, and had served on
 “ the land in question, not when he was young, but in his
 “ twentieth campaign, when the war was carried on at
 “ Corioli: For which reason he spoke of a thing, that
 “ might indeed be obliterated by time, but was fixed in his
 “ own memory: That the land in dispute lay in the country
 “ formerly belonging to the Coriolani: And, after Corioli
 “ was taken, devolved by right of war on the Roman people
 “ in common. That he wondered with what decency the
 “ Ardeates and Aricini, who had never claimed any right
 “ to this land, while the city of Corioli was in prosperity,
 “ should expect to obtain it by surprise from the Roman
 “ people, whom, instead of acknowledging as owners, they
 “ had constituted judges. That the remaining part of his
 “ life was short; however, that, old as he was, he could not
 “ forbear to claim that land by his voice at least, the only
 “ means in his power, which, when a soldier, he had con-
 “ tributed to take by his sword. And that he earnestly
 “ exhorted the people not to give sentence against themselves
 “ through an unprofitable modesty.” When the consuls
 found that Scaptius was heard, not only with silence, but
 also with assent, they called both gods, and men to witness
 that a most flagrant action was upon the point of being
 committed, and sent for the principal senators: In com-
 pany with these they addressed themselves to the tribes, and
 begged of them “ not to commit the worst of actions, and
 “ set a worse example, by converting a cause, in which they
 “ themselves were judges, to their own advantage; especially

“ since, though it was lawful for a judge to take care of
 “ his own interest, the gain they would make by intercept-
 “ ing this land, was in no degree equal to the loss they
 “ would sustain by alienating, through this injury, the
 “ minds of their allies : For the loss of reputation, and credit
 “ was greater than could be estimated. Shall the deputies
 “ carry this home? Shall this be published? Shall our allies,
 “ shall our enemies hear this? With what grief will the
 “ former, and with what joy will the latter, receive it? Let
 “ not the people imagine that the neighbouring nations will
 “ impute this to an haranguing old man. The Scaptian
 “ family will indeed be rendered famous by the representa-
 “ tion of this exploit; but the Roman people will gain the
 “ character of an informer, and an interceptor of other mens
 “ claims : For what judge in a private cause ever acted in
 “ such a manner, as to decree the thing in controversy to
 “ himself? Even Scaptius himself, though now he has out-
 “ lived all shame, would not do this.”]

It appears by what Scaptius says stions, before the people gave their
 presently in our author, that he asked votes: To which questions Dionysius
 the Ardeates, and Aricini some que- says they did not give any answer.

LII. They making no answer, but continuing dissatisfied,
 Scaptius again ascended the tribunal, and said: “ It is agreed,
 “ citizens, by your adversaries themselves, that they claim our
 “ lands without having any sort of right to them. Consider
 “ these things; and, in giving your votes, have a regard to jus-
 “ tice, and to your oaths.” While Scaptius was saying this,
 the consuls were ashamed to find that the event of this trial
 would

would prove neither just, nor decent, if the Roman people, after they had been chosen umpires by others, should take away the lands in question from the contending parties, without having ever claimed them before, and adjudge those lands to themselves: And many speeches were made both by the consuls, and the leading men of the senate, to dissuade the people from pronouncing this judgement; but in vain: For, when called to give their votes, they said it would be a great folly in them to suffer their own lands to continue in the possession of others; and that their decision of this cause would not be consistent with religion, if they should adjudge the contested lands to the Aricini, or the Ardeates, after they had sworn to adjudge them to those, whom they should find to have a right to them: Besides, they were angry with the contending parties for having chosen those, who were deprived of these lands, for their umpires, with this view, that they might not, even afterwards, have it in their power to recover their own possessions, which they themselves, as sworn judges, had decreed to others. The people, therefore, considering these things, and being full of resentment, ordered a ³³ third urn to be placed before every tribe on behalf of the Roman people,

³³ Τρίτην—καδίσκον. If the reader pleases to turn to the thirty second annotation on the tenth book, he will find an explanation of the word καδίσκος. I expect, and hope that the following animadversion on le Jay's translation of this passage will be a parting blow. Unfortunately for him, Portus had said, *tertiū jusserunt urnam*

in unaquaque tribu poni pro populo Romano. This he has translated, *le peuple voulut qu'on distribuât des urnes dans toutes les tribus, et que chacun pût donner son suffrage pour la troisième fois.* Here he has left out the material part; I do not mean, ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμαίων, but, *pro populo Romano.*

into which they might put their billets : And the people of Rome was declared, by all the votes, to be the owners of the contested lands. These things passed in this consulship.

LIII. In the consulship of Marcus Genucius, and Caius³⁴ Curtius, the civil contests were renewed ; the plebeians demanding that it might be lawful for all the Romans to be chosen consuls (for, till then, the patricians were the sole candidates for that dignity, and always elected in the assemblies by centuries) and all the tribunes of that year concurring to promote this measure, except Caius Furnius, they drew up a law concerning the consular elections, and published it, by which they left it, every year, to the determination of the people, whether patricians, or plebeians should stand candidates for the consulship. The senate resented this ; and, looking upon the law as the ruin of their authority, resolved to hazard every thing rather than suffer it to pass ; and both in the private, and public assemblies of all the patricians, great passion was expressed ; invectives thrown out, and oppositions concerted ; their whole body being violently exasperated against all the plebeians. Many speeches were made in the senate by the leading men of the aristocracy ; and many in the assemblies of the people ; the more moderate by such, as looked upon the plebeians to be misled by the ignorance of their interest ; and the severer by those, who were of

³⁴ Κυρτιον. ^b Sigonius has shewn, in his notes upon Livy, that we must read *Curtius*, instead of *Quintius*, as he is called in the editions, and manuscripts. And, I find, this consul is called *Curtius* in the *Fasti consulares*.

^b B. iv. c. 1.

opinion that this attempt flowed from an insidious design, and from envy to their order.

LIV. While they were protracting the time in vain, messengers arrived from their allies, to acquaint them that the Aequi, and the Volsci were upon the point of invading them with a numerous army, and to desire they would send them immediate relief, as their country lay in the passage of the war. Those Tyrrhenians also, who are called Veientes, were said to be preparing for a revolt: And the Ardeates no longer obeyed them, being irritated at the Roman people for having, the year before, when chosen umpires, adjudged the contested lands to themselves. The senate, upon this intelligence, ordered an army to be raised, and that both the consuls should take the field: But the tribunes, who were bringing in the law, opposed the execution of these orders (for they have a power of opposing the consuls) by rescuing such of the citizens, as they were compelling to take the military oath; and by not suffering them to inflict any punishment on the disobedient: And, when the senate earnestly intreated them to lay aside their animosity for the present; and, when the wars were at an end, then to propose the law concerning the elections of the consuls, they were so far from yielding to the present juncture, that they said they would oppose every other decree of the senate also, and suffer none to be enacted, unless, by their previous vote, they would authorize the law they were bringing in: And they were so far transported, as not only to use these menaces to the consuls in the senate, but also to swear to the performance

formance of them, in the assembly of the people, by their faith, which with them is the most solemn of all oaths, to the end they might not be at liberty to revoke any of their resolutions, should they be convinced to the contrary.

LV. Alarmed at these menaces, the most ancient senators, and the leading men of the aristocracy held a private meeting at the desire of the consuls. When Caius Claudius, who was far from being a friend to the people, and had inherited these principles from his ancestors, advised them to carry things with a high hand, and not to admit the people either to the consulship, or to any other magistracy whatever: And, if any should attempt to act contrary to this determination, to reduce them by force of arms, should reason not prevail, without giving any quarter either to private persons, or to magistrates: For he said that all, who endeavoured to change the established customs, and to corrupt the ancient form of government, were aliens, and enemies to the commonwealth. On the other hand, Titus Quintius dissuaded them from restraining their adversaries by violence, or from invading the plebeians with arms, and shedding civil blood, particularly since they were sure to be opposed by the tribunes, whose persons their fathers had decreed to be holy, and all sacred, and made the gods, and genius's sureties for the performance of those engagements, and of the solemn oaths they had taken with imprecations both against themselves, and their posterity, if they transgressed a single article of that convention.

LVI. This advice being approved of by all the rest of the council, Claudius resumed his discourse, and said:
 “ I am not ignorant of how great calamities to us all a
 “ foundation will be laid, if we suffer the people to give
 “ their votes concerning this law: But, being at a loss what
 “ to do, and unable to oppose so great a number, I submit
 “ to your determinations: For it is just that every man
 “ should declare what he thinks will be of advantage to the
 “ commonwealth; and, after that, submit to the resolu-
 “ tions of the majority: However, as you are in a difficult,
 “ and involuntary situation, I shall give you this advice;
 “ not to admit either now, or hereafter, to the consulship,
 “ any but patricians, who are alone, both by religion and
 “ law, qualified for it: But, whenever you are reduced to
 “ the necessity, as at present, of communicating the greatest
 “ power, and magistracy to the other citizens, appoint
 “ consular tribunes, instead of consuls, and limit their num-
 “ ber as you shall think proper. In my opinion, eight, or
 “ six will be sufficient; and, of these, let not the patricians
 “ be fewer than the plebeians: In doing this, you will
 “ neither debase the consulship by conferring it on mean,
 “ and unworthy men, neither will you appear to be form-
 “ ing unjust dominations for yourselves, by communi-
 “ cating no magistracy whatever to the plebeians.” All
 approving this opinion, and no one contradicting it, he
 added this: “ Hear now, consuls, the advice I give to you
 “ also: After you have appointed a day for passing the
 “ previous vote, and the resolutions of the senate, let all,
 “ who

“ who desire to say any thing either in favor of the law, or
“ in opposition to it, have liberty to speak ; and, after they
“ have spoken, and it is time to ask the opinions of the
“ senators, begin neither with me, nor with Quintius, nor
“ with any one of the other ancient senators, but with Lucius
“ Valerius, who is the greatest patron of the people ; and,
“ after him, ask Horatius if he has any thing to say : When
“ you have taken their opinions, then desire us, who are
“ more ancient, to give ours. For my part, I shall deliver
“ an opinion contrary to That of the tribunes with the
“ greatest freedom, since this tends to the advantage of the
“ commonwealth. Now, as to the law concerning the
“ creation of consular tribunes, if you think proper, let
“ Titus Genucius propose it : For this motion will be the
“ most specious, and give the least suspicion, if introduced
“ by your brother, Marcus Genucius.” This suggestion
was also approved of. Upon which, they departed from the
council. This secret meeting inspired the tribunes with a
jealousy that it was calculated to bring some great mischief
upon the people ; since it was held in a private house, and
not in public, and they had admitted none of the tribunes to
partake of their counsels. After which, they also held a
meeting consisting of such persons, as were most in the
interest of the people, and prepared a counter-battery to
repel, and guard them against the insidious designs, which
they suspected the patricians would employ against them.

LVII. When the time was come for the previous vote to
be passed, the consuls assembled the senate ; and, after many
exhor-

exhortations to concord, and decency, they called upon the tribunes, who had proposed the law, to speak first; when Caius Canuleius, one of their number, advanced; and, without either shewing, or mentioning the justice, or advantage of the law, said, “ that he wondered at the consuls, “ who, after they had consulted, and determined between “ themselves what they were to do, had attempted to lay “ before the senate an affair, as unexamined, and requiring “ consideration, and then given every man who was willing, “ leave to speak to it; in which they had been guilty of a “ dissimulation unbecoming both their age, and the greatness “ of the magistracy, with which they were invested. He “ added that they introduced the beginnings of an evil administration by assembling secret councils in private houses, “ and in desiring not even all the senators to be present at “ them, but only those, who were most attached to their own “ party. He was less surprised, he said, that other senators “ were excluded from this domestic council; but astonished “ that Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Valerius, who had destroyed the oligarchy; were consular senators, and inferior to “ none in giving advice for the benefit of the public, were “ not thought worthy to be invited to this council, and could “ not imagine what just motive they had to exclude them; “ but he guessed they were influenced by this single reason, “ that, designing to propose wicked, and pernicious measures “ against the plebeians, they were unwilling to invite to these “ councils those, who were the greatest friends to the people; “ who would be sure to express their indignation at such
 VOL. IV. B b b proposals,

“ propofals, and not to fuffer any unjuft defign to be formed
 “ againft their intereft.”

LVIII. Thefe things being urged by Canuleius with great lamentation, and the fenators, who had not been called to the confultation, refenting the indignity, Genucius, one of confuls, rofe up, and endeavoured to juftify himfelf and his colleague; and to appeafe their anger, by telling them, “ that
 “ they had defired their friends to affift at this confultation,
 “ not with any defign againft the people, but in order to con-
 “ fult with thofe they moft confided in, in what manner they
 “ might appear to do no prejudice to either of the parties,
 “ whether they referred the confideration of the law to the
 “ fenate fooner, or later. And that they had not invited Hora-
 “ tius, and Valerius to be prefent at the confultation for any
 “ other reafon, than that the plebeians might not entertain
 “ an injurious fufpicion of them, as of men, who had changed
 “ their principles, if they fhould have embraced the other opi-
 “ nion, which tended to put off the confideration of the law
 “ to a more proper feafon : But, fince all, who affifted at the
 “ meeting, had been of opinion that the confideration of it,
 “ ought rather to be accelerated, than retarded, he would
 “ purfue their determination. Having faid this, and called
 “ the gods to witnefs to the truth of what he faid, he added
 “ that the fenators, who had been called to that meeting,
 “ would clear themfelves of every imputation, not by their
 “ words, but by their actions : For he affured them that, after
 “ all who fhould defire to fpeak in oppofition to the law,
 “ and in favor of it, had given their reafons, he would firft
 ask

“ ask the opinions, not of the most ancient, and the most
 “ dignified senators, to whom this privilege was due by the
 “ established custom, nor of those, who were suspected by the
 “ plebeians, as persons, from whose words, or thoughts they
 “ could expect no favor, but of the younger senators, whose
 “ affection to the people was the least doubted.”

LIX. After these promises, he gave leave to any one who desired it, to speak, and none offering either to censure the law, or to defend it, he rose up again ; and, beginning with Valerius, asked him what he thought was most for the interest of the public, and what previous vote he advised the senate to pass. Valerius, rising up, made a long speech concerning both himself, and his ancestors, who, he said, had always been at the head of the plebeian party to the advantage of the commonwealth ; and enumerated all the dangers from the beginning, which had been brought upon it by those, who pursued contrary measures, shewing that a hatred for the plebeians had been of no advantage to any who had professed it : He then said many things in commendation of the people, alledging that they had been the principal cause not only of the liberty, but also of the sovereignty, of the commonwealth. After he had displayed these reasons, and many others of the like nature, he ended with saying that no nation could be free, from which equality was banished ; and that, for his part, he looked upon that law as just, which allowed all the Romans to aspire to the consular dignity, provided their lives were irreprehensible, and their actions worthy of that honor : But he thought this

was not a proper time to enter into the consideration of this law, when the commonwealth was disturbed with the apprehensions of a war: He advised the tribunes to suffer the forces to be raised, and not to hinder them, when raised, from taking the field, and also the consuls, after they had ended the war in the most successful manner, to lay before the people the previous vote of the senate in favor of the law, before they entered upon any other business: And he desired that these resolutions might now be drawn up, and consented to by both parties. This opinion of Valerius, which was supported by Horatius (for the consuls called upon him next) had the same effect upon all who were present: For those, who desired to throw out the law, though pleased to hear that the consideration of it was put off, were yet dissatisfied to find themselves under an obligation to pass a previous vote in favor of it, as soon as the war should be ended: While the others, who wished the law might receive the approbation of the senate, though glad that it was acknowledged to be just, were yet displeased that the previous vote was put off to another opportunity.

LX. This opinion, therefore, having caused a disorder in the senate, as might well be expected, since neither side was pleased with every part of it, the consul, rising up, asked, in the third place, the opinion of Caius Claudius, who seemed the most haughty, and the most powerful of all the leaders of that party, which opposed the plebeians: This man made a premeditated speech against them, in which he
enumerated

enumerated all the attempts they had ever been guilty of to subvert, as he thought, the glorious institutions of their ancestors : The end of this speech was, that the consuls should not refer the law in question to the consideration of the senate either now, or hereafter ; since the intention of it was to destroy the aristocracy, and to confound the whole form of their government. This opinion having encreased the disorder, Titus Genucius, who was brother to one of the consuls, being called upon in the fourth place, rose up ; and, after a short recapitulation of the present distresses, by which the commonwealth was reduced to the necessity of submitting to one of these two most grievous evils, either to strengthen the enemy through her own civil contests, and animosities, or, from a desire of averting the attacks of foreign enemies, to compose with ignominy a domestic, and civil war, he said that, since they were under a necessity of submitting unwillingly to one of these two evils, he thought it was less disadvantageous for the senate to suffer the people to usurp some part of their ancient authority, than to expose the commonwealth to the ridicule of foreigners, and enemies. Having said this, he proposed the opinion, which had been approved of by those, who had been present at the meeting held in a private house, and which Claudius had offered, as I said ; which was, instead of consuls, to create tribunes with consular power, three of whom should be patricians, and three plebeians ; and that, after these had completed the term of their magistracy, and the time was come to create new magistrates, the senate, and people should

should again assemble, and consider whether they would commit the government to consuls, or to consular tribunes: That the majority of votes should carry it: And that the senate should pass a previous vote upon this occasion, every year.

LXI. This opinion of Genucius was received with general applause; and almost all, who rose up after him, allowed that these were the best resolutions they could take: The previous vote, therefore, for carrying them into execution, being drawn up by order of the consuls, the tribunes received it with great joy, and proceeded to the forum. After which, they assembled the people; and, having given great commendations to the senate, they exhorted such of the plebeians as were willing, to stand candidates for this magistracy, together with the patricians. But ³⁵ there is so much levity in passions not founded on reason, and they incline so swiftly to the other side, particularly the passions of the multitude, that those, who, before, looked upon it as a point of the greatest consequence to partake of the magistracy, and if this was not granted to them by the patricians,

35. Οὕτω δὲ ἀγα καὶ φανερὸν τι πρᾶγμα etc. If Dionysius had written his history with no other view but to flatter the Romans (as Mr. Beaufort, and several of his countrymen have thought fit to alledge) he would most certainly have attributed this behaviour of the people, not to their levity, but to their generosity. This I am the more justified in affirming, because Livy has, and, without flattery, I think, assigned a

more noble motive to the preference given by the people to the patricians: He attributes this preference to modesty, equity, and greatness of mind. But I shall transcribe his words, because I think them as beautiful, as his judgement is solid: *Hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi, ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tunc populi universi fuit?*

ⁱB. iv. c. 6.

, were

were ready either to abandon the city, as they had done before, or to seize that privilege by force of arms, as soon as they had obtained this concession, they presently relinquished their fondness for it, and transferred their earnestness to the other side; so that, though many plebeians stood candidates for the consular tribuneship, and used the most earnest solicitations to obtain it, the people thought none of them worthy of this honor: But, when they came to give their votes, they chose the patrician candidates, who were all men of distinction; these were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius Longus, and Titus ³⁶ Cloelius Siculus.

LXII. These were the first, who were invested with the proconsular power, upon which they entered in the third year of the eighty fourth Olympiad, Diphilus being archon at Athens; but they retained the possession of it only seventy three days; after which, they voluntarily resigned pursuant to an ancient custom, some heavenly omens opposing their continuance in the administration. After these had abdicated their power, the senate assembled, and chose interreges; who, having appointed a day for the election of magistrates, left it to the consideration of the people whether they desired to chuse consular tribunes, or consuls; and the people resolving to adhere to the ancient customs, they gave leave to such of the patricians as were willing, to stand candidates for the consulship; and two patricians were again elected consuls: These were Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, brother to one of the persons, who

³⁶ Κλοελίων. * Sigonius, in his notes reading, and not Κλυσιον, as it stands upon Livy, shews this to be the true in the editions.

* B. iv. c. 7.

had resigned the consular tribuneship. These two magistracies, invested with the supreme power, were appointed at Rome the same year: However, both do not appear in all the Roman annals; but, in some, the consular tribunes only, in others, the consuls, and in a few, both of them; with which I agree not without reason, but confiding in the testimonies of the holy, and ³⁷ secret books. No transaction, either military, or civil, worthy the notice of history, hap-

³⁷· Αποθείων βιβλίων. I take these to have been the books, called by the Romans, *Linteī*; because Livy¹, in speaking of the magistrates of this year, says that the names of these consuls were not to be found either in the ancient annals, or in the books of the magistrates; but that Licinius Macer had written that their names were mentioned both in the treaty with the Ardeates, and in the *Linteī libri*, that were kept in the temple of *Juno Moneta*; *Licinius Macer auctor est, et in foedere Ardeatino, et in Linteis libris ad Monetae inventa*. By this it appears that these ἀποθείοι βιβλοί, or *Libri Linteī*, were public records, and not the memoirs of some private families, as ^m Mr. Beaufort has advanced, in order to prove this extraordinary position, that the Roman history for the five first centuries was neither more, nor less than a romance. His way of reasoning will equally prove that every other ancient history, nay the history of the first ages of every nation, that either now subsists, or ever did subsist upon the face of the earth, is no better than a romance; with this difference, that the

history of the first ages of no nation in the world was ever delivered down to posterity by writers of so great parts, so much impartiality, and so much learning, as the history of the first ages of the Roman empire. But this kind of Pyrrhonism, revived by Bayle, has so much infected the French writers in Holland, that, if they go on, mankind will soon be brought to doubt whether the Persians invaded the Greeks under Xerxes, or the Greeks, the Persians; whether Alexander conquered Darius, or Darius, Alexander; and whether the Romans, at last, beat the Carthaginians, or these the Romans. But much worse consequences will result from this Pyrrhonism; the great examples of policy, of bravery, and of every other virtue, both public and private, by which the Romans, during the first five centuries, laid the foundation of their future grandeur, will lose their force, if they were never realized; and history will be deprived of the advantage she has over philosophy, which is That of teaching by examples.

¹B. iv. c. 7. ^m Incert. de l'hist. Rom. p. 99.

pened in their consulship, except a treaty of friendship, and alliance entered into with the Ardeates: For these, having laid aside their complaints on account of the lands they had been deprived of, had sent embassadors to desire they might be admitted into the friendship, and alliance of the Romans, and this treaty was ratified by these consuls.

LXIII. The following year, the people having voted that consuls should again be appointed, Marcus Geganius Macerinus, for the second time, and Titus Quintius Capitolinus, for the fifth time, entered upon the consulship on the ides of December. These represented to the senate that many things were neglected by reason of the continual employment of the consuls in the field, and particularly the most necessary of all, the custom relating to the census, by which the number of such, as were of the military age, was known, together with the amount of their fortunes, in proportion to which every man was to furnish the supplies for the wars, there having been no census for seventeen years since the consulship of Lucius Cornelius, and Quintus Fabius: So that, the worthy, and useful men only were registered, and served in the armies, while the most profligate, and the most abandoned were left unregistered, and changed the places of their habitation, where they might live without controul. *

* * * * *

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F I N I S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

I HAVE, in the course of my notes, so often censured authors for borrowing from others, without any acknowledgement, that I should expose myself to the same censure, if I did not acquaint my readers with the following fact. An ingenious clergyman in my neighbourhood, hearing the Preface to my work was printed, desired to read it; and, upon returning it, told me that the passage quoted by me from Plato, had been made use of by John Mason, M. A. in a small essay on the power of numbers, printed in 1749. This I had not the least suspicion of; and am very well assured that all, who know me, will believe me: but, for the sake of those, who do not, I shall lay Mr. Mason's words before them, and leave it to every impartial reader to determine whether the manner, in which I have treated this quotation, has the air of an original, or of a copy.

After giving the passage of Plato, Mr. Mason says, p. 25; "Here the two first feet are cretics, then follow two spondees, then a cretic, and lastly a bacchic: so that here again he uses both dissyllable, and trissyllable feet. And [by] his calling the three last syllables of the word *εἰμαρμένην* a cretic, it is plain he read it thus, *εἰμαρμένην*, without any regard to the accent on the penultima (*μέ*)".

I do not understand why this gentleman calls *πορεια* a bacchic, when Dionysius, in scanning these measures, calls it *υποβαρχί* a hypobacchic; but this is a trifle. His observation upon the dactyl, dignified by Dionysius with the title of *σεμν*, *grand*, is much more exceptionable. Mr. Mason says, p. 10. "that of itself it is too light and feeble, and never fit to end a verse." He forgets that there are many odes in Horace, where every verse ends, not only with one dactyl, but with two: as his first ode addressed to Mæcenas,

*Mæcenas, atavis edite regibus,
O et præsidium, et dulce decus meum.*

And in that to the ship, which was carrying his friend Virgil to Athens,

*Sic te diva potens Cypri,
Sic fratres Helenæ, lucida sidera.*

But what shall we say to the first verse in the first chorus of *Œdipus Tyrannus* in Sophocles, which consists solely of dactyls?

Ω δι' ἀδυνεες Φάτι, τις πόλις

And two verses after, another,

Εδέξαμαι φοβεραν φρενα,

Besides several others in the same chorus.

This shews how dangerous a thing it is for modern writers to emancipate themselves from the authority and practice of the ancients, and to hazard reflexions, that are supported by neither.



ERRATA in VOL. IV.

- P**AGE 2. Line 14. For *both*. Read *both*.
P. 4. L. 11. no comma after *Furius*.
P. 6. L. 14. after *army*. r. *were*.
P. 10. L. 11. f. consuls. r. consul's.
P. 21. L. 20. f. crowded. r. crouded.
P. 31. L. 18. f. the. r. that.
P. 47. L. 6. after being. r. then.
P. 54. last line. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.
P. 59. L. 8. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.
P. 75. last line but two. f. mad. r. made.
P. 79. L. 17. after *showed*. strike out *them*.
P. 86. L. 21. f. power. r. authority.
P. 90. last line but one. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.
P. 92. last line but two. f. as. r. for.
P. 95. last line but two. no comma after *tend to*.
P. 107. L. 5. f. chase. r. chace.
P. 123. L. 9. f. taken so. r. taken in.
P. 134. L. 6. f. sacrificed. r. sacrificed.
P. 136. L. 19. a comma after *oppressed*.
P. 141. L. 10. a comma after *insolent*.
P. 142. L. 18. f. when. r. where.
P. 155. last line but five. f. forces. r. troops.
P. 166. L. 4. f. administered. r. administred.
P. 167. last line. no comma after *arrived*.
P. 176. L. 16. f. wherever. r. wherever.
P. 180. L. 2. f. Ortona. r. Hortona.
P. 196. L. 3. after *of*. insert *the*.
P. 220. L. 10. f. the consuls. r. The consuls.
P. 227. L. 8. f. they. r. those persons.
P. 229. L. 22. no comma after *domestics*.
P. 230. L. 6. f. shores. r. sewers.
P. 240. last line but two. dele the first *of*.
P. 243. L. 7. f. secure. r. sure.
P. 249. last line. after *they*. r. had.
P. 251. L. 3. a comma after *Persons*.
 Ib. C. 1. L. 1. f. *Hegh*. r. *Hegh*.
P. 257. L. 10. no comma after *or*.
P. 262. L. 10. f. first rises up. r. rises up first.
P. 294. C. 1. L. 6. f. immemor. (in Romans)
 print immemor. (in Italics.)
P. 310. L. 16. f. body. r. corps.
P. 315. L. 1. f. cowardice. r. cowardise.
P. 317. L. 7. f. the legions. r. these legions.
P. 322. C. 1. f. their post. r. the post.
P. 323. L. 10. and 13. f. Duilius. r. Duillius.
 Ib. L. 11. f. thing. r. nothing.
P. 332. C. 1. last line. f. ejicetoueq. r. ejicito-
 que.
P. 342. L. 8. f. Duilius. r. Duillius.
P. 358. L. 17. f. the foot. r. their foot.
P. 365. L. 14. f. the tribunes. r. those tribunes.
P. 366. L. 17. f. the. r. their.

